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Inscriptions and Their Uses in Greek and Latin Literature

Edited by

Peter Liddel and Polly Low

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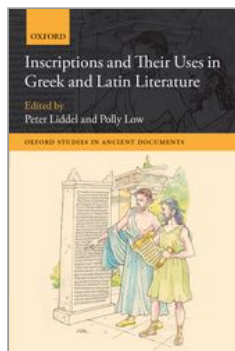


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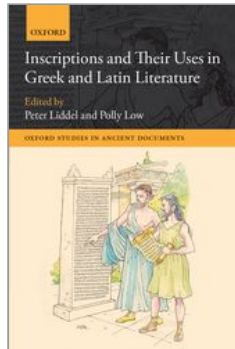
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The conference from which this collection has developed was made possible by a generous grant from the School of Arts, Histories and Cultures, University of Manchester. The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies and the Classical Association provided further support in the form of bursaries for graduate students attending the conference: we (and the bursary recipients) are very grateful to them. We are also indebted to all those who attended the conference (both speakers and members of the audience) for their enthusiastic, informed, and informative contributions, and to the Department of Classics and Ancient History at Manchester for hosting the event. The series editors and the anonymous readers for the Press provided very helpful guidance in planning and completing the volume; Val Knight undertook the daunting task of formatting, copy-editing, and indexing the assembled papers. We owe a huge debt of gratitude to J. K. Davies for his warm encouragement and for kindly sharing with us his expertise on the subject of documents and inscriptions in ancient literature over a number of years. Our introduction draws extensively on his work, as did the conference upon which this collection is based.

We are greatly honoured by the willingness of Stathis Stavropoulos, the prominent Greek political commentator and cartoonist,¹ to create a cover-illustration for this collection. He depicts a *stele*, set up in the environs of a temple, inscribed with the definition of Ἐπιγραφαί which appears in the 1888 archaeological *Lexicon* of the polymath and epigraphical pioneer Alexandros Rizos Rangavis.² Two ancient readers

discuss the text; one of them carries a transcription (which appears, notwithstanding the censure of his patron (or teacher, or master), to be accurate). Stavropoulos raises, satirically, one means by which knowledge of inscribed texts was transmitted, but invites us also to consider and to call into question the sense and tenacity of a nineteenth-century definition of the subject—which appears to be set in stone.

Abbreviations of Greek and Latin authors and texts, epigraphic publications, periodicals, and standard reference works generally follow the conventions of (respectively) Liddell and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon* and the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* and *L'Année Épigraphique*, the *Année Philologique*, and the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Significant exceptions or additions to these conventions are listed in the bibliography following the relevant chapter. Except where otherwise stated, all website addresses were correct and active as of 31 August 2012.

P.P.L. and P.A.L.

Manchester

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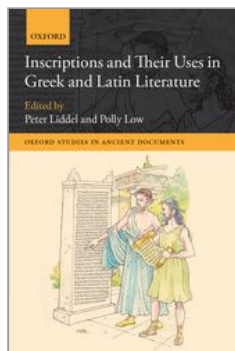
(¹) For another example of epigraphical imagery in his work, see S. Stavropoulos (2010). *Tà Andρείκελα*. Athens, 108.

(²) A. R. Rangavis (1888). *Λεξικὸν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας μετὰ πολλῶν εἰκόνων καὶ πινάκων*. Athens, i. 281. Of his works, *Antiquités helléniques ou Répertoire d'inscriptions et d'autres antiquités*. 2 vols. Athens), 1842–55, is of great importance to epigraphers of Greece.



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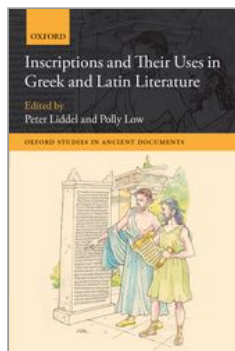
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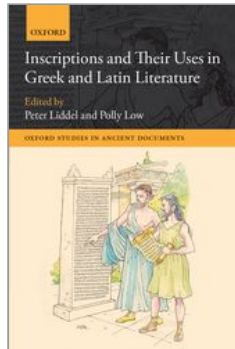
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Introduction: The Reception of Ancient Inscriptions

Peter Liddel

Polly Low

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Abstract and Keywords

This introductory chapter opens with an exploration of the modern organisation of epigraphical knowledge, considering its relationship to both antiquarianism and scholarship and its relationship to the subject of this book — epigraphical references in ancient literary texts. It offers the rationale for the organisation of this book. The chapters in Part I take broadly historical approaches, looking at the ways in which ancient literary authors deploy inscriptions as evidence for the reconstruction or instructive portrayal of the past or past languages and the means by which they gleaned knowledge of inscriptions. Part II assesses how ancient literary authors employ epigraphical imagery and rhetoric in ways which develop their audiences' preconceptions about inscriptions, and ultimately, the way in which those preconceptions were problematized, qualified, and challenged by their host texts. Finally, it is argued that ancient encounters with inscriptions, preserved through the literary record, offer us a view of the ways in which inscriptions offered a physical and cultural backdrop for activities of all kinds; they offer us valuable insight into individuals' reaction towards

inscriptions and their manipulation of them. Both epigraphy and the idea of epigraphy offered, in antiquity, a pliable tool for claiming, maintaining, and demonstrating authority, identity, morality, and power.

Keywords: history of epigraphy, reception of inscriptions, modern scholarship, literature and epigraphy, ancient historiography, modern historiography

Among the most distinctive and widespread practices of the civilizations of Greek and Roman antiquity was the habit of inscribing texts on permanent media, such as metal and stone. State or sub-state administrative bodies inscribed laws, decrees, accounts, letters, religious regulations, casualty lists, and markers; families and groups produced inscribed dedications, epitaphs, epigrams, and miscellaneous notices and labels.¹ The material legacy of this habit is visible in museums, storehouses, and archaeological sites of classical, Hellenistic, and Roman antiquity. A visitor to any ancient site readily experiences at least a superficial impression of the proliferation, diversity, and monumentality of inscriptions and the appearance of permanency that the act of inscribing lends to documents and other texts. Moreover, anyone engaged with the academic study of antiquity is aware of the value of inscriptions to the understanding of the ancient world: standard textbooks and sourcebooks for the study of antiquity almost universally include some form of introduction to the use of inscriptions.²

The practice of reading, recording, and thinking about inscriptions is common to both the modern and ancient worlds. From the fifth century BC onwards, ancient literary authors working within a range of genres (oratory, biography, philosophy, poetry, drama, historiography, travel literature, and antiquarian literature) discussed and quoted a range of inscriptions as ornamental, persuasive, or authorial devices, to assert an impression of scholarly control of the evidence, to make points about history, politics, power, and individual morality and piety, and even to express moral views about the nature of epigraphy, both advocating and challenging the power and enduringness of words on hard surfaces. Herodotus was among the first to deploy inscriptions extensively in the study of the past,³ **(p.2)** though, as is clear from this collection of papers and previous scholarship,⁴ he was not the first author to realize their rhetorical value. In the late fourth and third centuries BC, a number of antiquarian writers produced collections of documents and dedications that may well have been heavily epigraphical.⁵ Discursive literary sources discussed inscriptions on the basis of autopsy and by indirect means, gleaning knowledge of them on the basis of archives, previous citations by literary authors, or by access to collections;

documents were also fabricated for ideological and literary reasons (see below, section 2.3).⁶

The primary interest of this volume is in the deployment, paraphrase, citation, verbatim reproduction, imitation, and invention of inscriptions in literary texts. It sets out with several aims: (a) to explore the ways in which the ancient literary record adds to our understanding of how inscriptions were read, interpreted, and perceived in antiquity; (b) to identify the fits and non-fits between ancient and modern approaches to epigraphy; (c) to assess the themes of complementarity and competition between lapidary and literary performance; (d) to analyse the relationship between habits of epigraphical production and their reception in literature. Research on epigraphical testimonia in literary sources has already contributed much to classical scholarship, and the aim of this collection is to further invigorate its study.

After a short introduction to the subject of how ancient inscriptions—preserved in both the material and literary record—are collected (section 1), this introductory chapter will explore the ways in which the literary record of inscriptions has been assessed in modern epigraphical, historiographical, and literary scholarship (sections 2.1–3); finally, it will discuss the contributions made to this subject by this collection of papers (section 3).

1. Collecting inscriptions

Modern interest in Greek and Roman inscriptions emerged during the Renaissance. Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1457) was among the first to compile manuscript (p.3) collections of inscriptions, while Cyriacus of Ancona (1391–1452) was one of the first travelling scholars to collect inscriptions from Italy and Greece and publish them.⁷ The modern reception of ancient epigraphy is far from one-dimensional. One strand has its origins in antiquarianism and the accumulation of antiquities for the sake of their cultural, aesthetic, or, sometimes, political value: early epigraphical collectors gathered inscriptions, copied them, or even forged them on behalf of wealthy patrons and brought them together in lavish volumes.⁸ In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, collectors and museums across the world continued to amass and display classical inscriptions.⁹ Ancient inscriptions were seen as models for epigraphical commemoration: Oliver has recently suggested that knowledge of fourth-century Athenian *stelai* played an important part in the revival of classical standards in nineteenth-century tombstones,¹⁰ and some aspects of early twentieth-century commemoration were inspired by classical grave markers.¹¹ In nineteenth-century Greece, ancient inscriptions were sometimes built into churches as visible reminders of

the legacy of antiquity and as a way of preserving the accessibility of antiquities in a public space frequented by a local community.¹²

The antiquarian strand of epigraphical reception is not, however, entirely detached from the scholarly study of inscriptions: as Stenhouse has recently demonstrated, early collectors and publishers of inscriptions established standards of publication that were followed by later scholars, while their commentaries raised awareness of their potential contribution to the interpretation of history.¹³ The modern scholarly publication of inscriptions began in the early nineteenth century, with the production of the first systematic corpus of inscriptions preserved on stone and metal, *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (CIG), published in four volumes between 1828 and 1877.¹⁴ The definitive publication of inscriptions in Latin, since the mid-nineteenth century, has been the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*,¹⁵ of those from the Greek mainland, since the early twentieth century, the *Inscriptiones Graecae* series.¹⁶ The strength of these publications lies in the level of scholarly attention paid to establishing and often restoring texts. **(p.4)** Furthermore, epigraphical publications (both corpora and studies on epigraphy) have, in recent years, paid closer attention to the physical form of the texts and their findspots,¹⁷ and have allowed a more contextualized understanding of the physical significance of inscriptions. It must, however, be acknowledged that, since its emergence as a field of modern scholarship, the study of Greek and Latin epigraphy has concentrated on epigraphical texts preserved in physical forms, and has largely ignored the testimonia on inscriptions offered by literary texts.¹⁸ This tendency is reproduced in selections such as those of Dittenberger (*Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*), Meiggs and Lewis (*A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*) or Rhodes and Osborne (*Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404–323 B.C.*).¹⁹ The proposition behind the current collection is that while the material evidence of inscriptions constitutes incomparably revealing data on their physical context and form, literary references to inscriptions give a literary context that offers potential views of the broader significance of epigraphy to its ancient audience.

In 2003, the editors of this volume initiated a pilot-project that intended to explore the feasibility of assembling a collection of references to, paraphrases of, and verbatim quotations of inscriptions in ancient literary texts.²⁰ To the editors' knowledge, such an enterprise had never previously been brought to completion.²¹ With the help of two research assistants, Dr Roberto Chiapiniello and Ms (now Dr) April Pudsey, we searched a number of authors in the electronic *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* for specific Greek terms with epigraphical

significance.²² The project also trawled through a number of Latin authors in the hope of finding testimonia on inscriptions. References were collected and entered into a database that had an open-access web-based interface. The texts, translations, and commentary on each entry could be browsed or searched by Greek, Latin, or English keyword, but also according to the fields recorded for each entry.²³ The **(p.5)** pilot project offered insights into the literary application of inscriptions and decrees. For instance, it emerged that, far from being evenly spread across the corpus of Greek and Latin authors, decrees and inscriptions (both real and imagined) cluster in texts of particular periods and genres.

The database project gave rise to intriguing questions of definition: can we conceive of distinctively ‘epigraphical’ language and how, if at all, is it distinctive from the language of legislation, administration, or commemoration? Many literary texts discuss ancient documents and decrees, or even paraphrase them, but at what point does the language of a Greek decree become epigraphical? Danaos, in Aeschylus’ *Suppliant Women*, announces the Argive decision to grant asylum to his daughters, introducing the decision with words that resemble—but fall short of replicating—the enactment formulae of an Athenian decree (δήμου δέδοκται παντελῇ ψηφίσματα (‘decrees, with the full authority of the demos, have been passed’): *A. Supp.* 601).²⁴ While it seems likely that Aeschylus is exploiting his audience’s familiarity with the language of Athenian legislative enactment, there is nothing to prove that he was deliberately evoking the idea of an inscription.

The question of where to draw the boundaries also arose during the assemblage of material: should such a dataset be defined according to the boundaries of modern epigraphical studies, by including documents on stone and metal but excluding incised or painted letters upon ceramic ware, or references to writing upon non-permanent media, such as *sanides* or *pinakes*? Perhaps not, for literary references to public writing on non-permanent media can evoke similar sentiments as writing inscribed on permanent media: for instance, Julia Lougovaya’s Chapter 11 in this volume demonstrates how references to both permanent and non-permanent written public documents are deployed by Aristophanes to refer to modes of authority. Furthermore, a database should surely collect those epigrams that, though preserved in the literary record, envisage themselves (regardless of whether they were actually inscribed or not), implicitly or explicitly, as inscribed.²⁵ It should also collect passages such as Polybius’ reference to gifts sent to Rhodes after the 227 earthquake that may well, as Walbank suggested, derive, perhaps via an interim source, from an inscription, but for which there is no proof of an original inscription.²⁶ Moreover, it is

necessary to draw distinctions between literary epigraphy and the subject of 'documents': the two certainly overlap both in their substance and in terms of their rhetorical deployment (as Haake's Ch. 4 in this volume shows) but the genre of documents contains never-inscribed writings, such as contracts, wills, advocates' statements, and other reports.²⁷

Further desiderata emerged from the pilot project: it is highly important for such a database to collect inscriptions, attested in ancient authors, that derive **(p.6)** from outside the Graeco-Roman world because the treatment of such inscriptions is deeply revealing in terms of Greek and Roman attitudes towards writing as well as towards other cultures.²⁸ To collect such data is an unproblematic exercise, as they are usually reported with vocabulary similar to that used by ancient authors for Greek and Roman inscriptions.²⁹ The database would aim to include testimonia deriving from non-Graeco-Roman authors who appear to have written in Greek (or Latin) such as Berossos of Babylon, who describes inscribed Babylonian tablets (*BNJ* 680 F 16a). It would also include inscriptions preserved in sources that are only indirectly derivative of the Graeco-Roman tradition. One would, accordingly, want to include a testimonium from the fragmentary third-century AD Greek writer Abydenos whose work is preserved in the Armenian translation of Eusebios: this work contains notice of an inscription of the Babylonian king Sennacherib in which he recorded his own achievements (*BNJ* 685 F 5).³⁰

Regardless of the final shape of the database,³¹ the pilot project indicated the necessity, for the sake of developing a nuanced understanding of the material, of assessing modern scholarly treatments of the subject of literary epigraphy. This was the principle upon which we organized a conference with the title 'Inscriptions in Greek and Latin Literature' in June 2009 at the University of Manchester. Speakers explored the appearance of inscriptions from a number of perspectives: some of them focused upon individual texts, authors, or genres; others perused the literary record of inscriptions for answers to historical questions. What very clearly emerged from the conference was that despite (or, perhaps, owing to) the fragmentation of the evidence and the absence of a comprehensive dataset, the subject of the reception of ancient inscriptions in ancient literature has already given rise to a hugely variegated set of responses from modern scholars working from epigraphical, literary, and historical perspectives. At this point it seems worthwhile to explore some of the ways in which 'literary epigraphy' has already contributed to

scholarship, under these three headings, to two of which (2.2 and 2.3) this collection contributes.

2. Modern assessments of literary epigraphy

2.1. Literary epigraphy as a resource for epigraphy

As it appears on the pages of corpora such as *CIL* and *IG*, or supplementary publications such as *SEG*, *AE*, or *Bull. Ép.*, the progress of epigraphy draws upon the close autopsy of stone or bronze remains, ingenious acts of restoration, and a trickle of new discoveries. It is a subdiscipline that combines the deployment of **(p.7)** traditional skills such as autopsy and squeeze-making with experimental deployment of X-ray fluorescence, digital photography, and chemical analysis;³² some branches of epigraphical publication are on the cutting edge of developments in digital encoding and the exchange of knowledge.³³ But the publication of newly discovered inscriptions has a history of drawing closely on the literary testimonia for inscriptions.

On occasion, it has been possible to restore fragmentary inscriptions on the basis of literary authors' accounts of their texts and physical form. One dramatic example is an inscribed base supporting a bronze chariot and horses dedicated by the Athenians after they claimed victory over the Boeotians and Chalkidians in 506 BC (Meiggs and Lewis, *GHI* 15). Herodotus wrote that 'it is the first thing you see on the left as you pass through the Propylaia on the Akropolis', before quoting the inscription as follows:

ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες
παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἔργμασιν ἐν πολέμου
δεσμῷ ἐν ἀχλύόεντι σιδηρέῳ ἔσβεσαν ὕβριν·
τῶν ἵππους δεκάτην Παλλάδι τάσδ' ἔθεσαν. (Hdt. 5. 77.
4)³⁴

In 1869, there was discovered on the Akropolis a broken fragment of 'Pentelic' marble inscribed in *stoichedon* with Attic letters, to which further fragments were added. It was soon realized that this text could be restored with the help of Herodotus.³⁵ The most recent edition offers the following text:

[ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμά]σαν[τες]
[παῖδ]ες Ἀθηναίου ἔργμα[σιν ἐν πολέμ]ο
[δεσμῷ ἐν ἀχλύόεντι(?) σιδηρέοι ἔσβε]σαν [ἡύβριν]
[τ]ῶν ἵππος δεκάτ[εν Παλλάδι τάσδ' ἔθεσαν].

(When they had overcome the peoples of Boeotia and Chalcis | The children of Athens, in the work of war | Quenched their *hubris* with

painful chains of iron: | From this, they dedicated these horses, to Pallas, as tithe.)³⁶

A fragment of 'Eleusinian' stone, found in some ruins to the north-east of the Propylaea, and inscribed, non-*stoichedon*, with two lines of archaic Attic letters, was published in 1887. This evidently derived from a distinct version of the same monument and can be restored as follows:

[δεσμῶι ἐν ἀχνύεντι(?) σιδερέοι ἔσβεσαν ἡύβ]ριν:
παῖδε[ς Ἀθηναίου ἔργμασιν ἐμ πολέμῳ]
[ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες]:
τῶν ἵππος δ[εκάτεν Παλλάδι τάσδ' ἔθεσαν].

(p.8) (With painful chains of iron they quenched *hubris*, | The children of Athens, in the work of war, | When they had overcome the peoples of Boeotia and Chalcis, | From whom, they dedicated these horses, to Pallas, as tithe.)³⁷

The letter forms strongly suggest that the 1887 discovery was an earlier version, while the transposition of the first and third lines was the deliberate or accidental result of a reinscription of the monument. Not only does Herodotus' account of the later of the two versions allow a restoration of the text, but also it leads to a possible explanation for the apparent reinscription and transposition of the lines: he mentions that the chains, used to fetter the Euboean prisoners, were hung up in the Akropolis, on a wall scorched by fire started by the Persians during their occupation (5. 77. 3). It is possible, as Livingstone and Nisbet suggest, that the transposition of lines in the later version suggests an intended shift in emphasis in the words: 'the chains (transformed by fire, no longer having any significance for a fifth-century reader and perhaps no longer adjacent to the monument in any case) lose their prominence, and the primary point is no longer indignation at the violent presumption of the invaders. The reordering reinterprets the monument as an enduring symbol of the Athenians' natural propensity to triumph over their enemies.'³⁸

What makes this case yet more extraordinary is the close compatibility of the manuscripts of Herodotus and the surviving fragments.³⁹ In this case, the testimonium preserved in the literary manuscript informs the epigrapher and enables extensive restorations. But the correspondence of literary and inscribed versions of the same document is not always so close. The case of the decree of Stratokles of 307/6 BC posthumously honouring the orator Lykourgos brings with it difficult textual problems. Koumanoudes published two fragments of *IG* II² 457 in 1860, and realized that they belonged to the decree that the manuscript

tradition preserved as an 'epigraphical appendix' to [Plutarch]'s *Lives of the Ten Orators*. In 1981, Osborne argued that another fragment, *IG* II² 513, belonged to the same document.⁴⁰ Again, the literary testimonium allowed the restoration of epigraphical fragments. But, on this occasion, comparison of the literary and inscribed versions of the text suggest differences between the two traditions: Oikonomides (1986) noted that the literary version augmented the text by adding extra dating formulae 'in the sixth prytany, of the tribe Antiochis' (ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος ἑκτης πρυτανείας) and the names of ancestors of Lykourgos (Διομήδης τε καὶ Λυκοῦργος), while it omitted other points of detail, such as the mention of a golden crown, and it offered a different place of publication.⁴¹ While Oikonomides (1986) suggested that the differences could be explained by mutations in the manuscript tradition which took place during its transmission, other solutions are possible: it is plausible that the inscribed version may be less close to an archival **(p.9)** original than he assumed. Restorations made on the basis of literary parallels should, therefore, be viewed as provisional, and liable to be rescinded on the basis of further epigraphical discovery: as will become clear, expecting literary texts to give an exact version of an inscription is problematic, given that exact quotation was rarely a priority of the literary sources (see section 2.3).

The Athenian examples discussed above (Meiggs and Lewis, *GHI* 15 = *IG* I³ 501b, *IG* II² 457 + 513; see also p. 15 on *IG* I³ 83) are, however, rare and serendipitous discoveries. Overlap between the subjects of literary texts and epigraphical documents is widespread, but it is more frequently the case that the very different framing of these episodes means that textual criticism or restoration are out of the question (see section 2.3).⁴²

2.2 Literary epigraphy and the ancient historian

In order to highlight the differences between modern and ancient approaches to inscriptions, it is worth, in the first place, tracing their place in the modern historiography of antiquity. It is now widely accepted that a full understanding of virtually any historical aspect of Graeco-Roman antiquity requires searching, consultation, and interpretation of both literary and epigraphical texts. Any study that fails to do so automatically limits its capacity for historical interpretation. The significance of epigraphy to the study of the ancient world was not always universally accepted: even as late as the 1880s, some figures took the view that the study of inscriptions was an antiquarian subject that did not deserve attention in historiography proper.⁴³ Jowett, for instance, maintained the 'evil tendency of the study [of inscriptions] is that it encourages the habit of conjecture' and dismissed epigraphy as nothing more than 'deciphering the handwriting of her [Greece's] children amid the dust of her ruins': he took the view that the inscriptions contributed little unless they were to confirm what the literary texts said.⁴⁴

But the use of inscriptions to create a view of the past has a long history: in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, historians, as well as viewing inscriptions as sets of texts to be read as such, used them as ornaments to adorn a literary-based narrative.⁴⁵ Their significance to the narrative history of antiquity surfaced strongly in German scholarship of the nineteenth century. In Greece, the years from 1830 to 1880 were an era of colossal epigraphical discovery and publication, and saw the emergence of inscriptions in historical narrative and monographs. Boeckh was among the pioneers, introducing them to the first edition of his study (**p.10**) of the ancient Athenian economy, the *Staatshaushaltung* of 1817.⁴⁶ Others, such as Curtius, used inscriptions in the factual reconstruction of narrative historiography.⁴⁷ The discovery and interpretation of the *phialai exeleutherikai* inscriptions in the nineteenth century, and the publication of further fragments in the early twentieth century, demonstrated clearly that inscriptions were potentially useful for the understanding of social practices.⁴⁸ Recent work has shown how inscriptions can play a huge part in recovering the history of perceived ethnicity and identity, economy, power relations, and social relations.⁴⁹ While it is well established that they can provide a more 'closely textured' accompaniment to the literary-based narrative,⁵⁰ it is important that inscriptions, which are literary compositions in their own right, do not just demonstrate things 'as they were':⁵¹ in the words of one introductory essay to a collection of epigraphical studies on the Greek theatre, 'analysed with appropriate

care and sophistication, the documentary evidence can become a more eloquent testimony to the ideological and historical complexity of [its] societies'.⁵²

The study of individual inscriptions and their qualitative analysis also generates historical questions about the history of information, communication, publicity, literacy, and the monumentality of the written word.⁵³ It has long been recognized that the scrutiny of documents transmitted in literary texts may well contribute to our understanding of the contents of ancient archives.⁵⁴ Recent scholarship has brought out broader cultural and historical implications of inscriptions for understanding public space,⁵⁵ and has explored the sense in which they were themselves performative speech-acts.⁵⁶ Since the mid-1980s, a new category of study has emerged, under the general heading of the 'epigraphical habit', which relates to analyses of the frequency with which inscriptions were set up, and the intentions behind their production.⁵⁷ In Greek studies the discussion has moved beyond the confines of the most famous city-states to reveal the variegated patterns of publication outside Athens;⁵⁸ in studies of the Roman world, epigraphic habits have been seen as indicative of the expansion of Roman society and the **(p.11)** appropriation of power, and have been linked with the desire to demonstrate Roman status.⁵⁹

At this point it is appropriate to turn to the uses to which ancient inscriptions were put by ancient writers about the past and the implications for modern historians of antiquity. On occasion, literary references and allusions, by preserving views of ways in which inscriptions were read, interpreted, and perceived in antiquity, can lead to reconsideration of widely held beliefs about inscriptions: a familiar formula of disclosure known primarily from Athenian honorific decrees asserts that they are set up σκοπεῖν τῷ βουλομένῳ ('for anyone who wants to read')⁶⁰ or ὅπως ἅπαντες εἰδῶσι ('so that everyone may know').⁶¹ An epigraphical reference in Apollodorus' speech *Against Neaira* offers an interesting alternative ancient view on the disclosure (or non-disclosure) of inscribed legislation: in his observations on the inscribed law establishing that the wife of the archon *basileus* should be an Athenian virgin ([D.] 59. 76), Apollodorus says that it was written up on a *stele* in now faded Attic letters, and set up in the sanctuary of Dionysos (a sanctuary opened only once per annum) by the altar at Limnai, ἵνα μὴ πολλοὶ εἰδῶσι τὰ γεγραμμένα ('in order that few only might have knowledge of the inscription'). With this curious inversion of the usual formula of disclosure, Apollodorus highlights the restricted nature of the knowledge that he is sharing with his audience. Indeed,

rather than deploy inscriptions to make points about democratic accessibility, Attic orators more often use them to exploit the effectively inegalitarian impact of antiquarian knowledge,⁶² as a way of heightening their authority.

At other points, literary references to inscriptions offer rhetorical explorations of the political capital attached to particular documents, their exploitation, and the controversies and conflicts that surround them. Isocrates, in despair at the Greeks' political and military weakness (*Paneg.* 180), disparaged the terms of the Peace of Antalkidas, and claimed that the *stelai* of the treaty, which the Great King forced the Greeks to write up and place in their temples, were 'a trophy far more glorious for him than those which are set up on the fields of battle; for the latter are for minor deeds and a single success, but this treaty stands as a memorial of the entire war and of the humiliation of the whole of Greece' (trans. Norlin (1928)). Literary sources often offer views of ways in which inscriptions were significant as expressions of identity.⁶³ Whereas Isocrates claims that the Greek pride was damaged by the imposition of *stelai*, a contrasting Panhellenic sentiment is offered by the literary reception of the serpent column, a Greek dedication after the victory at Plataia, known from a bronze column representing three intertwined serpents, **(p.12)** now at Istanbul (Meiggs and Lewis, *GHI* 27); its base survives at Delphi.⁶⁴ There is a very rich literary tradition surrounding it: Herodotus says that it was one of a number of dedications at interstate sanctuaries to celebrate this victory (Hdt. 9. 81; cf. 8. 82). Pausanias reports that it was accompanied by a golden tripod, which was melted down by the Phokians during the Third Sacred War (Pausanias 10. 13. 9). Diodorus, perhaps drawing upon Ephorus or a collection of epigrams for those who died in the Persian wars, claims that upon the golden tripod, there was inscribed the following patriotic lines:

Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου σωτῆρες τόνδ' ἀνέθηκαν,
δουλοσύνης στυγεραῖς ῥυσάμενοι πόλιας.

(This is the gift the saviours of far-flung Hellas upraised here, |
Having delivered their states from loathsome slavery's bonds.)⁶⁵

This monument was read in the Second Sophistic as a symbol of Greek unity and bravery at the time of the Persian wars: Plutarch, in his attack on Herodotus, argued that no Athenian would make abusive remarks about Corinth, 'when he could see the name of that city inscribed third in order on the barbarian spoils offered to the gods, following the name of the Spartans and the Athenians' (*Moralia* 870d). But its implications were more contested than Plutarch suggests:

shortly after the Persian wars, Pausanias, the disgraced Spartan regent, by inscribing an additional couplet on the tripod, committed an act that Thucydides offers as an example of his subversion of norms:

Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων,
Παυσανίας Φοῖβω μνημ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.

(Leader of the Greeks in war, victorious over the Persians |
Pausanias to the god Phoebus erected the trophy.)⁶⁶

Thucydides says that the Spartans immediately erased this inscription and in its place wrote up the names of the cities which had partaken in the war-effort: this may refer to the extant names of states inscribed on the bronze serpents. Apollodorus ([D.] 59. 97) reports an identical version of Pausanias' inscription, but his account of what happened next is slightly different:⁶⁷ he claims that after Pausanias engraved his solipsistic epigram, the Plataians complained to the Amphictionic league, and as a consequence, the Spartans were fined and were forced to erase the inscription (59. 98). This may be a veiled criticism of Thucydides' account:⁶⁸ Apollodorus displayed an exact knowledge of events and emphasized the role of the Plataians whom he set up as models of civic morality (59. 99–106).

Accounts concerning Pausanias' epigraphical arrogance appear to have given rise to another tradition, preserved in Athenaios and attributed to the third-century BC writer Nymphis of Herakleia. He claims that Pausanias, while residing at Byzantion, appropriated a bronze *krater* as his own with the following inscription:

(p.13) μνημ' ἀρετᾶς ἀνέθηκε Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι
Παυσανίας, ἄρχων Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου,
πόντου ἐπ' Εὐξείνου, Λακεδαιμόνιος γένος, υἱός
Κλεομβρότου, ἀρχαίας Ἑρακλέος γενεᾶς.

(Pausanias, ruler of wide Hellas, dedicated this memorial of his excellence to Lord Poseidon, at the Black Sea, being a Lakedaimonian by birth, son of Kleombrotos, from the ancient lineage of Herakles.)⁶⁹

Inscriptions, then, are instructive for what they tell us about individuals: the stories of Pausanias' arrogance are made more vivid by his abuse of public writing. His reaction to inscriptions and his manipulation of them offers us an insight into the nature of his behaviour. Inscriptions could also be adduced as evidence to illustrate heretical points of view: the mythographer Euhemeros of Messene backed up his theory of apotheosis with reference to inscriptions, created by the gods themselves when they roamed the earth, which he

claimed existed on the imaginary island of Panchaia (D.S. 5. 46. 3).⁷⁰ It is clear also that inscriptions were significant for ancient writers who asked questions about chronology and the history of events.⁷¹ Aristotle, for instance, was said to have adduced as evidence the inscribed discus at Olympia in order to make a point about the date of Lykourgos (Plu. *Lyc.* 1), and this testimonium is frequently cited in the modern debates about the historicity and date of the Spartan Lykourgos (Fornara 2E). Indeed, since the early nineteenth century, some historians have privileged such literary testimonia as sources for chronology, narrative, institutions, and traditions. K. O. Müller, for example, devoted an early section of his history of the Dorians to an overview of the documentary sources, most of which were preserved in the literary record.⁷² Literary attestations of inscriptions do not, however, always lend themselves to straightforward historical reconstruction, as the example of the testimonia for the Peace of Kallias demonstrate. The ancient writers engaged with the debates about the Peace of Kallias themselves appear to have drawn on epigraphical evidence. Of the literary testimonia for this document (Fornara 95), one reference, a quotation of Book 25 of Theopompus' *Philippika* in Harpokration's *Lexikon*, s.v. 'Attic letters', claims that 'the treaty with the barbarian was a fabrication'. The reasoning behind this lay in that 'it was not inscribed on the stele with Attic letters but with those of the Ionians'. Historians have engaged with this challenge to the authenticity of the peace for over 200 years.⁷³ By the early nineteenth century, Theopompus' view was accepted; Grote, however, challenged this consensus by maintaining that it would have been natural for the treaty to have been 'drawn up and engraved in the (p.14) character habitually used among the Ionic cities of Asia Minor, since they were the parties most specially interested in it; or it might have been re-engraved, seeing that nearly a century must have elapsed between the conclusion of the treaty and the time when Theopompus saw the pillar'.⁷⁴ The testimonia for Theopompus' denial of authenticity allow us a close enough view of the thinking behind his denial to be able to challenge it on the basis of modern epigraphical knowledge: as Matthaïou has recently demonstrated, there is plenty of reason to believe that the fifth-century Athenians were perfectly capable of writing up inscriptions in Ionic letters.⁷⁵ It is revealing, however, that while the debate about authenticity went on after Theopompus' time (with Plutarch, for instance, citing the testimonium preserved in Craterus' *Sylloge Psephismaton*: Plutarch, *Kimón* 13. 4-5), no ancient writer challenged the epigraphical grounds of Theopompus' argument.⁷⁶

Inscriptions in antiquity were used by writers interested in the past to create a sense of their own authority, to evoke ideas about identity and power relations, to give moral perspectives on individuals' behaviour, and to make points of historical detail. Ancient literary attestations of inscriptions, therefore, offer us a broad view of their significance to ancient audiences. It is, of course, important to remember that, in general, ancient writers subjected epigraphical evidence to a less comprehensive scrutiny than do their modern counterparts: it has been established that in Herodotus' work, inscriptions adorn or accompany narratives, rather than initiating them.⁷⁷ Similarly, Thucydides, though willing to use inscriptions as a means of securing or verifying information (in particular about the ancient past) and to support arguments, did not sift them systematically and was more likely to use oral sources than documents or inscriptions for information about his main subject.⁷⁸ There is little to suggest the existence of any sense of the value of the quantitative analysis of inscriptions. On the whole, historians writing in antiquity were much less likely to cite inscriptions in the reconstruction of narrative history than their modern counterparts are accustomed to.⁷⁹

2.3 Literary epigraphy and the literary critic

Literary and historical approaches to epigraphy are inseparable: they are distinguished in this introductory section only for the sake of convenience. Polybius was a historian, and he cites inscribed treaties and dedications in order to make historical points.⁸⁰ But he deployed his familiarity with inscriptions to literary ends too, in a critique (in the characteristically polemic style of Greek historiography) of a predecessor, Timaios of Tauromenion. In his Book 12 on approaches **(p. 15)** to history-writing, Polybius attacks that historian's use of an inscription to challenge Aristotle's theory of the origins of the Italian Lokris (12. 9; cf. *FGrH* 566 F 12). Polybius argues that Timaios' failure to cite the name of the city in which he found the inscription, the place it was inscribed, in whose hands it was written, or to name the magistrates who showed it to him indicate both his carelessness and the deceptiveness of his account (12. 10). Evidently, Polybius was able deftly to switch away from the deployment of inscriptions to make points about the past to a critical approach that enabled him to score historiographical points against a predecessor and to set out his views on how to write history.

At some points the study of epigraphical references in literary texts, and, on occasion, overlap between literary and epigraphical testimonia, allows insight into either the state of the manuscript tradition or the working methods and agendas of literary authors. In 1876, there was discovered a fragment of the inscribed Athenian version of the Athenian alliance with the Argives, Mantineians, and Eleians in summer 420 (now *IG* I³ 83). While the documentary version is, for the most part, perfectly compatible with Thucydides' text of the alliance at 5. 47, there are clear discrepancies between the text (concerning dialect, insertions, omissions of words, and transposed passages). These suggest either that the manuscript tradition has corrupted the text of Thucydides,⁸¹ or, more likely, that Thucydides was drawing upon a version of the peace, perhaps the one set up at Argos, Mantinea, or Olympia, which, as Tod suggested, originally diverged from the Athenian version.⁸² In this instance, therefore, investigation of the relationship between literary and inscribed material can offer a view of Thucydides' research processes, and can also raise wider questions about the historian's methods and intentions in this part of his work.⁸³ Elsewhere, examples of epigraphic quotation and allusion are less clear-cut, but potentially equally suggestive. In Book 28 of his *ab Urbe Condita*, for example, Livy describes the monument (also mentioned by Polybius: 3. 33. 17–18, 56. 4)⁸⁴ erected by Hannibal at the temple of Juno Lacinia at Croton as a commemoration, in Punic and Greek, of his achievements (*rerum...gestarum*: 28. 46. 16). The reference raises

important problems about Livy's sources (it is unclear whether he saw the monument himself, or whether he took the reference from another source),⁸⁵ but also, and perhaps more interestingly, about the structure and authority of his narrative, and the role of epigraphic evidence in contributing to both those things. It is notable that Livy does not use this inscription as a source of data. The inscription recorded (or purported to record) the details of the forces with which Hannibal had crossed the Alps, and it **(p.16)** is used by Polybius as proof of the reliability of his account of the size of Hannibal's army (3. 56. 4). The equivalent section of Livy's narrative (21. 38) acknowledges the historical debate over the question of troop figures, but makes no appeal to the epigraphic evidence as a way of resolving the issue. Rather, Livy postpones any mention of the inscription until the final section of his account of Hannibal's successful campaigns in Italy, where, it has been argued, it acts as a sort of boundary marker, drawing attention to the transition between two phases of the Second Punic War.⁸⁶ Livy's deployment of this inscription therefore allows him the best of both historiographic worlds. His emphatic acknowledgement of his awareness of the document, whose status as a privileged, eyewitness account of events is hard to challenge, must enhance the authority of his narrative of the war. But by delaying his introduction of this (alternative, Punic) version of the Italian campaigns, and by referring only to the existence of the monument (not to its detailed content), Livy ensures that the Hannibalic version is completely subsumed within his own account of Rome's *res gestae*.⁸⁷ As a recent commentator on this passage has noted, Livy 'has the last word, all the words, in fact'.⁸⁸

But at other times, literary testimonia on inscriptions do not aspire to rhetorical accounts of reality but are themselves creative literary devices. Hyperides joked that the honorific decree for the Olynthian would be more appropriately erected 'among the refuse at the crossroads' (Hyp. F 79 Jensen): his intention was clearly to make a point about the honorand not being worthy of a decree in the usual place. Fanciful elaboration, fabrication, and forgery sometimes deliberately breach the boundaries of credibility: Lucian's *True History*, for instance, records an inscription recording the terms of a peace treaty bringing to end a war between the Sun-ites and the Moon-ites, which is to be set up in space on an electrum *stèle*:

On the following conditions the Sun-ites and their allies make peace with the Moon-ites and their allies, to wit:

That the Sun-ites tear down the dividing-wall and do
not invade the moon again, and that they make over
the prisoners of war, each at a set ransom;
That the Moon-ites permit the stars to be autonomous,
and do not make war on the Sun-ites;
That each country aid the other if it be attacked;
That in yearly tribute the King of the Moon-ites pay the
King of the Sun-ites ten thousand gallons of dew, and
that he give ten thousand of his people as hostages;
That the colony on the Morning Star be planted in
common, and that anyone else who so desires may take
part in it;
That the treaty be inscribed on a slab of electrum and
set up in mid-air, on the common confines.
(Lucian, *VH* 1. 20; trans. Harmon (1913))

The informed reader would be well aware that the terms of this, as well as its place of publication, were a parody of the Peace of Nikias (Th. 5. 18), and this would **(p.17)** heighten the comedic value as well as appealing to the classicizing interests of Lucian's readers.⁸⁹

The subject of literary epigraphy has recently been explored by modern scholars working with a wide range of literary and historiographical interests: a common approach is to survey the use of inscriptions in particular authors. Authors whose works have come under scrutiny include Herodotus,⁹⁰ Hieronymus of Cardia,⁹¹ Athenaios,⁹² Thucydides,⁹³ Theopompus,⁹⁴ Plutarch,⁹⁵ Petronius,⁹⁶ Pausanias,⁹⁷ Cicero,⁹⁸ Tacitus,⁹⁹ post-classical authors of the Alexander Romance,¹⁰⁰ John Malalas,¹⁰¹ and others.¹⁰² Such surveys have helped to demonstrate the ways in which particular literary authors were sensitive to epigraphical material, the ways in which they presented it, described it, and deployed it. Another approach is to look closely at the textual traditions surrounding particular documents preserved in the literary texts.¹⁰³ Other literary analyses have offered a wider perspective, thinking about ways in which authors working within particular genres deployed epigraphical imagery to enable them to appropriate the connotations of the epigraphical mode of publicity: recent studies on epigram have explored how epigrams preserved in the literary record envisage themselves as physically inscribed,¹⁰⁴ perhaps even more self-consciously than do truly inscribed versions. This notion, that the literary record can unleash epigraphic power, surfaces in other genres too: Moles, for instance, argues that ancient historians envisaged their works as inscriptions in order to assert their authority and perhaps their permanence.¹⁰⁵ Ramsby has made a case for the ways in which Roman elegists used epigraphical associations as

a means of attributing permanence to their works.¹⁰⁶ Both these positions are built upon, and, to a degree, challenged, in this collection. The role of inscriptions in the ancient novel has also come under close scrutiny,¹⁰⁷ with Ní Mheallaigh suggesting that the invention of fictional documents was a device through which fiction explored its own textuality.¹⁰⁸ **(p.18)** There is also demonstrable potential in exploring epigraphical phenomena as they arise in literary works: Platt, for instance, has recently explored the perspectives of Dio, Favorinus and Themistius on the significance of *metagraphe* (reinscription) for questions of power, meaning, and identity.¹⁰⁹

3. This collection

This collection aims to raise the profile of ongoing conversations on literary epigraphy, to bring together some of the varying approaches taken by modern scholars, to build on what has been done already, and to offer new perspectives on the subject. Accordingly, in this volume, a number of contributors investigate the deployment of inscribed objects and epigraphical language in particular genres or authors (Fearn, Lougovaya, Morrison on Greek verse authors; Haake, LeVen, Kosmetatou, Petrovic, Tzifopoulos on Greek prose; Dinter and Houghton on Latin verse; Langslow on Latin prose). Several chapters in this volume take a more epigraphical focus, by assessing the appearance of specific types of inscription in literary texts: funerary epigraphy (a rich theme, explored by Dinter, Houghton, LeVen, Morrison), epigram (Petrovic), treaties (Langslow), inventories (Kosmetatou), decrees (Haake), and dedications (Houghton). Mari adopts a geographical perspective, exploring the literary representation of a specific site, while Hartmann and Nelis and Nelis-Clément also take a more thematic approach, discussing the physical aspects of inscriptions to which ancient readers reacted and assessing the fits and non-fits between epigraphical production and contemporary readers' views of those inscriptions. Epigraphic themes are central to the collection: Dinter, for instance, explores the literary deployment of standard epigraphical formulae; Kosmetatou raises the possibility that Herodotus engaged with inscribed dedications and accounts; Morrison analyses the significance of destruction. A central theme, common to many of the chapters in this collection, is the relationship between, on the one hand, the epigraphical habit and public awareness of it, and, on the other, the appearance of inscriptions in texts. Indeed, elsewhere Torrance has explored the relationship between ideas about writing in Greek tragedy and the public readership of inscriptions in fifth-century Athens.¹¹⁰

This collection is divided into two parts: the chapters in Part I take broadly historical approaches, looking at the ways in which ancient literary authors deploy inscriptions as evidence for the reconstruction or instructive portrayal of the past or past languages and (mostly in passing, but central to Petrovic's chapter) the means by which they gleaned knowledge of inscriptions. Part II assesses how ancient literary authors employ epigraphical imagery and rhetoric in ways that develop their audiences' preconceptions about inscriptions, and ultimately, the way in which those preconceptions were problematized, qualified, and challenged by their host texts.

(p.19) Part I. *Literary epigraphy and the ancient past*

As has been maintained throughout this Introduction, it would be anachronistic to presume that ancient audiences of inscriptions shared the same values, expectations, and methodologies as the modern users of epigraphy. This volume opens with a pair of chapters that bring out the fits and non-fits between ancient and modern historiographical approaches to epigraphy: Andreas Hartmann demonstrates how ancient readers of inscriptions were aware of their potential to provide authentic accounts of the past (they used them, for instance, to buttress revisionist narratives) or even as a window into a broadly conceived notion of the ancient past. But their approach to the deployment of epigraphy, in contrast with the modern addiction to comprehensive documentation and the collection of raw data, was selective. While the polemical tendencies of ancient users of inscriptions are held in common with those of their modern counterparts, and while there was awareness of the significance of the physicality of inscribed documents and epigraphical refinements such as letter-forms, there was, however, a limited awareness of processes that led to the secondary publication of inscriptions. Elizabeth Kosmetatou, on the other hand, offers a more optimistic view of ancient epigraphical engagement, suggesting that Herodotus made much more detailed use of epigraphic evidence than has previously been recognized. Focusing on Herodotus' description of a set of dedications at Delphi, she argues that his account draws on a range of epigraphic evidence: not just information inscribed on the objects themselves, but also other records and inventories within the sanctuary. Kosmetatou suggests that we should envisage Herodotus 'sifting through masses of dedications in later inventories' (Ch. 3, p. 75), and combining this information with the evidence of oral testimony and autopsy in order to create the most comprehensive and persuasive account of the history of these dedications.

The next chapters consider aspects of the biographical and historiographical deployment of inscriptions in persuasive contexts. Documents, and in particular inscribed documents, were, in antiquity, deployed by a wide range of writers in argumentative contexts, as they provided evidence that was not incontrovertible but was of considerable persuasive value; literary authors went to great lengths to frame or fabricate documents to suit their purposes. Matthias Haake's chapter investigates the ways that Hellenistic biographers deployed the evidence of decrees in the portrayal of the morality of controversial subjects: Hieronymus, for instance, appears to have invented a decree to defend the legality of Socrates' alleged bigamy. In the case of Menedemus' decree for Antigonus Gonatas (a case in which a literary version was based probably upon a genuine original), only an excerpt of his decree is known to Diogenes Laertius, but Haake argues that Antigonus of Carystus, Diogenes' source, may have known a more substantial portion of it, and used it to defend his subject from the accusation of flattery. In the case of the fabricated decree of the Athenians for Aristotle, not only does the decree itself take on significance, but the stories surrounding the aftermath of its enactment become relevant to a biographical account; in another example, the content of the probably genuine Athenian decree for Zeno was distorted by literary authors in order to suit their line of argument.

(p.20) The epigraphical habits of the Graeco-Roman worlds clearly had an impact upon the reception of inscriptions in ancient literature. Mari argues that the fourth-century growth in epigraphical publication and obsession with inscribing accounts led a wide audience of intellectuals and politicians to use them to their own political and narrative ends. Nevertheless, the relationship between the epigraphical habit and the citation of documents in literature is far from one-dimensional: as Mari suggests, some orators, in their deployment of documentary and epigraphical evidence, assumed and attempted to exploit the ignorance of their audience. Indeed, it is rare for ancient authors to collect or deploy inscriptions in a way that is straightforwardly positivistic: Tzifopoulos argues that the analytical and critical level of Pausanias' work suggests that he was not a simple *periegetes*, the likes of whom were stereotyped by Plutarch (*Mor.* 395c) as solipsistic expounders of sayings and numerous epigrams (τὰς ῥήσεις καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων). Moreover, Pausanias' interest in epigraphy was founded not upon a gluttonous zeal to collect inscriptions; indeed, the sheer volume of statues and votives at Olympia meant that he had to devise principles of selectivity: Pausanias concentrated upon those inscriptions that were most worthy of mention or were particularly memorable, those that lent authority to his

expounding of sites and objects in their physical context, and those that triggered stories and accounts. Pausanias' view of inscriptions illuminated the interpretation of objects and offered the opportunity to enter into historical vignettes: the exegetic narrative triggered by the inscriptions, which itself drew on other sources, gave rise to a distinctive form of periegetic literature.

Literary sources can provide insight into ancient knowledge of now lost inscriptions. A dossier of twenty-nine Latin inscriptions predating 260 BC recorded in the literary sources, the core of Langslow's chapter, offers a substantial augmentation of the epigraphical evidence attested in the material record. The diversity of these documents demonstrates the wide-ranging interests of antiquarians, while the observations made by literary writers suggest awareness of refinements such as language change, letter forms, and the ability to colour a literary account with epigraphical language contemporary with the events described. Langslow offers a further dimension to the subject of the reception of early Latin documentary language: as he shows, Latin writers were interested in old and technical linguistic forms, and archaic inscriptions offered a lot of such material. At the same time, the inscribed elogia of the Scipios suggest that orthographical conventions more familiar to literary language could also be deployed in inscriptions. The picture that emerges is one of linguistic borrowing and redeployment between the literary and epigraphical media, which counterbalanced attempts to standardize and disseminate conventions.

Autopsy is not the only access-point to inscriptions, and it never has been. Haake's chapter suggests that Hellenistic biographers were certainly reliant on previous literary sources, but Andrej Petrovic's chapter concentrates on another possible source of inscriptions. Attic orators quoted inscribed epigrams often to make moral points, and, as Petrovic demonstrates, they cited them almost as frequently as they quoted Homer. Epigrams were read out in the courts, sometimes by the orators themselves, sometimes by secretaries on the speaker's behalf. In those cases where the orators themselves spoke the words of the epigrams, the manuscripts contain the epigram; this is not always the case on occasions when a **(p.21)** secretary reads the epigram on the orator's behalf: in Demosthenes' *de Corona*, the epigram at 18. 289 appears to have been inserted by later editors. The origins and layout of epigrams in the orators suggests that they consulted collections of inscribed epigrams, which might have been collected and arranged according to their place of origin or subject of historical interest. What emerges, therefore, is an impression of orators referring to inscriptions

(and at times emphasizing their physical qualities) that they might have encountered in collections circulated on non-permanent media.

Part II. Literary epigraphy: complementarity and competition

In the *epitaphios logos* of Thucydides, Perikles talks of famous men marked out not only by a written inscription (ἐπιγραφὴ στηλῶν) at home, but also by the unwritten monument (ἄγραφος μνήμη) of renown (Th. 2. 43. 3). Thucydides offers a view of words and fame complementing each other to ensure the renown of the dead, and uses this duality to encourage high spirits among his audience in the face of the dangers of war (2. 43. 4–5). Complementarity and competition between oral and physical commemoration are themes that pervade the second half of this volume. Joseph Day explores epinician poetry closely for signs of familiarity with inscribed dedications, their physical context, language, and themes. Day argues that inscribed victory epigrams themselves reperformed victory rites: epinician poetry, by redeploying the language of these inscriptions, ‘sought to convince hearers that song’s reperformative force was as potent as statuary’s’ (Ch. 9, p. 219). While demonstrating the existence of epigraphic literacy among epinician poets and their audiences, Day’s chapter has broader significance for epigraphical knowledge and literacy: epigraphically knowledgeable readers would have appreciated, at a deeper level than the uninformed, references to inscriptions and epigraphically related language and habits (e.g. dedications and memorials). Complementarity is complex: David Fearn’s view of literary epigraphy demonstrates that poetic references to physical forms of commemoration are ‘contextually nuanced and not straightforwardly, if at all, negative’ (Ch. 10, p. 233). He shows how the meanings of individual poems are greatly enriched by the ‘thought-worlds’ conjured up by the imagery of physical commemoration: epigraphy, familiar to the poets and audiences from dedications and statue bases at inter-state sanctuaries, plays an important role.

Lougovaya’s chapter, ‘Inscriptions on the Attic Stage’, focuses on the deployment of public documents in Athenian drama: her discussion spans *horoi*, *kyrbeis*, epitaphs, oaths, and treaties, but also documents, such as *dikai* and *katalogoi*, displayed on non-permanent media. Particularly in comedy, physical inscriptions are offered as symbols of authority and the enforcement of institutional decisions: exploiting the audience’s familiarity with a range of epigraphical forms, the playwrights deploy inscriptions as a way of visualizing a protagonist’s attitude towards such authority. Fewer items that can be classified as public documentary inscriptions appear in tragedy, and they never physically appear on the stage, but references to inscriptions suggest that they were regarded as offering enduring memories of the past (both real and mythological) and access to the intentions of **(p.22)**

their producers. In both cases it is clear that the dramatists' deployment of inscriptions is to a large degree influenced by contemporary epigraphic habits.

While the chapters of Day, Fearn, and Lougovaya explore the uses that fifth-century authors made of the epigraphic literacy of their audiences, LeVen's 'Aristotle's *Hymn to Virtue* and Funerary Inscriptions' explores its working in the late fourth century by a close analysis of the lyric poem composed by Aristotle to commemorate the death of his friend Hermias the tyrant of Atarneus. LeVen detects echoes of the kind of language that appears also in Attic verse epitaphs of the period; she argues that the hymn evokes the same ritual and performative situations as do inscribed epitaphs. By evoking the fictional situation of a tomb for Atarneus with an epigram addressed to Arete, Aristotle composed a poem that dwells upon virtuous behaviour and leads its audience to contemplate Atarneus' own performance of it. Moreover, by masquerading as an epigram, the poem heightens the praise it bestows by envisaging an audience wider than that normally expected by the sung celebration of an honorand. But this could be appreciated only by readers who themselves were familiar with the language of inscribed epitaphs.

Audiences were aware of inscriptions and read them, but they were also aware that they could be destroyed. This is important to Morrison's chapter, which raises issues surrounding the fabrication and reception of epitaphic epigrams for poets. It takes as its starting point a literary inscription that narrates its own destruction: Simonides' epitaph, which Simonides himself reports in the third book of Callimachus' *Aetia*. The poem may offer perspectives on the consequences of destroying an inscription: Simonides laments the loss, but his ongoing fame reveals the futility of the act of vandalism. Callimachus' *Aetion* may be intended as an entertaining explanation of why Simonides' tomb was not extant even in antiquity.

At this point the collection turns to the links between epigraphical habits and the literary deployment of inscriptions in the Roman world. Dinter's chapter makes a theoretically informed case for the appreciation, chiefly by Latin poets, of the evocative potential of epigraphical language. Dinter introduces the notion of intermediality as a way of highlighting how references to the physical or literary aspects of inscriptions allow the author to direct the reader's attention in particular directions that may extend beyond the normal potential of the genre. Dinter's chapter highlights the possibility for 'medial quotes' to evoke the thought and impact of epigraphy. He argues that the phrase *tu quoque* serves as an echo of the well-attested use of *kai su*

and *kai se* in Greek literary epitaphs. Virgil, for instance, is able to use the expression in order to make gestures, sometimes even misleading ones, about the fate of individuals; the reader who knows this epitaphic or epigraphic language is empowered as a more sensitive reader of the text.

The physical evidence of inscriptions suggests that, during the Augustan period, the Roman world witnessed a huge expansion of the production of inscriptions. The *princeps* and those close to him developed a monopoly of certain kinds of epigraphical publication; inscriptions played a vital role in reorganizing the space of the city of Rome in a way that diffused and memorialized his own programme and image, while inscribing his name, literally and metaphorically, into the fabric of the city. The high profile of this expansion of epigraphic culture makes it hardly surprising that contemporary poets reacted to the changes that were taking place. **(p.23)** Jocelyne Nelis-Clément and Damien Nelis's chapter makes a case for not only the significance of epigraphical imagery in contemporary verse but also an impact of poetry upon Roman epigraphical culture. The poets exhibit a complex grasp of key aspects of the epigraphical habit, in particular the question of the permanency (or lack of it) of the epigraphical record: Ovid in the *Fasti* presents an image of Mars reading inscriptions in the Forum Augustum, and in the *Metamorphoses* makes Jupiter an epigraphical researcher. Literary authors are by no means restricted to emphasizing the complementarity of inscriptions and texts, and sometimes they challenge their efficacy: the perishability of the material record is a commonplace of Roman literature. Indeed, Luke Houghton's chapter qualifies the idea that the poets' deployment of epigraphical language and reference to inscriptions aimed merely at lending a monumental durability to their work. Elegiac poets acknowledged the epitaphic origins of their genre, and their flourishing coincided with the expansion of epigraphical production in first-century BC Italy and Rome; they exploited the epigraphic awareness of their anticipated audiences by their use of epigraphic language and imagery. At the same time poets were keen to demonstrate that inscriptions do not make elegy redundant: they sometimes leave them metrically incomplete in order to remind their audience that a literary inscription depends for its survival on the survival of the poetic text within which it is incorporated. This provocative appropriation of the epigraphic sphere, Houghton argues, suggests a reaction to Augustus' own deployment of inscriptions for imperial self-projection.

Finally, Alexei Zadorojnyi's chapter draws together and brings out complicating factors in the themes that run through this collection, arguing that the potential of inscriptions 'to assert and authorize facts, identities, power' (Ch. 17, p. 368) and the ways in which literary texts deploy them mutually strengthen each other. Ancient writers drew upon inscriptions in the 'competition for authoritative knowledge [and] credibility' (Ch. 17, p. 368); at the same time, there is evidence to say that ancient historical agents indeed drew upon them in search of legitimacy and power. Inscriptions were, therefore, often used to authenticate narrative; nevertheless, their significance can be misunderstood, queried, or contested, and their traditions attacked, and they may be used to heighten a sense of surreality, emotion, or detachment from the anticipated response. In imperial prose fiction and non-fiction, the literary treatment of inscriptions enables writers to examine power and expressions of power. In the case of the literature on political debate under the Empire, imperial interference in the epigraphical habit is a significant diagnostic test of political behaviour. In the narratives on Alexander, encounters with inscriptions produce revealing episodes on his encounter with, and challenges to, the limits of Hellenicity and imperialism.

Ancient encounters with inscriptions, preserved through the literary record, offer us a view of the ways in which inscriptions gave a physical and cultural backdrop for activities of all kinds; they show us valuable insights into individuals' reactions towards inscriptions and their manipulation of them. Epigraphy, or at least the idea of epigraphy, was, in antiquity, a lucid medium and a pliable tool for claiming, maintaining, and demonstrating authority, identity, morality, and power; modern readers of ancient inscriptions do well when they bear this in mind.

(p.24) References

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Notes:

⁽¹⁾ Overviews of epigraphy: see Bodel (2001) 1–56; Millar (1983). Introductory books on epigraphy: see the *Guide de l'Épigraphiste* (Bérard et al. (2010) 27–30).

⁽²⁾ In the UK, a common textbook for A-level Ancient History is Buckley (2010), with a section on the significance of inscriptions for the history of Athenian power at 179–81. On the Roman side, Bradley (1990) 3–11.

⁽³⁾ Herodotus: S. West (1985); Pritchett (1993) 144–91; Fabiani (2003). Hellanikos of Lesbos (*FGrH* 4) and Akousilaos of Argos (*BNJ* 2 T 1) may have been the first to write an account of the past deploying epigraphical sources. The best survey of early epigraphy is Higbie (1999), with reference to the earliest users at 55–6.

⁽⁴⁾ For the early fifth-century authors' engagement with inscriptions, see Day and Fearn (this volume, Chs. 9 and 10). See also Petrovic (2007*a* and *b*).

⁽⁵⁾ Craterus' *Psephismaton synagoge* was, in all likelihood, based on a combination of archival work and observation of inscribed decrees: several of the testimonia report a decree that is said to have been inscribed (*BNJ* 342 FF 13, 16b, 17), and on one occasion he is attested to have reported directly an inscription (in reference to the stele purporting to be against Arthmius of Zelea: *BNJ* 342 F 14). Carawan (Commentary on *BNJ* 342), Highbie, and Jacoby (Commentary on *FGrH* 342) take the view that he was reliant upon inscriptions but referred to archival copies on occasion. Polemon of Ilion collected dedications and epigrams (*FHG* 3. 108–48); Heliodorus' *Peri ton [en] Athenesin anathematon*, *Peri ton [en] Athenesi tripodon*, and *Peri mnematon* (*FGrH* 373 T2, FF6, 7) are certainly epigraphical. Other early epigraphical collections: Boeckh et al. (1828–77) i. pp. vii–ix; Larfeld (1907) 16–25.

⁽⁶⁾ On autopsy and archives, see Highbie (1999) esp. 54–9; Habicht (1985) 69–94, 149–51; see, on Ephorus as a source of documents for later historians, Schepens (2003); collections of inscriptions: Petrovic (this volume, Ch. 8); fabrication, see Haake (2004, 2006, this volume, Ch. 4); Ní Mhealleigh (2008); for Lucian's fabrication, see section 2.3. Diodorus Siculus is a good example of a historian who used inscriptions extensively, but whose knowledge of them appears to be reliant solely upon literary sources (cf. n. 34).

⁽⁷⁾ On early modern epigraphical collections: Larfeld (1907) 25–66; Ziebarth (1905); Weiss (1963) 145–66, Stenhouse (2005); on their reception, see e.g. Saxl (1940–1); Sparrow (1969).

⁽⁸⁾ E.g. the Museo Cartaceo, the 'Paper Museum' of Cassiano dal Pozzo (d. 1657): see Stenhouse (2002). On the forgeries of Abbé Fourmont, see Stoneman (1985).

⁽⁹⁾ For inscriptions in America, see (<http://usepigraphy.brown.edu/>) (accessed October 2012); in 1874, Hicks published the first volume of the monumental collection of *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*; for sculpture more generally, see Michaelis (1882); a useful starting point is also G. Davies (2000).

⁽¹⁰⁾ Oliver (2000).

⁽¹¹⁾ Oliver (2012).

(¹²) One example is the inscription on the Mysteries at Andania, which, in 1858, was built into the door-jamb of the Church of Helen and Constantine in the village of Konstantinoi, Messenia: see, for an account of the discovery of the inscription, its display, the Royal Decree commanding the villagers to remove the stones from the church for the sake of autopsy, and the return of the stone to the church, Sauppe (1860) and Deshours (2006) 50. On epigraphic *spolia* in Byzantine churches, see Papalexandrou (2003).

(¹³) Stenhouse (2005).

(¹⁴) Boeckh et al. (1828–77).

(¹⁵) *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin, 1863– .

(¹⁶) *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin, 1903– . For other corpora, one should refer to Bérard et al. (2010).

(¹⁷) See the 2007 publication of inscriptions from Aegina (*IG* IV.2) for a recent example of a publication illustrated with plates and map. Some of the older *IG* volumes do include maps and line-drawings: perhaps the most spectacular example is Hiller von Gaertringen's (1898) publication of Thera inscriptions (*IG* XII.3.320–1013). Inscriptions and public spaces: see Detienne (1998); Osborne (1999); Hölkeskamp (2000); Liddel (2003); Shear (2007). Physical form and embellishments: Newby and Leader-Newby (2007).

(¹⁸) This principle was established by Boeckh et al. (1828–77) i. p. xii: 'Inscriptiones a *veteribus auctoribus* traditas omitti par est, quod hoc opus eo consilio suscipitur, ut monumentorum litteratorum paretur supplementum: tamen utilitas cause aliquot ex illis insigniores, ut monumentum Adulitanum, recipimus.' Note however, the 'Inscriptions and Literature' sections of *SEG* and the *Rapports avec la littérature* in the *Bull. Ép.*

(¹⁹) For such selections, see Bérard et al. (2010) 31–4. Far more useful for literary epigraphy are specialist collections such as the *Staatsverträge*, or sourcebooks for undergraduates, such as those in the LACTOR or Translated Documents of Greece and Rome series, which collect both literary and epigraphical testimonia, and sometimes literary references to inscriptions: Osborne (2000) nos. 50–60 or Fornara (1983) e.g. no. 95 (Peace of Kallias).

(²⁰) The project also set out to collect decrees of classical Athens; the database stored this (overlapping) dataset separately.

⁽²¹⁾ Although for a very detailed account of epigraphic material in Roman literature, see Stein (1931) and the summaries of Chevallier (1972) 11–13.

⁽²²⁾ Terms included *stele*, *pinax*, and less specific roots such as *psephis*-, *-graph*-, or *-dogma*-.

⁽²³⁾ The fields were as follows: category of inscription; location; issuing body; object (upon which it was inscribed); material; existence; language.

⁽²⁴⁾ Cf. the discussions of Petre (1986); Vasunia (2001) 144–5; and Harris (2010) 3; cf. Euripides *Orestes* 46.

⁽²⁵⁾ On the history of epigram collections, see Livingstone and Nisbet (2010) 46–7; Petrovic (2007*a* and *b*); D. Meyer (2005). On the epigraphic nature of the epigram, see Baumbach et al. (2010).

⁽²⁶⁾ Following J. K. Davies (2010) 224 on Plb. 5. 88–90 with Walbank (1957) 616.

⁽²⁷⁾ For a definition of the document, see Hansen (2001), and, focused on documents in literary texts, J. K. Davies (1996) and (2010). Note foremost Biraschi et al. (2003), a publication of essays founded upon an electronic database of documents in, primarily, historiographical works.

⁽²⁸⁾ Steiner (1994) 127–59, 174–81; Vasunia (2001) 136–82.

⁽²⁹⁾ E.g. see the Egyptian inscriptions in Diodorus Siculus (1. 20. 1, 27. 3–6, 45. 2, 47. 4, 49. 1–3, 49. 5, 55. 6–8, 56. 2, 64. 3–4, 64. 8) and those from other lands (2. 13. 2, 23. 3; 3. 42. 4, 44. 3).

⁽³⁰⁾ Another example, for the purpose of illustrating the potential interest of the non-Graeco Roman tradition is the probably fabricated Athenian honorific decree for Aristotle known only through Arabic translations of the late antique writer Ptolemaeus: see Haake (2006).

⁽³¹⁾ Databases inevitably give rise to frustrations of their own: for eleven problems that arise from database projects, see J. K. Davies (2010) 221–6; cf. Bowersock (2003).

⁽³²⁾ Chambers et al. (1990); Roy and Schofield (1999); Makres (2009) 243–4. For a report on recent imaging techniques, see the 14th *Newsletter* of the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents, at 1 and 5: (<http://www.csad.ox.ac.uk/CSAD/Newsletters/Newsletter14/Newsletter14.pdf>) (accessed October 2012).

(³³) E.g. the epidoc project: (<http://epidoc.sourceforge.net/>), or the US epigraphy project: (<http://usepigraphy.brown.edu/>); or the many links offered by the website for the Centre of the Study of ancient Documents: (<http://www.csad.ox.ac.uk/CSAD/Links.html>) (websites accessed October 2012).

(³⁴) Herodotus' text is repeated by Diodorus (10. 24. 3), who may be drawing upon Ephoros.

(³⁵) The Herodotean connection was noted in Kirchhoff's *editio princeps* (1870: 409–12).

(³⁶) *IG I³ 501b*; trans. Livingstone and Nisbet (2010) 32.

(³⁷) *IG I³ 501a*; trans. Livingstone and Nisbet (2010) 34.

(³⁸) See Livingstone and Nisbet (2010) 34.

(³⁹) As Meiggs and Lewis note, in their commentary on no. 15, p. 28, the only significant difference is that the manuscripts of line 3 of Herodotus' version have ἀχλυόεντι, ἀχλυθέντι, ἀχλυυθέντι; only ἀχλύεντι fits the inscription.

(⁴⁰) Prauscello (1999) makes a case against this identification.

(⁴¹) Further discrepancies: see Faraguna (2003) 494–6 concluding that [Plutarch]'s documents derive ultimately from the archive at the Metroon.

(⁴²) The Roman tradition offers examples where the same historical episodes are attested in both literary and epigraphical evidence, but without any indication that the literary source, or its audience, was informed by the inscription: e.g. see, on the Piso inscription, Griffin (1997) and Cooley (1998) and, on the Lyons tablet, Griffin (1982).

(⁴³) On the distinction between antiquarianism and historiography and its erosion in the eighteenth century, see Momigliano (1950); cf. Herklotz (2007).

(⁴⁴) Jowett (1881) pp. lxxvi, lxxviii. For the case against Jowett, see Hicks (1882) pp. x–xi; Newton (1880) 98, 109; and Gardner (1892) 12. For a summary of the opposing positions, see Prag (2007).

(⁴⁵) Stenhouse (2005).

(⁴⁶) First edition: Boeckh (1817).

⁽⁴⁷⁾ Liddel (2009) 21 and n. 75.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ See the overview of their interpretation in E. Meyer (2009) 17–21. For other examples of inscriptions used by nineteenth-century writers as fonts of information about ancient social history, see Hicks (1882) pp. xv–xvi; cf. Becker (1845), drawing upon occasion on epigraphical evidence, e.g. at 7 [8] n. 17 (Athenian decree for Strato of Sidon), 23 n. 14 (inscription about a Boeotian festival), 293–4 (funerary inscriptions), 301 (inscribed theatre-seats), 354 (vase inscriptions).

⁽⁴⁹⁾ Ethnicity and identity: Curty (1995); Erskine (2002); Hagemajer Allen (2003); economy: Migeotte (1984, 1992); power relations: Low (2007); social relations: Herman (1987).

⁽⁵⁰⁾ E.g. Ma (2000) 12.

⁽⁵¹⁾ For the idea that inscriptions provide objective views, note the opinions of Tod, Cary, and Gardner, summarized at Prag (2007) 249.

⁽⁵²⁾ Wilson (2007) 3.

⁽⁵³⁾ See e.g. on communication: Lewis (1996); literacy and ‘alphabetization’: Pébarthe (2006); monumentality: Umholtz (2002); archives: Sickinger (1999) and Brosius (2003); literacy and orality: Thomas (1989, 1992); public writing: Hedrick (2006) 108–25.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Sickinger (1999) 114–38; J. K. Davies (2003) 330; Faraguna (2003) 496.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Detienne (1998). See also n. 17.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Bertrand (1990); Osborne (1999).

⁽⁵⁷⁾ MacMullen (1982); E. Meyer (1990); Hedrick (1999).

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Rhodes with Lewis (1997); Low (2003, 2006); Osborne (2009).

⁽⁵⁹⁾ Expansion of Roman society: Woolf (1996); status: E. Meyer (1990); power: Gregory (1994).

⁽⁶⁰⁾ A statement sometimes echoed in the words of literary authors (e.g. D. 24. 17–18).

⁽⁶¹⁾ See now Sickinger (2009) 88–91, making a case against viewing this as an expression of democratic values.

⁽⁶²⁾ Inscriptions as demonstrating exact knowledge: D. 47. 22; Lys. 13. 70–2; to demonstrate criminal acts: 22. 69–77; 24. 76–86; emphasize the solemnity of legislation: Lys. 1. 30, 30. 17–18; civic morality: Aeschines 3. 181–93, with Higbie (2010); D. 20. 36–40, 64–70 with W. C. West (1995); morality and harshness of punishment D. 9. 41 (on which *stele*, see Meiggs (1972) 508–12); Lycurg. 1. 117–19, 124; pity: D. 57. 64; a joke about the worthiness of a benefactor Hyperides Fr. 79 Jensen: see p. 16. On Apollodorus' knowledge of the serpent column, see p. 12.

⁽⁶³⁾ See Zadorojnyi (this volume, Ch. 17).

⁽⁶⁴⁾ Ridgeway (1977).

⁽⁶⁵⁾ D.S. 11. 33. 2, trans. Oldfather (1946).

⁽⁶⁶⁾ Th. 1. 132. 2 (cf. [D.] 59. 97); trans. Warner (1972).

⁽⁶⁷⁾ Pausanias 3. 8. 1 says that the verses were the work of Simonides.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ Cf. Trevett (1990). Another brief account of Pausanias' vandalism, with quotation of the elegiac couplet, survives in Aristodemos *BNJ* 104 F 1, 4.1.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ *BNJ* 432 F 9; trans. Billows. Herodotus 4. 81. 3 appears to have believed that the bowl was Pausanias' own.

⁽⁷⁰⁾ See Hartmann (this volume, Ch. 2). Bosworth (1999) argues that Euhemeros' work was an inspiration behind the *Res Gestae* of Augustus.

⁽⁷¹⁾ Higbie (1999), esp. 689. On the use of inscriptions and documents by historians writing in antiquity, see Rhodes (2007).

⁽⁷²⁾ Müller (1830) i. 147–57; see e.g. i. 171 for his use of Pausanias' and Polybius' testimonia on the inscribed memorial of the Arcadian traitor Aristocrates; ii. 337 for scepticism about the Spartan decree reprimanding Timotheos.

⁽⁷³⁾ Meiggs (1972) 489.

⁽⁷⁴⁾ Grote (1849) 457 n. 1.

⁽⁷⁵⁾ Matthaïou (2009).

⁽⁷⁶⁾ On the refinement of ancient authors' use of inscriptions, see Hartmann (this volume, Ch. 2).

(⁷⁷) S. West (1985).

(⁷⁸) Smarczyk (2006); cf. Zizza (1999).

(⁷⁹) Marincola (1997) 103–4.

(⁸⁰) Plb. 3. 21. 9–26. 7 (the inscribed treaties between Rome and Carthage: see Serrati (2006)); 3. 33, 56 (Hannibal's bronze plate at Cape Lacinium in Italy: see next para.); 4. 33 (Messenian dedication in Arcadia: cited through Kallisthenes); see also the articles of Zecchini, Prandi, Schettino in Biraschi et al. (2003).

(⁸¹) Kirchhoff (1895) 99–102. Most, even Kirchhoff (1877) 381, shrink from amending the text on the basis of the inscription.

(⁸²) Discrepancies: Tod (1933) 177–8; Gomme, Andrewes, and [Dover] (1970) 54–5. Clark (1999) however, argues that the discrepancies indicate that Thucydides drew from a version at Olympia; cf. also Lane Fox (2010) and Hornblower (2008). For another example of discrepancy, see Plb. 18. 38. 8–9 and SVA 536), though for an optimistic view of the compatibility, see Walbank (1967) 599–601.

(⁸³) For extensive quotation of documents as an indication of incompleteness, see Syme (1962) 46; as 'an extreme case of Thucydides' desire to get even small things right', Hornblower (1996) 117; as a narratological device intended to highlight the complexity and impermanence of the diplomatic manoeuvres of this phase of the war, Rood (1998) 92–3.

(⁸⁴) On Polybius' use of this inscription, see Langslow (this volume, Ch. 7 sect. 1).

(⁸⁵) Klotz (1964) 190; Walbank (1957) 364–5 *ad* Plb. 3. 33. 18.

(⁸⁶) Burck (1971) 22; Levene (2010) 29.

(⁸⁷) On the *Ab Urbe Condita* as an account of Rome's *res gestae*, see Livy *Praef.* 3, with Moles (2009) 57–9.

(⁸⁸) Jaeger (2006) 392. On epigraphic and monumental imagery in Livy's history, see Nelis and Nelis-Clément, this volume, Ch. 15 nn. 45, 49 (with further references).

(⁸⁹) On this and other inscriptions in Lucian, see Householder (1940); Saïd (1995); Zadorojnyi (this volume, Ch. 17 sect. 1). On the

‘classicizing ideology’ of invented inscriptions, see Ní Mheallaigh (2008).

⁽⁹⁰⁾ S. West (1985); cf. this chapter n. 3.

⁽⁹¹⁾ Rosen (1967).

⁽⁹²⁾ J. K. Davies (2000).

⁽⁹³⁾ Zizza (1999); Hornblower (1996) 93–107; Smarczyk (2006).

⁽⁹⁴⁾ Pownall (2008).

⁽⁹⁵⁾ Crespo Güemes (1994); Liddel (2008).

⁽⁹⁶⁾ Nelis-Clément and Nelis (2005); *SEG* 61. 2310.

⁽⁹⁷⁾ Habicht (1984, 1985); Whittaker (1991); Zizza (2006).

⁽⁹⁸⁾ Prag (2007).

⁽⁹⁹⁾ Bérard (1991).

⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Stoneman (1995).

⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Downey (1935); Agusta-Boularot (2006).

⁽¹⁰²⁾ See Biraschi et al. (2003). For Diodorus Books 16 and 17, see Lefèvre (2005). For Plato’s Laws, see Bertrand (1999).

⁽¹⁰³⁾ Vogel-Weidemann (1985), on the dedicatory inscription of Pompey in Diodorus 40. 4.

⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ D. Meyer (2005). For actually inscribed epigrams, see Day (2007, 2010).

⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Moles (1999).

⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Ramsby (1997).

⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Sironen (2003) suggests that inscriptions played a role primarily in lowbrow novels, but cf. Slater (2008).

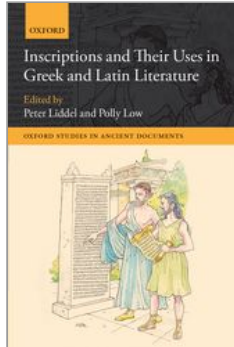
⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Ní Mheallaigh (2008).

⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Platt (2007).

⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Torrance (2010), esp. 238–51.

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Cui vetustas fidem faciat: Inscriptions and Other Material Relics of the Past in Graeco-Roman Antiquity

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter explores how ancient scholars observed and used non-textual criteria in their handling of inscriptional evidence: inscriptions were appreciated as an especially valuable class of evidence because of their character as primary sources, i.e., as relics of the past. The perception of their ancientness, however, was dependent not so much on their textual content, but above all on their material appearance. There are plenty of examples for historians or authors of fictional literature posing as historical, who emphasized that a cited inscription was written in 'ancient' letters or that the inscription was in a bad state of preservation, because these features suggested them to be contemporary evidence. The chapter asks how the perception of inscriptions was related to that of other material relics of the past. In antiquity 'archaeology' and 'art history' did not rise up to modern scientific standards. However, there is some evidence that recourse to artefacts as a kind of 'archaeological' source was not as exceptional as is generally assumed.

Keywords: relics, antiquarianism, letter-forms, archaeology, art-history, historiography, local historiography

The Iseum of Pompeii is a good place to start a chapter on inscriptions as material relics of the past:¹ in front of the early imperial temple of Isis there was put up a much older *stele* with a hieroglyphic inscription.² The text on this *stele*, a late fourth-century BC dedication to the local god of Heracleopolis Magna named Herishef/Harsaphes, gives the purported autobiography of Somtutefnakht. He was an Egyptian fighting on the Persian side in an unsuccessful battle against some Greeks; this is commonly understood to be a reference to Alexander's victory at Issus or Gaugamela and therefore Somtutefnakht's 'autobiography' surely is a document of some historical interest. There is, however, no connection whatsoever between this text and Isis. This is significant: the *stele* of Somtutefnakht did not work as a text in its Pompeian setting, but as a monument.³ It is a well-known fact that no Graeco-Roman scholar ever took the trouble to learn hieroglyphs.⁴ Even in Egypt itself, knowledge of their meaning gradually faded away.⁵ It was often thought that hieroglyphs preserved the arcane wisdom of sages who lived before the great deluge.⁶ Allegedly, Plato himself had spent some time in **(p.34)** Egypt—more precisely in Heliopolis, where the priests later showed his dwelling to the visitors—in order to make himself acquainted with this old Egyptian tradition.⁷ In late antiquity some Neoplatonist philosophers visited the tombs in the Valley of the Kings 'because of Plato', as is testified by their graffiti.⁸ They could not understand the meaning of the hieroglyphs, but they projected a preconceived meaning on them. The hieroglyphs came to signify hidden knowledge totally unconnected with their original intent. To come back to Pompeii: it was not Somtutefnakht and his story that mattered to the visitors at the Iseum, but the archaizing Egyptian flair that was created through the display of the hieroglyphic inscription.⁹ This is all the more remarkable because the overall architectural setting of the Iseum is quite Roman.¹⁰ Moreover, the Latin building inscription which records the rebuilding of the temple after the earthquake of AD 62 has the familiar focus on euergetic honours and belongs entirely to the world of Graeco-Roman civic culture.¹¹ Against this background, the *stele* brought from the Fayoum was essentially an effective means of forging an immediate and haptic connection with the homeland of the goddess. The inscription essentially was a relic authenticating the Egyptian and therefore original and undiluted character of Pompeian Isis.¹²

The *stele* of Somtutefnakht is, of course, a very drastic example of an inscription the deployment of which is entirely dissociated from its original textual message.¹³ This does not mean, however, that aspects

of outward appearance were not **(p.35)** important for the ancient readers of 'normal' Greek or Latin inscriptions. It is a truism of modern epigraphic scholarship that inscriptions cannot be understood (and should not be studied) as mere texts. I will deal with the ancient reception of these material aspects of inscriptions in the first part of this chapter. At a second stage, I will present in broad outline reactions to material relics of the past in general. In the last part of this chapter I will try to figure out how these observations fit into the larger picture of ancient construction of the past.

The most important quality of an inscription in antiquity, as now, was simply its age. In general, we hold inscriptions to be valuable above all because they are believed to be primary sources.¹⁴ Inscriptions exert a deep fascination because they are an immediate relic of the past—in contrast to literary sources which were written in many cases from a temporal distance and which have been preserved in most cases only through medieval manuscripts. Ancient historiography did not develop an explicit distinction between primary and secondary sources, but there was an implicit consciousness that a source that is older and therefore nearer to the events described should be more reliable than a later one.¹⁵ It is exactly for this reason that ancient historians emphasized archaic features or a bad state of preservation when adducing inscriptions as evidence: antiquity seemingly implied authenticity.¹⁶ A well-known example is Thucydides' use of a dedicatory inscription in his revisionist discussion of Pisistratid history:

For the rest, the city was left in full enjoyment of its existing laws, except that care was always taken to have the offices in the hands of someone of the family. Among those of them that held the yearly archonship at Athens was Pisistratus, son of the tyrant Hippias, and named after his grandfather, who dedicated during his term of office the altar to the twelve gods in the market-place, and that of Apollo in the Pythian precinct. The Athenian people afterwards built onto and lengthened the altar in the market-place, and obliterated the inscription; but that in the Pythian precinct can still be seen, though in faded letters (ἔτι καὶ νῦν δῆλόν ἐστιν ἀμυδροῖς γράμμασι), and is to the following effect: 'Pisistratus, the son of Hippias, set up this record of his archonship in precinct of Apollo Pythias'.

(Th. 6. 54. 6–7; trans. Crawley (1910))¹⁷

(p.36) First, it is interesting to note that Thucydides did not refer his readers to the list of archons which had been published probably around 425 BC.¹⁸ The information about the holding of the magistracy

by Pisistratus could have been obtained much more easily from this document. If Thucydides preferred to cite the dedication to Apollo Pythias nevertheless, there can be only one reason: he thought that the evidence of a contemporary monument would be regarded as more probative than a recent compilation.¹⁹

The dedication of Pisistratus is still extant and so this is one of the rare cases in which we can actually check ancient references to inscriptions.²⁰ Modern historians have criticized Thucydides, because the letters in fact are not very faded, according to the standards of modern epigraphy at least. Probably Thucydides only wanted to say that in his time, the colouring of the incised letters had gone. Be that as it may, the report on this external feature of the dedication has an important function for the historian's argument. It suggests to the reader first that Thucydides deals with a really old inscription from the time of the Pisistratids, and second that the historian had seen the inscription with his very own eyes, because he could describe it so accurately.

This is not a narrative strategy unique to historiography. We find analogous reasoning in an inscription from Delphi which reproduces the judgement of a Roman governor in a dispute about the sacred land of Apollo. The magistrate tried to ascertain the original borders of this land and one of the proofs he adduced was a boundary stone with a Greek inscription on it. The governor added a qualification of this monument which is quite important for our topic: *cui vetustas fidem faciat*—which is trustworthy because of its age.²¹ Here we have an explicit connection between apparent antiquity and evidential reliability.

Let us now look more specifically at the perception of ancient letter-forms. It is well known that Herodotus took some tripods at Thebes with dedications written in 'cadmeic letters' as proof of the Phoenician origin of the Greek alphabet.²² However, Theban expertise in ancient scripts plays an important role also in a very revealing story preserved in the Aristotelian *De mirabilibus auscultationibus*. An inscription written in ancient letters was allegedly found in Thessalian Hypate (p. 37) and was to be brought to Athens for decipherment. When the transport passed through Boeotia, however, some locals remarked that the letters of the inscription were quite similar to dedications in the Ismenion at Thebes—remember Herodotus! As a consequence, the stone was taken to Thebes where its meaning could be revealed through comparison of letters. The mysterious inscription turned out to be a dedication of Hercules to Aphrodite.²³ This story attests to a vivid interest in ancient inscriptions and to the ability to conceive rational

methods for making them readable. One could object, of course, that all this is utter invention, and it may very well be. Nonetheless, I cannot see why the ancient Greeks should not have been able to attempt comparison of letter-forms in practice, if they could invent stories about themselves doing so. Herodotus himself goes half the way when describing the 'cadmeic letters' at Thebes as being 'for the most part looking like Ionian letters'.²⁴

The difference between Attic and Ionic script was certainly known, and it was put to use in source-criticism. The best-known example is, of course, Theopompus' famous attack on the historicity of the Peace of Callias, which was based on a palaeographical argument.²⁵ The text of the treaty was inscribed in Ionic letters. Theopompus claimed that this precluded a date before the reform of Euclides in 403/2 BC.²⁶ Therefore the *stèle* on the agora had to be a later falsification. Modern scholarship has adduced evidence that Theopompus' case is not as strong and convincing as it seems to be at first sight,²⁷ but I do not want to enter into a debate of all the problems in connection with the Peace of Callias here.²⁸ There are two points that matter to my argument: first, that Theopompus used a palaeographical argument at all. Second, he supposed that a successful exposure of the inscribed version as a later fake would necessarily imply the Peace itself to be unhistorical. This is not a cogent argument,²⁹ but very characteristic of the implicit connection made between the existence of material and/or documentary relics and historical truth.³⁰

(p.38) There are examples of attention paid to archaic letter-forms. For example, there are references to inscriptions written *boustrophedon*, namely by Anaximenes of Lampsacus on the ἄξονες of Solon and by Pausanias on the chest of Cypselus.³¹ Pausanias also reports that the letters on the discus of Iphitus in Olympia ran in circles (ἐς κύκλου σχῆμα).³² This inscription that preserved the text of the Olympic truce was of the utmost importance for Greek chronological scholarship, because it was taken as a proof for the synchronism of Iphitus, Lycurgus, and the first Olympic games.³³ In the vast majority of cases, however, we are notified only of an inscription being written in 'ancient letters' without any further qualification. We return to this issue towards the end of this chapter.

Nevertheless, it seems quite clear to me that inscriptions were indeed regarded as an important and privileged class of evidence by ancient historians. This is not, however, an altogether consensual supposition. The general tendency of recent scholarship goes rather in the opposite direction, emphasizing the Otherness of ancient historiography. In a recent German textbook, one can even read that the historians of

antiquity never even aspired to give a truthful and objective account of the past.³⁴ This is to throw out the baby with the bathwater. The claim to tell the truth and nothing but the truth is obviously the foundational topos of ancient historiography, even if the actual results are often poor when measured against modern standards. A major difficulty, however, arises from the fact that ancient historiography differed indeed fundamentally from its modern counterpart regarding the mode of presentation. We appreciate a full documentation which makes transparent the process of research. Ancient historians often claimed to have done extensive research, but they did not hold it to be desirable to present the collected raw data in a scientific apparatus. It is very difficult therefore to evaluate how they actually arrived at the conclusions presented in their published works. We should keep in mind, however, that absence of footnotes need not be tantamount to the absence of serious research.³⁵

The citation of documents and especially of inscriptions in ancient historiography has to be seen in this context. Reference to specific sources appears especially in polemical contexts. To come back again to Thucydides: the historian did not cite every possibly relevant inscription, which is what we would expect from a modern historian of the Peloponnesian War, but he cited inscriptions above all in his effort to deconstruct the false traditions about the demise of the **(p.39)** Pisistratids current in the Athens of his time.³⁶ The 'cadmeic letters' of Herodotus are to be seen in the context of a polemic against Hecataeus, who thought that the alphabet had been brought to Greece by Danaus from Egypt.³⁷ In ancient historiographical practice, the historian had to present evidence primarily when contradicting traditional accounts or when arguing against a scholarly predecessor. In such contexts, documents—and especially apparently ancient ones—had to play their role.³⁸

I do not want to make an extended investigation into the use of documents in ancient historiography here. This has been undertaken by the Italian DoStAn-project and the results have been presented in a database and a bulky volume published in 2003.³⁹ I think, however, that we can gain some very revealing, additional insights from literary texts which obviously are not historical works proper, but fictional works pretending in some way to present history.⁴⁰ In a prologue to the above-mentioned volume, Glen Bowersock criticized—quite rightly in my opinion—the exclusion of this important material from the DoStAn-project.⁴¹

To name but a few instances: Acusilaus of Argos claimed that the material of his *Genealogies*, which departed at many points from the tradition established by Hesiod,⁴² came from a bronze tablet that was found during some digging undertaken on his property.⁴³ Plato purports that his account of Atlantis is ultimately based on some holy books that an Egyptian priest had explained to Solon during his stay at Saïs.⁴⁴ Crantor of Soloi, who wrote the first commentary on the *Timaeus* claimed to have found independent inscriptional evidence for Plato's story in hieroglyphic inscriptions.⁴⁵ Euhemerus of Messene allegedly derived his **(p.40)** knowledge about the history of the gods from an inscription on the island of Panchaia.⁴⁶ The novelist Xenophon of Ephesus does not explicitly claim to have based his story about Anthia and Habrokomes on an inscriptional source; it is nevertheless suggestive that he reports at the end of his novel that the lovers set up such an inscriptional account of their vicissitudes.⁴⁷ Later on, such recourse to inscriptional evidence became stock and staple with the sophistic correctors of Homer: Dio Chrysostomus pretended in his *Troicus* to have based his version of the Trojan War on an oral tradition ultimately derived from an account of Menelaus himself, which had been preserved in a hieroglyphic inscription in Egypt.⁴⁸ The *Ephemeris* of Dictys posed as a transcribed version of the account written by an eyewitness and found in his tomb at Cnossos.⁴⁹ It was the same with the *De excidio Troiae* of Dares the Phrygian.⁵⁰ All these stories are about literary inscriptions in a very special sense; they are about literarily imagined inscriptions. Nevertheless, it is significant that in all these cases revisionist narratives are buttressed through reference to a purported inscriptional or documentary source. Given the fictional character of these works, the inscriptions are cited not simply because they existed; they were deliberately introduced because this was expected from an author claiming to reveal historical truth against established prejudice.⁵¹

As a preliminary finding, we may state that the often problematic results of epigraphic studies in antiquity cannot simply be equated with a lack of interest.⁵² Fanciful interpretations of ancient scripts, erroneous datings, and dubious mythistorical contextualizations should not be seen as the consequence of indifference. Quite to the contrary, I would say that the examples mentioned above testify to a profound fascination with inscriptions as authentic relics conveying direct messages from the past. But how does this relate to the perception of other material remains of the past in classical antiquity? This is not a slight question. The pertinent material is rich, but generally understudied except for the alleged relics of the Greek heroes,⁵³ and an

excellent book by John Boardman (*The Archaeology* (p.41) of *Nostalgia*).⁵⁴ In the second part of this chapter, I can only give some hints regarding this vast topic.⁵⁵

First, it is clear that these relics were of the utmost importance in societies preserving their collective memory to a large degree through oral transmission. In addition, material remains acted as embodiments of the past in the present: they re-presented the past in a very literal sense. Therefore, if we want to study collective memories in antiquity, we simply cannot afford to neglect these material remains. It has been said that especially the sanctuaries, which housed a wealth of dedications (often allegedly made by the heroes) and sometimes included the presumed tomb of a hero, were in some way the archive of ancient communities.⁵⁶ In the following, however, I will concentrate on the historiographical implications of this phenomenon.

It is an often-repeated common opinion that antiquity did not see the development of archaeology in the modern meaning of the word. Wace, Finley, Phillips, and Hainsworth, all writing about ancient archaeology, explained the deficiencies of ancient scholarship by reference to a lack of interest.⁵⁷ And it is true that there is almost no ancient evidence for purposeful excavations made for historical reasons. What we hear about are chance finds and the digging up of tombs in the search for valuable antiquities which could be sold to interested collectors.⁵⁸ But to be fair, we should admit that very similar motivations lay at the root of the development of modern archaeology and they are still an important part of popular imagination about what archaeologists should do. In movies and comic strips, archaeologists never make stratigraphic trenches, but they find lots of gold and jewellery. We may deplore such practices, but the appreciation of ancient artefacts as valuable antiquities is, of course, a necessary prerequisite for the development of scientific archaeological studies. The absence of purposeful digging activities should not be equated with a lack of consciousness of the importance of material relics as historical sources.

Let us take a closer look at some revealing test cases; first Cleidemus' account of the battle between Theseus and the Amazons. To our mind, this topic obviously belongs to the realm of mythology more than history, but not so for the Attidographer:

That they [the Amazons] encamped almost in the city is proven by the names of the places and by the tombs of the fallen. For a long time there was hesitation and fear on both sides of the attack, but finally Theseus, according to a certain oracle, made sacrifice to Phobos [Fear] and engaged with them [the Amazons]. The battle

was during the month of Boêdromiôn, **(p.42)** on the day that up to the present time the Athenians celebrate the festival of the Boêdromia. Kleidemos, wanting to describe each individual detail precisely, relates in his history that the left flank of the Amazons faced the place now called the Amazoneion, and on the right they approached the Pnyx, beside the Chrysa [a golden statue of Victory]. Against this wing the Athenians fought with and fell upon the Amazons from the Mouseion; the tombs of the fallen are on both sides of the street heading towards the gate beside the heroön of Chalkôdon, which they now call Peiraïka gate. On this side, [the Athenians] were defeated and gave way to the women as far as the [sanctuary] of the Eumenides, but those attacking from the Palladion and Ardettos and the Lyceum pushed back their right flank up to their encampment and slew many. In the fourth month [of the war], there was a treaty through the agency of Hippolytê. For (Kleidemos) calls the woman married to Theseus Hippolytê, not Antiopê. Some say that this woman was hit by a javelin by Molpadia and fell while fighting alongside Theseus and that the *stèle*, which is beside the shrine of Olympian Gê, was set up in her honour. However, it is not surprising that the history varies for deeds of such antiquity, since they say that the wounded Amazons had been sent secretly by Antiopê to Chalkis to obtain care, and that some were buried there around the place now called the Amazoneion. But there is proof that the war ended in a treaty both because of the name of the place beside the Theseion, which is called the Place of Oath Swearing (*Horkômosion*), and because of the formerly occurring sacrifice for the Amazons before the festival of the Theseia.

(Kleidemos *FGrH/BNJ* 323 F 18; trans. Morison)

The detailed description given by Kleidemos (and unnamed other authors) was not spun from pure fancy. In fact, the historian reconstructed the exact battle line from the existence of the supposed tombs of fallen Amazons and other places connected with the events. We may attack Kleidemos for his uncritical belief in these topographical traditions, but this is very easy from a modern mindset which takes it for granted that Amazons do and did not exist at all.⁵⁹ Most people would probably qualify Kleidemos' method as aetiological. Indeed, one could say that aetiology was the ancient equivalent of modern archaeology. Aetiology and archaeology both aim at the explanation of relics of the past.

This, however, presupposes a break with the past. Nobody has to explain what everyone understands as a living part of his cultural framework and practices, which means that such aetiological archaeology was not an interesting methodological option for the writers of contemporary history, who relied above all on personal autopsy or oral accounts of eyewitnesses instead.⁶⁰ This in turn was obviously not a feasible method in respect to ancient history, which is where the **(p.43)** monuments become relevant: the relic allowed the historian an autoptic view on a past otherwise lost.⁶¹

In general, we can observe two traditions in ancient historiography: a periegetic one, which can be traced back to Hecataeus and Herodotus, which was very interested in ancient history and monuments, and a more critical one reaching back to Thucydides.⁶² Thucydides wrote contemporary history and was quite sceptical about the value of material remains as historical evidence. One has only to point to his famous reflections about future historians being led astray by the ruins of Sparta and Athens in respect to the political power of both cities.⁶³ It may be remarked that the very reasoning, which is questioned by Thucydides, is actually to be encountered in a fragment of Timaeus who illustrated the former importance of Acragas with a description of its ruins and especially its temples.⁶⁴

On the other hand, the very same Thucydides gives one of the best arguments built on archaeology in the whole corpus of ancient historiography when speaking about the tombs found during the purification of Delos in 426/5 BC.⁶⁵ From the weapons that were found in the graves and the kind of burial in general, he concluded that the island had once been colonized by people from Caria. Doubts have been voiced as to whether the supposed Carian tombs have anything to do with the Carians at all, but nevertheless the conviction that historical migration movements can be reconstructed from the distribution of distinctive types of tombs or artefacts was to be questioned only in the second half of the twentieth century. Thucydides can lay reasonable claim to have been the earliest archaeologist equating pots with people.

A close parallel to his argument is to be found in Plutarch's account about Solon proving Salamis to be Athenian from observation of sepulchral practices on the island.⁶⁶ Diogenes Laertius even reports that Solon made clandestine excavations on Salamis.⁶⁷ If Plutarch's Solon is perhaps rather to be seen as an ethnologist, Diogenes made him into an archaeologist. This probably tells us more about Diogenes and his readers than about Solon, but this is irrelevant to my present argument.⁶⁸ For Diogenes' Solon as for Thucydides, deficient or unreliable traditions about the remote past had to be complemented

through recourse to material sources. For Thucydides this method was only second best, but inevitable when trying to cope with the uncertainties of ancient history.⁶⁹

(p.44) It is no accident therefore that we find Cleidemus' topographical considerations in relation to events in the ancient history of Athens. Nor is it by chance that we find such thinking in a work of local history. The local historians had a special interest in the remote past, because the supposed origins of a political community were crucial for its identity. In most cases, these local historians will have had a good knowledge of the historical monuments of their cities and the traditions connected with them. Cleidemus is not the only Atthidographer who indulged in periegetic interests. Aulus Gellius reports that the cave of Euripides was shown to him on Salamis and fortunately he names his source. He did not get the story of the cave from the biographical tradition—as one could perhaps expect—but from Philochorus.⁷⁰ The *Lindian Chronicle* is a striking example of how a lengthy catalogue of relics could be compiled from the reading of local historians otherwise totally unknown to us.⁷¹ Moreover, the distinction between periegesis and history is not always easy to draw as can be seen from Pausanias who designates his own work as a συγγραφή;⁷² he gives much historical material and puts himself ostensibly in the tradition of Herodotus.⁷³ Polemon of Ilion, the most famous periegete of all, is called a historian in the Suda,⁷⁴ and in fact he wrote twelve books of Πρὸς Τίμαιον ἀντιγραφαί.⁷⁵

If we move on from Greece to Rome, the picture does not change substantially. A close parallel to Cleidemus' methodology can be found in Livy, who locates the battle of Camillus against the Gauls through reference to their presumed grave, the *busta Gallica*.⁷⁶ The *doliola*, a place where some sacred implements had been deposited, gave him a hint to the exact escape route of the Vestal Virgins and the *flamen Quirinalis* fleeing before the Gauls.⁷⁷ Perhaps the most impressive example of history being tied to specific places of remembrance and historical monuments is Livy's account of the battle between the Romans and the Sabines in the area of the later *forum Romanum* involving especially the *lacus Curtius* and the temple of Iuppiter Stator.⁷⁸ The topographical spirit of this and other passages and its affinity to Cleidemus have recently been remarked on by Denis Pausch.⁷⁹ **(p.45)** Unfortunately, no periegesis of ancient Rome is preserved, but this does not mean that there was no antiquarian topography comparable to that of the atthidographers or the other Greek local historians. Many examples of such learning can be culled

from the extant pages of Varro and his lost writings on Roman antiquities must have contained much more.⁸⁰

On the other hand, we can also find an explicit instance of ‘Thucydidean’ criticism concerning the mentioning of artefacts in Roman historiographical writing: Tacitus polemicizes against an unnamed author who described the material used for the building of Nero’s temporary amphitheatre.⁸¹ For Tacitus, such topics were not befitting the dignity of history. We know the *corpus delicti* of this dispute from Pliny’s *Natural History* and it is a fair guess that the same author’s lost *Histories* were the immediate target of Tacitus’ attack.⁸² Pliny described an enormous wooden beam originally exposed by Tiberius in the *naumachia* and later used for Nero’s amphitheatre.⁸³ Much in the same vein, when writing about Titus’ visit of the old and venerable sanctuary of Aphrodite at Paphos, Tacitus brusquely dismisses ‘the treasures, the royal presents, and the other objects which the antiquarian tendencies of the Greek arbitrarily connect with some uncertain past’.⁸⁴ As in Thucydides, dismissal of material sources is coupled with scepticism about the possibility of knowledge regarding ancient history in general. By contrast, we may be sure that Pliny provided the readers of his *Histories* with some further details on Paphian antiquities.⁸⁵

Writing history from material sources was practised not only in local history, but also in wider geographical contexts. We find a paradigmatic example in the *Roman Antiquities* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus; Dionysius felt the need to refute at length traditions claiming that Aeneas never came to Italy, but remained in the East. This is impossible, says Dionysius, because Aeneas’ wanderings left so many traces (πολλὰ γνωρίσματα καὶ φανερά) in the Mediterranean: place names, dedications (some with inscriptions), temples of Aphrodite Aineias, and tombs.⁸⁶ A single section of this excursus may be enough to give an impression of this kind of mythological archaeology. The material witnesses that Dionysius adduces are written in italics:

From Ambracia Anchises, sailing with the fleet along the coast, came to Buthrotum, a seaport of Epirus. But Aeneas with the most vigorous men of his army made a march of two days and came to Dodona, in order to consult the oracle; and there they found the Trojans who had come thither with Helenus. Then, after receiving responses concerning their colony and after *dedicating to the god various Trojan offerings, including bronze mixing bowls,—some of which are still in existence and by their inscriptions, which are very ancient, show by whom they were given,*—they rejoined the fleet after a march of about four days. **(p.46)** The presence of the Trojans at Buthrotum is proved by *a hill called Troy, where they encamped at that time.* From Buthrotum they sailed along the coast and came to a place which was then *called the Harbour of Anchises* but now has a less significant name; there also they built *a temple to Aphrodite*, and then crossed the Ionian Gulf, having for guides on the voyage Patron the Thyrian and his men, who accompanied them of their own accord.... As for Aeneas and his companions, they did not all go ashore at the same place in Italy, but most of the ships came to anchor at the Promontory of Iapygia, which was then called the Salentine Promontory, and the others at a place named after Minerva, where Aeneas himself chanced to set foot first in Italy. This place is a promontory that offers a harbour in the summer, which from that time has been *called the Harbour of Venus.* After this they sailed along the coast until they reached the strait, having Italy on the right hand, and left in these places also some traces of their arrival, among others *a bronze patera in the temple of Juno, on which there is an ancient inscription showing the name of Aeneas as the one who dedicated it to the goddess.* (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae* 1. 51; trans. Cary (1937))

From all this, Dionysius reconstructs a detailed itinerary for the hero. Earlier Greek scholars had already studied the voyage of the Argonauts in the same way and others found material traces of Ulysses in Spain or even Scotland.⁸⁷ Who could dispute the presence of Aeneas in Lavinium, if they could find there some 'Trojan' objects as aniconic representations of the Penates,⁸⁸ the corpse of the sow who gave Aeneas the omen before the founding of the city,⁸⁹ and the tomb of Aeneas himself or his father Anchises?⁹⁰ Over and over again, we find a keen interest in material relics of the past in general combined with poor historical classification of particular objects. Tacitus, of course, was not convinced by proofs of this kind. He distanced himself from scholarly traditions that found evidence for a prolongation of the

wanderings of Ulysses to Germany in an altar dedicated by the hero and some tombs with Greek inscriptions.⁹¹

Finally, a chapter on inscriptions and other material relics of the past cannot ignore the notorious case of the Roman *spolia opima*, which centres on an **(p.47)** inscribed relic.⁹² Modern literature abounds and I have no intention of discussing this incident in detail.⁹³ Suffice it to say that recent scholarship has shown convincingly that the political aspects have been grossly exaggerated since the classic study of Dessau.⁹⁴ Surely there was no ‘suppression’ of M. Licinius Crassus’ military exploits, if we can read a substantial paragraph about his feats in Cassius Dio, who probably depended on Livy here.⁹⁵ Nor was Crassus prevented from celebrating a triumph.⁹⁶ It is a commonplace that Augustus was no archaeologist inspecting the rotten spoils of Cossus in order to solve a historical problem. And Livy, it is true, made no effort at all to check the supposed piece of evidence himself.⁹⁷ For these reasons, it has even been said in an important book on social memory in republican Rome that Augustus did not give evidence to Livy, but rather made a revelation.⁹⁸ However, this is exactly what Augustus did not do: Augustus referred to a relic, just because he was not in a position to make a revelation to the historian—as three centuries later Constantine could to Eusebius regarding his vision at the Milvian Bridge.⁹⁹ Augustus’ word alone was not enough; he had to make plausible his ‘revelation’ through material evidence, even if this evidence was not readily accessible and therefore practically unverifiable. Livy was baffled because the version given by the *princeps* was contrary not only to the whole annalistic tradition, but also to the ancient *libri lintei* preserved in the temple of Iuno Moneta, which had been consulted by Licinius Macer.¹⁰⁰ If Livy is at a loss as to what to make out of this, it is not because he is an uncritical mind, but because he is confronted with two contradictory primary sources.¹⁰¹ This is, as we all know, an uncomfortable position even for the critical mind of today.¹⁰²

(p.48) What conclusion can be drawn from the material presented so far? First and most importantly we have to admit that there was definitely no lack of interest in material relics of the past in Graeco-Roman antiquity. Inscriptions and artefacts were indeed regarded as a privileged class of evidence regarding more ancient history as compared to oral or literary tradition. This is obscured to some extent by the fact that the most famous and best-known historians of antiquity decidedly focused on contemporary history. Local history, periegesis, and antiquarian scholarship by contrast have fared very badly in the

process of transmission.¹⁰³ Apart from Pausanias, a study of relics of the past in antiquity is largely a study of literary fragments and rather obscure authors.

Second, we can see that interest is often coupled with obvious misunderstanding. In fact, we have to explain not a lack of interest in antiquities, but a lack of sophistication in dealing with them according to scientific principles. It is not that the ancients did not recognize the antiquity of certain artefacts. On the contrary, ancient letter-forms and style were often remarked upon when describing inscriptions or works of art.¹⁰⁴ But what does 'ancient' mean in these contexts?¹⁰⁵ Dionysius of Halicarnassus is a good example of the problem: he saw many statues in Rome, which he declared to be 'ancient' or 'of ancient workmanship', and probably they were.¹⁰⁶ He had no means, however, of giving a differentiated dating of these items. Dionysius in most cases simply assumed that the statue was made at the lifetime of the portrayed person.¹⁰⁷ It is the same with Pliny, who is our main source for ancient art criticism. When describing the statues of the Roman kings on the Capitol, Pliny does not use peculiarities of their costume for dating the statues, but he takes the statues as evidence for the costume worn by the Romans in the regal period.¹⁰⁸ It is out of the question for him that the statues could be memorials from a later time, as was probably the case.¹⁰⁹

(p.49) The fourth century BC provides us with yet another interesting parallel to Pliny's judgement on statues: Aeschines compared unfavourably Timarchus' conduct as a speaker in the *ekklesia* with that of Solon, which was illustrated by a statue of Solon at Salamis.¹¹⁰ Demosthenes had to make some argumentative efforts to remind the Athenians that a memorial statue set up some fifty years ago could bear no reliable evidence to the real comportment of Solon.¹¹¹ Even more interestingly, Demosthenes had to be informed by some Salaminians that the statue of Solon was in fact quite recent. In other words: without this information, everyone would have accepted it with Aeschines as a work from the days of Solon. It was indeed possible to recognize specific works of art as ancient because of their archaic poses.¹¹² However, it was obviously very difficult for the ancient Greeks and Romans to distinguish properly different degrees of antiquity.¹¹³

There was a time when archaeologists could find their true forefather in authors such as Xenocrates of Athens, who probably was the most important single source for Pliny's chapters on art in his *Natural History*.¹¹⁴ It was above all Bernhard Schweitzer who hailed Xenocrates as the 'father of art history' in a tremendously influential article published in 1932.¹¹⁵ Such views have come under vehement attack as

some sort of invented tradition.¹¹⁶ After the publication of the new Posidippus, however, we can be sure that there was some kind of thinking about **(p.50)** an evolution of artistic techniques and chronological sorting of famous artists.¹¹⁷ Moreover, inscriptions with archaizing letter-forms and archaizing art movements from the middle of the fourth century BC onwards testify to the ability to understand from accurate observation what made an object look ancient.¹¹⁸ Archaizing art is in some sense applied art history. There is, however, an important restriction to be made: archaism in the visual arts remained restricted mainly to the religious sphere. Archaic works of art were felt to be especially near to the gods and to have some inherent holiness.¹¹⁹ Possibly we should interpret archaism in the visual arts as a conscious reference not so much to ancient art, but to an established mode of depicting the world of the gods.¹²⁰ Archaeologists of the nineteenth century used designations such as holy, hieratic, or temple style instead of the word 'archaism'. This may in fact be an apposite description of ancient perceptions of stylistic archaism.

It has often been said that there was no theoretical discourse about archaizing practices in the visual arts in antiquity and that this is all the more remarkable given that archaism was a topic treated in literary theory.¹²¹ In fact there are some passages dealing with the use of examples set by the ancient masters.¹²² This is discussed as eclecticism, not as archaism, however.¹²³ There is absolutely no feeling for the historic character of the named masters. Rather their creations are seen as timeless ideals. All this suggests that archaizing artists might have had no clear ideas about the age of the works they imitated and that the 'ancientness' of their models was not in fact an important category for them.

All this does little to validate far-reaching claims about ancient art history.¹²⁴ Schweitzer claimed that ancient scholars and connoisseurs made attributions of anonymous works of art to individual authors.¹²⁵ There are indeed two instances of such reasoning in Pausanias, but this proves only that the periegete was an **(p.51)** attentive observer of similarities between several statues.¹²⁶ Schweitzer also implied that works of art came to be presented in chronological order ('geschichtlich angeordnet') in Greek temples.¹²⁷ The single instance he explicitly names is the Heraeum of Olympia, but Pausanias' description says nothing about historical principles underlying the exposition. Even Schweitzer had to concede that his hero Xenocrates produced not a history of art in the proper sense, but a history of artistic problems and their solution by the famous artists of the classical age.¹²⁸ This meant, of course, that the *rudis antiquitas* of archaic art was of only little interest. It is characteristic that the descriptions in Pausanias and

dedicated epigraphic literature in general are focused on content, not on style.¹²⁹ These findings fit neatly with our earlier observation that most inscriptions cited by ancient authors are just labelled 'ancient' without any further qualification.

It is very easy to expose the deficiencies in this perception of antiquities, but quite difficult to explain them. To be fair-minded, we have to acknowledge that difficulties in establishing a universal chronological framework and the inability to make exact reproductions for comparison were major obstacles to the development of a more sophisticated thought about inscriptions and other relics of the past.¹³⁰ With different chronological systems in almost every city and without reproducible drawings or photographs, the development of a differentiated chronological classification of objects must have been a very difficult task.¹³¹ This is not an altogether sufficient explanation, however, because, as the fragments found in Baiae show, it was indeed possible to make casts.¹³²

However, there is still another side to the problem: as far as we can see, most ancient writings labelled as art historical in modern scholarship were written by active artists.¹³³ For example, Xenocrates of Athens, who has been seen as the 'father of art history' since Schweitzer,¹³⁴ was a sculptor himself. This is not an unimportant observation. As artists, those authors probably were interested not so much in art history, but in art criticism based on historical examples and in technical matters. Vitruvius is typical in this respect. For this reason, ancient thinking about art was focused on aesthetic problems and a small number of **(p.52)** famous artists.¹³⁵ The succession was indeed interpreted from a teleological perspective as a development from raw beginning to a polished highpoint.¹³⁶ But these aesthetic categories remained bound up with the names of single masters. There was no abstraction and categorization into epochs. As a consequence, the dating of anonymous works of art or less well-known artists remained precarious. It is surely no coincidence that Pliny gives secure Olympiad dates only for famous artists from the eighty-third Olympiad onwards.¹³⁷ The names of the lesser artists he gives as an alphabetic catalogue.

How does all this relate to the study of inscriptions in antiquity? In fact, there are obvious parallels between the handling of inscriptions (as a special class of material relics) and other ancient artefacts, such as works of art. First, there is the strong inclination to assume that every monument is contemporaneous with the memorialized events. This brings us back for a last time to Theopompus and the Peace of Callias: we have seen that the major logical flaw in Theopompus' argument was

exactly that he did not reckon with the possibility that the inscribed text was not contemporary with the conclusion of the treaty.¹³⁸ As soon as one admits that the inscribed text could be a later copy, the whole force of the palaeographical argument vanishes: Theopompus may be right to suggest a later date for the inscription, but this is not decisive for the date (and, accordingly, for the authenticity) of the inscribed text's content. For Theopompus, as for Dionysius and Pliny in their references to 'ancient' statues, a dissociation of monument and memorialized historical context was hardly imaginable.

Second, general interest in 'ancient' letter-forms and peculiarities of artistic style did not lead to the development of a differentiated palaeographical or art historical chronology. It was, of course, difficult to study widely dispersed objects. To come back to the mysterious inscription from Hypate mentioned already: the Greeks had to transport the stone to the Theban Ismenion in order to make a comparison of letter-forms. They could not make a squeeze. However, nothing would have prevented ancient scholars from making drawings at least. Therefore, we cannot regard this technological explanation as sufficient.¹³⁹

(p.53) Third, ancient art theory tended to focus on a small group of famous masters. Apart from this, there was little distinction between different degrees of antiquity. As we have seen, the perception of inscriptions was characterized by a similar binomic distinction between then and now. We may add that we meet the same phenomenon in ancient historiography: the term ἀρχαιολογία can refer to pretty much any period of time that preceded a broadly defined present.¹⁴⁰ Attempts to separate a *spatium mythicum* from a *spatium historicum* were certainly made, but the border between myth and history remained elusive.¹⁴¹ It is no coincidence that the distinction of different epochs of ancient history is a modern invention and that the concept of an archaic period had to be imported from modern art history.¹⁴² In ancient literary theory there was a discourse about ἀρχαϊσμός, but this designation included imitation of classical models. For us the concept of historical epochs as unities defined by certain political and cultural characteristics has become a matter of course (at least in academic circles), even if we recognize these epochs as scholarly constructs quite clearly. The ancient perception of relics of the past in general and inscriptions in particular should make us aware that there are different ways of conceptualizing history. We have to accept this Otherness in order to overcome dismissive notions of gullibility and naïveté in the discussion of ancient interest in material remains.

The autobiography of Somtutefnakht stood at the beginning of this chapter. I will now close with some short thoughts on another, even more famous autobiographical text written on stone: the *Res Gestae divi Augusti*. During the late republican repaving of the *forum Romanum*, the Romans were confronted with a mysterious monument previously hidden under slabs of black marble. Some antiquarians interpreted it as the tomb of Romulus, Faustulus, or Hostus Hostilius, a monument totally unknown to earlier scholarship.¹⁴³ Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us that this tomb was accompanied by an inscriptional account of deeds, which is an obvious reference to the famous archaic inscription on the *niger lapis*.¹⁴⁴ A. B. Bosworth has suggested that Augustus' *Res Gestae* were inspired by Euhemerus' history of the gods allegedly found on an inscription on the island of Panchaia.¹⁴⁵ I think we do not need to look so far away for a model that could be followed by Augustus, whose imitation of Romulus is well known. Perhaps the *Res Gestae* are Augustus' version of the supposed Romulean *Res Gestae* from the *forum Romanum*.¹⁴⁶ This would fit well with the recently (p.54) remarked fact that the beginning of the *Res Gestae*—*annos undeviginti natus*—echoes the ancient tradition about Romulus being eighteen years old at the beginning of his reign.¹⁴⁷ It seems that the *Res Gestae* may very well be the best-known material result of ancient interest in inscriptions as relics of the past.

Abbreviations

CPP

Catalogue of Paraliterary Papyri. Online: (<http://cpp.arts.kuleuven.be/>).

LDAB

Leuven Database of Ancient Books. Online: (<http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/>).

MP³

The Mertens-Pack³ Database Project. Online: (<http://promethee.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/indexanglais.htm>).

TM

Trismegistos: An Interdisciplinary Portal of Papyrological and Epigraphical Resources Dealing with Egypt and the Nile Valley between Roughly 800 BC and AD 800. Online: (<http://www.trismegistos.org/index.html>).

Urk.

K. H. Sethe (1904). *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der Griechisch-Römischen Zeit*, ii.

II

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Notes:

After being presented as a paper at the Manchester conference, Inscriptions in Greek and Latin Literature, June 2009, a revised version of what is now this chapter was given at Durham University during my stay as a Visiting Fellow of the British Academy.

⁽¹⁾ On the Iseum of Pompeii cf. Tinh (1964) 31-9; Soprintendenza Archeologica per le Province di Napoli e Caserta (1992); Hoffmann (1993); Blanc, Eristov, and Fincker (2000); Poole (2004) 226-37; Moormann (2007).

⁽²⁾ Naples, Museo Nazionale inv. 1035. Editions: Urk. II 1-6, Tresson (1931); Perdu (1985); Pirelli (1998).

⁽³⁾ Pirelli (1998) 639-44, however, tries to construct parallels between the fate of Somtutefnakht and the initiation into the mysteries of Isis. Moreover she points to the identification of Harsaphes with Osiris.

⁽⁴⁾ On Greek and Roman knowledge of the hieroglyphs cf. Iversen (1993) 38-56.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. Sternberg-El Hotabi (1994) who shows that the decay of hieroglyphic writing actually started already in the Ptolemaic period.

⁽⁶⁾ Plin. *Nat.* 36. 71; Plot. *Enn.* 5. 8. 6; Amm. Marc. 22. 15. 30, 17. 4. 6-23; cf. Plu. *Isid. et Osir.* 10 (*Mor.* 354f). The allegorical interpretation of the hieroglyphs had its roots in Hellenistic Egypt, however: Chaeremon *FGrH* 628 F 2. Cf. Wendel (1940); van der Horst (1982) and (1984) 62-3; Iversen (1993) 46-7. For a commentary from the perspective of modern Egyptology, see Thissen (2006). On mystification of the hieroglyphs in the magical papyri, see Betz (1995) 166-9. As can be seen from Amm. Marc. 17. 4. 6-23, not even knowledge of older translations could prevent the interpretation of hieroglyphic texts as signs of *initialis sapientia*. On the treatise of Hermapion which is discussed by Ammianus cf. Erman (1914) (pronouncing a rather harsh judgement) and Lambrecht (2001) (with a more balanced view).

⁽⁷⁾ Strabo 17. 1. 29.

⁽⁸⁾ Baillet (1920-6) nos. 1255, 1263, 1279; cf. 1265, 4-5.

⁽⁹⁾ Swetnam-Burland (2007) 124–30. Cf. Hoffmann (1993) 154. For cultic use of hieroglyphic manuscripts in the mysteries of Isis, see Apul. *Met.* 11. 22.

⁽¹⁰⁾ This does not mean that there are no Egyptian(izing) elements in the Iseum at all. It is true, for example, that the wall-paintings are based on Egyptian themes. These murals, however, have nothing to do with Egyptian art, but they belong entirely to the Graeco-Roman tradition. The interpretation of the mythological scenes is highly disputed, but '[w]ith or without references to Egypt, the paintings in the portico and the ekklesiasterion do not differ in respect to their compositions and their use of details from contemporary interior decoration of houses' (Moormann (2007) 147 and *passim*; cf. also Moormann (2011) 149–62).

⁽¹¹⁾ *CIL* X 846/ILS 6367: *N(umerius) Popidius N(umeri) f(ilius) Celsinus | aedem Isidis terrae motu conlapsam | a fundamento p(ecunia) s(ua) restituit. hunc decuriones ob liberalitatem | cum esset annorum sex{s} ordini suo gratis adlegerunt.* On the basically Roman character of the Iseum cf. Merkelbach (1965) 144; Golvin (1994) 240 and 245. This seems to be typical for the Pompeian image of Isis in general. Depictions of the goddess following Egyptian models are rather rare: Tinh (1964) 62.

⁽¹²⁾ On this phenomenon in general cf. Egelhaaf-Gaiser (2000) 178–82, 194–5 and 206–7.

⁽¹³⁾ Another instance of this phenomenon is the alleged finding of tablets inscribed with mysterious signs in the tomb of Alcmena near Haliartus, when Agesilaus had it opened in order to transfer the bones of the heroine to Sparta: Plu. *gen. Socr.* 5–7 (*Mor.* 577e–579a). Modern scholars have seen a reference to Mycenaean writing tablets in this: Farnell (1902); Schwartz (1958). The tomb of Alcmena at Haliartus is mentioned by Plu. *Lys.* 28. 5 also. Cf. Kühr (2006) 288–9.

⁽¹⁴⁾ There are, of course, inscriptions that are secondary sources, e.g. the Themistocles decree from Troizen or the founder's oath from Cyrene, but these are the exceptions to the rule. It is telling, moreover, that modern discussion of these documents has been focused not on the context of their genesis, but on the question of authenticity. It seems that there is a strong tendency to regard inscriptional evidence—even if it is of secondary nature—as somehow more reliable than literary tradition. A related problem is the common perception of inscriptions as 'originals', even where they are in fact only public copies of documents preserved in an archive (e.g. psephismata, edicts, and letters from

kings or emperors). In stark contrast, ancient inscriptions that are mentioned only in literary sources are often exposed to radical criticism. Cf. Langslow's warning against such generalizing judgements (this volume, Ch. 7).

⁽¹⁵⁾ On the implicit nature of ancient 'source theory' cf. Schepens (1975) 257–8.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Examples: Suet. *Aug.* 7. 1 (*paene iam exolescentibus litteris*); Lucian *VH* 1. 7 (Ἑλληνικοῖς γράμμασιν καταγεγραμμένην, ἀμυδροῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκτετριμμένοις). It may be added that the use of ἀρχαῖος seems to have implied a certain authoritative relevance of the discussed past to the present, whereas παλαιός was used to emphasize the break with the past: Casevitz (2004), (2006); Bruit Zaidman (2003) (on Pausanias); Bruit Zaidman and Gherchanoc (2006) 7–8. But cf. Calame (2006) 42–5 who denies the validity of this distinction in respect to the use of both words in Herodotus.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Cf. Zizza (1999). Meyer (1955), F. L. Müller (1997) and Smarczyk (2006) discuss Thucydides' use of inscriptions in general. The revisionist stance of the historian is clear from Th. 6. 54. 1. Thucydides adduces two more inscriptions in order to bolster his argument against Athenian oral tradition: 6. 55. 1, 6. 59. 3.

⁽¹⁸⁾ *IG* I³ 1031/Meiggs-Lewis, *GHI* 6.

⁽¹⁹⁾ This important point has already been made by Hornblower (1987) 90.

⁽²⁰⁾ *IG* I³ 948.

⁽²¹⁾ *Syll.*³ 827E/*FD* III 4.294/*AE* 2002.1334A.

⁽²²⁾ *Hdt.* 5. 59–61. One of these tripods was still there to be described by Paus. 9. 10. 4, who gave another meaning to the apparently badly understood inscription, however. Cf. Volkmann (1954) 59–62; Fehling (1971) 102–4; West (1985) 289–95; Pritchett (1993) 116–21; Higbie (1999) 58–9; Papalexandrou (2008) 256–9; Obradović (2009). For another 'cadmeic' inscription, see Polyzelus of Rhodes *FGrH/BNJ* 521 F 1 (~Anagr. Lind. *FGrH/BNJ* 532 F 2 III): Κάδμος λέβητα χά[λ]κεον Φοινικικοῖς γράμμασι ἐπιγεγραμμένον. D.S. 5. 58. 3 may very well have followed Polyzelus: ὁ δ' οὖν Κάδμος καὶ τὴν Λινδίαν Ἀθηναῖν ἐτίμησεν ἀναθήμασιν, ἐν οἷς ἦν χαλκοῦς λέβης ἀξιόλογος κατεσκευασμένος εἰς τὸν ἀρχαῖον ρυθμόν· οὗτος δ' εἶχεν ἐπιγραφὴν Φοινικικοῖς γράμμασιν, ἃ φασὶ πρῶτον ἐκ Φοινίκης εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κομισθῆναι ('Now Cadmus honoured likewise the Lindian Athena with

votive offerings, one of which was a striking bronze cauldron worked after the ancient manner, and this carried an inscription in Phoenician letters, which, men say, were first brought from Phoenicia to Greece', trans. Oldfather (1939)).

(²³) [Arist.] *Mir. ausc.* 843b-844a. Cf. Huxley (1967).

(²⁴) Hdt. 5. 59: τὰ πολλὰ ὅμοια ἔόντα τοῖσι Ἴωνικοῖσι.

(²⁵) Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F 154: Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν τῇ κε τῶν Φιλιππικῶν ἐσκευωρῆσθαι λέγει τὰς πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον συνθήκας, ἃς οὐ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς γράμμασιν ἐστηλιτεῦσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῶν Ἰώνων ('Theopompus in Book 25 of the *Philippika* says that the treaty with the barbarian was a fabrication, and that it was not inscribed on the *stèle* with Attic letters but with the letters of the Ionians'; trans. Fornara (1983)). Cf. Paus. 1. 2. 4 and 6. 19. 6 on use of the ancient Attic alphabet. The inscription with the text of the treaty was also discussed by Craterus *FGrH/BNJ* 342 F 13 in his collection of Attic decrees.

(²⁶) Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F 155: introduction of the Ionic alphabet in Athens during the archonship of Euclides. Cf. Higbie (1999) 62-4; Ferrandini Troisi (2003).

(²⁷) Santi Amantini (2005) 41-3. In fact there are inscriptions in Ionic letters dating from before 403/2 BC: Lalonde (1972); Ferrandini Troisi (2003) 21-2.

(²⁸) The pertinent problems are treated comprehensively by Meister (1982) even if his results did not remain undisputed. For more recent treatments of the topic, see Accame (1982), (1984); Bosworth (1990); Bloedow (1992); Badian (1993) (a revised and much extended version of Badian (1987)); Cawkwell (1997); Samons (1998); Santi Amantini (2005).

(²⁹) Eddy (1970) 13 makes the case for a later (re-)engraving of the text.

(³⁰) Theopompus' use of epigraphic evidence is exceptional in its prominence, but not without methodological parallel: Panaetius relied on the very same palaeographical argument when refuting Demetrius of Phaleron who had linked a choregic monument inscribed in Ionic letter-forms to the famous Aristides (Fr. 131 Van Straaten). For a positive appraisal of Theopompus and his critical use of epigraphic sources, see Pownall (2008).

(³¹) Chest of Cypselus: Paus. 5. 17. 6; Axones: Anaximenes of Lampsacus *FGrH* 72 F 13; cf. Euphorion and Apollodorus *ap. Harp. s.v.* ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος.

(³²) Paus. 5. 20. 1.

(³³) Hieronymus of Rhodes Fr. 33 Wehrli. Aristotle had used the inscription in a more cautious way: Fr. 533 Rose. In fact the discus said nothing about the institution of the Olympic games, but the document dealt only with the Olympic truce. Cf. Möller (2003) 117–19, (2005).

(³⁴) Zimmermann (2004) 293. A similar opinion has been voiced by Nicolai (2007) 13–14 in Marincola's *Blackwell Companion*. Rhodes (1994) felt the need to defend the Greek historians against modern hypercriticism of this sort.

(³⁵) Marincola (1997) 103–7 argues that primary research was not expected from a writer of non-contemporary history in antiquity and that this is the major reason for the general neglect of documentary sources in ancient historiography: 'It is true that an historian may reject this or that detail, but he does not abandon the framework already established by his predecessors.' One wonders which modern historians take 'the radical step of tearing the whole edifice down and starting from the beginning' (Marincola (1997) 106).

(³⁶) Th. 6. 54–9.

(³⁷) Hecataeus *FGrH* 1 F 20. Cf. Fabiani (2003) 170. Aristotle seems to have been convinced by the Herodotean evidence: Fr. 501 Rose.

(³⁸) Cf. Langslow's discussion of references to ancient Latin inscriptions in literary works on Roman history (this volume, Ch. 7 sect. 1).

(³⁹) Biraschi et al. (2003); database: (<http://dostan.sns.it>) (accessed October 2012; a free registration is required). The importance of such an undertaking for our understanding of Greek historiography was pointed out by Davies (1996). For a concise discussion of the topic, see Higbie (1999); Hartmann (2010) 468–92.

(⁴⁰) W. Hansen (2003) and Ní Mheallaigh (2008) cover much of this ‘pseudo-documentarism’. Cf. Speyer (1970) who discusses all sorts of book findings. For the ‘historiographical’ form of the Greek novel, see Jul. Ep. 89b. 301b: πρέποι δ’ ἂν ἡμῖν ἱστορίαις ἐντυγχάνειν, ὅποσαι συνεγράφησαν ἐπὶ πεποιημένοις τοῖς ἔργοις ὅσα δέ ἐστιν ἐν ἱστορίας εἶδει παρὰ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἀπηγγελμένα πλάσματα παραιτητέον, ἔρωτικὰς ὑποθέσεις καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα (‘We ought then to read historical accounts which describe what really happened. As for those cooked-up stories in the form of history that have been published by earlier writers, one must avoid them—love stories and all that kind of stuff.’). Cf. Morgan (1993).

(⁴¹) Bowersock (2003) esp. 16. The reply of Desideri (2003) does not invalidate Bowersock’s argument.

(⁴²) Acusilaus *FGrH/BNJ* 2 T 6. Cf. Merino Martínez (2000) 528–9. On Acusilaus in general, see Tozzi (1967); Pellegrini (1973–4); Lanzillotta (2009).

(⁴³) Suid. s.v. Ἀκουσίλαος (~ *FGrH/BNJ* 2 T 1). West (1985) 278 n. 2 dismisses Acusilaus as being of no importance for the history of ancient Greek epigraphy. Even if he invented his epigraphic source (as he probably did), this invention tells us much about the perception of epigraphic evidence in general.

(⁴⁴) Pl. *Ti.* 24a.

(⁴⁵) *FGrH* 665 F 31. Nesselrath (2001) argues convincingly against Cameron (1983) that Crantor did indeed claim to have independent inscriptional confirmation. This does not give any more credibility to these ‘sources’, of course.

(⁴⁶) Euhemerus *FGrH* 63 F2.5. Cf. Plu. *Isid. et Osir.* 23 (~ *Mor.* 360a); Lactant. *Div. inst.* 1. 11. 33. Cf. R. J. Müller (1993) 291–300; Winiarczyk (2002) 97–103. Callimachus was not convinced: ἐς τὸ πρὸ τείχευς ἱρὸν | ἄλλες δεῦτε, οὗ τὸν πάλαι Πάγχαιον ὁ πλάσας Ζᾶνα | γέρων λαλάζων ἄδικα βιβλία ψήχει (Fr. 191. 9–11 Pfeiffer—‘Come, gather at the shrine outside the walls, where the old man who invented the ancient Panchaeian Zeus babbles and scribbles his impious books’; trans. Trypanis, Gelzer, and Whitman (1973)). The same holds true for Eratosthenes: Strabo 1. 3. 1, 2. 4. 2. Diodorus, however, included Euhemerus’ report in his universal history.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ X. Eph. 5. 15. 2. Cf. W. Hansen (2003) 308–10 who gives further parallels. A typological catalogue of inscriptions mentioned in ancient novels is given by Sironen (2003).

⁽⁴⁸⁾ D. Chr. 11. 37–8.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ Dictys *FGrH/BNJ* 49 T 4–5. Cf. Suid. s.v. Δίκτυς.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Dares *FGrH* 51 T 1. According to Isid. *Orig.* 1. 42. 1 the work was written on palm leaves.

⁽⁵¹⁾ A more restrained version of this strategy was the introduction of bogus citations: Cameron (2004) 124–63. Paschoud (1995) 262–5 compares the use of fictional sources in ancient literature with the preface of Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose* which presents the novel as the retelling of a mysterious manuscript, in fact the eyewitness account of Adso of Melk. Ní Mheallaigh (2008) 404 n. 4 adduces the pseudo-documentary character of the movie *The Blair Witch Project* (<http://www.blairwitch.com>), accessed October 2012) as a modern parallel.

⁽⁵²⁾ For difficulties with reading ancient Latin inscriptions in antiquity cf. Langslow in this volume.

⁽⁵³⁾ Pfister (1909–12). For more recent studies cf. Lacroix (1989); Boedeker (1993); McCauley (1993); Jördens and Becht-Jördens (1994); Scheer (1996); Higbie (1997); McCauley (1997–8), (1999); Shaya (2002), (2005); Higbie (2003); D. D. Phillips (2003); Welwei (2004); Koch Piettre (2005); Zografou (2005); Osborne (2010).

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Boardman (2002).

⁽⁵⁵⁾ For a more comprehensive treatment, see Hartmann (2010). Osborne (2010) provides a concise and up-to-date discussion of ancient Greek relic cult.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Williamson (2005) 244. Others have preferred the museum paradigm: Scheer (1996); Shaya (2005).

⁽⁵⁷⁾ Wace (1949); E. D. Phillips (1964); Finley (1965) esp. 291–2; Hainsworth (1987). Cf. also the more balanced judgement of Hansen (1967).

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Strabo 8. 6. 23; Suet. *Jul.* 81. 1–2. Cf. Nero's search for the treasure of Dido: Tac. *Ann.* 16. 1–3; Suet. *Nero* 31. 4.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ For Cleidemus it was, of course, the other way around, and it is actually quite difficult to prove the inexistence of a phenomenon so remote to the world of daily experience. We should remind ourselves that even an undisputedly historical figure such as Alexander the Great was purported to have impregnated the Amazon queen Thalestris (Polycleitus *FGrH* 128 F 8; Onesicritus *FGrH* 134 F 1; Cleitarchus *FGrH* 137 F 15; Antigenes *FGrH* 141 F 1; Ister *FGrH* 334 F 26; D.S. 17. 77. 1–3; Iust. 12. 3. 5–7; Curt. 6. 5. 24–32) and that Theophanes of Mytilene credited Pompeius with a fight against the Amazons (Plu. *Pomp.* 35. 3–4, probably deriving from the work of Theophanes, who mentioned the Amazons in connection with Pompey's expedition to the Caucasus: *FGrH* 188 F 4). In respect of Alexander, there was admittedly much disbelief among people who should have been eyewitnesses of the alleged events as members of Alexander's entourage: Plu. *Alex.* 46. 4–5 (mocking of Onesicritus by Lysimachus); cf. Chares *FGrH* 125 F 12; Ptolemaeus *FGrH* 138 F 28a; Aristobulus *FGrH* 139 F 21; Anticleides *FGrH* 140 F 12; Hecataeus Scr. rer. Alex. M. 49 M.; Philo of Thebes *ap.* Plu. *Alex.* 46.2; Duris of Samos *FGrH/BNJ* 76 F 46; Philip of Chalkis *FGrH* 741 F 4; Strabo 11. 5. 4; Plu. *Alex.* 46.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ Cf. Nenci (1955); Schepens (1975), (1980), (2007); Levene (2005).

⁽⁶¹⁾ Cf. Schepens (1980) 91 (on Herodotus): 'par le biais de matériel archéologique et épigraphique, il étend son autopsie au passé.'

⁽⁶²⁾ For Herodotus' and Thucydides' attitude towards material sources, see also Hedrick (1993) and (1995).

⁽⁶³⁾ Th. 1. 10. Cf. Cook (1955) 266–7.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ Timaeus *FGrH* 566 F 26. One could add the perception of the Propylaia as a symbol of Athens' former power in authors of the fourth century BC: Aeschin. 2. 74 and 105; D. 23. 207–8. This appreciation of the Propylaia has to be seen against the background of widespread belief in the exorbitant costs necessary for their building: Heliodorus of Athens *FGrH/BNJ* 373 F 1; D.S. 12. 40. 2; Cic. *Off.* 2. 60.

⁽⁶⁵⁾ Th. 1. 8. 1. Cf. Cook (1955) 267–9.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ Plu. *Sol.* 10. 4–5. The Megarian historian Hereas (or Plutarch on the basis of Hereas) contested Solon's facts, but not his method: *FGrH/BNJ* 486 F 4. Cf. Higbie (1997) 299–300.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ D.L. 1. 48.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ Diogenes makes Solon refer to inscriptions that give names including the Demotikon. The whole tradition should be post-Cleisthenic then.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ Cf. Hornblower (1987) 91–2.

⁽⁷⁰⁾ Gel. 15. 20. 5 (Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F 219). The cave was also mentioned in the biographical tradition: Satyr. *Vit. Eur. POxy.* IX.1176 Fr. 39, col. IX.4–28.

⁽⁷¹⁾ Cf. Shaya (2002), (2005); Higbie (2003); Koch Piettre (2005).

⁽⁷²⁾ Paus. 1. 39. 3.

⁽⁷³⁾ Cf. Musti (1984); Chamoux (1988), (1996); Moggi (1993). In fact in the fifteenth century AD Constantine Lascaris wrote the title of Πανσανίου ιστοριογράφου ιστορίαι on his incomplete manuscript of the first book of Pausanias. Marincola (1999) justly warns against the assumption of rigid definitions of historiographical genres in antiquity.

⁽⁷⁴⁾ Suid. s.v. Πολέμων. Cf. the modern judgement of Pernice and Groß (1969) 400 on the preponderance of antiquarian matters in Polemon's works.

⁽⁷⁵⁾ Polemon of Ilion Fr. 39–46 Preller.

⁽⁷⁶⁾ Liv. 22. 14. 11; cf. Varro *Ling.* 5. 157. There was another explanation of the toponym, however: Liv. 5. 48. 3; cf. Plu. *Cam.* 28. 1–3.

⁽⁷⁷⁾ Liv. 5. 40. 7–8; Plu. *Cam.* 20. 3–8. Cf. Varro *Ling.* 5. 157; Paul. ex Fest. p. 60 Lindsay s.v. *Doliola*. Cf. Riesco Alvarez (1990) (*non vidi*).

⁽⁷⁸⁾ Liv. 1. 12–13. For the temple of Iuppiter Stator cf. D.H. *Antiquitates Romanae* 2. 50. 3; Ov. *Fast.* 6. 793–4; Flor. 1. 1; [Aur. Vict.] *De vir. ill.* 2. 7–8; for the aetiology of the *lacus Curtius* Calpurnius Piso *FRH* 7 F 8; D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 2. 42; Plu. *Rom.* 18. 5–6. Cf. Jaeger (1997) 31–56; Hölscher (2006) 104–5; Pausch (2008) 53–6.

⁽⁷⁹⁾ Pausch (2008) esp. 57–8.

⁽⁸⁰⁾ Cf. Cancik (1985–6). Something like a periegesis was probably to be found in the *Mystagogicon libri* of L. Cincius, perhaps also in the works of the antiquarian Procilius (suggested by Münzer (1897) 165–6).

⁽⁸¹⁾ Tac. *Ann.* 13. 31.

⁽⁸²⁾ Cf. Syme (1958) 291–5; Scheithauer (2000) 113.

(⁸³) Plin. *Nat.* 16. 200.

(⁸⁴) Tac. *Hist.* 2. 4.

(⁸⁵) Indeed Pliny reports a rain miracle connected with the altars of the sanctuary, *Natural History* 2. 210.

(⁸⁶) D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 1. 49–54.

(⁸⁷) Argonauts: Timaeus *FGrH* 566 F 88; Agroitas *FGrH/BNJ* 762 F 6; Timonax *FGrH* 842 F 2. Cf. Pfister (1909–12) 148–9 on cults as evidence for the presence of the Argonauts, and Moreau (2000) on the changing reconstructions of their wanderings in general. Ulysses: Asclepiades of Myrlea *FGrH/BNJ* 697 F 7; Solinus 22. 1. Asclepiades worked as a teacher of grammar in Spain at some point of his life: Strabo 3. 4. 3. Strabo seems to imply that the discussion about the journey of Ulysses formed part of Asclepiades' book on the tribes in Turdetania (on this cf. Pagani (2007) 38–40). The Myrlean also wrote a Ὑπόμνημα τῆς Ὀδυσσεΐας (Fr. 3 Pagani), however. Asclepiades apparently combined antiquarian interest in local history and homeric exegesis. On discussions about the presence of Ulysses in Spain in ancient Homeric scholarship cf. Pérez Vilatela (1995).

(⁸⁸) Timaeus *FGrH* 566 F 59. Admittedly the inhabitants of Lavinium kept the relics inaccessible for outsiders: D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 1. 57. 1, 1. 67. 4 censuring Timaeus for his reliance on oral information from the Lavinates. Timaeus' κέραμος Τροϊκός is perhaps to be identified with the *doliola* in which Aeneas had brought the Penates to Italy. A depiction can perhaps be found on the coin *RRC* 307/1b: Crawford (1971).

(⁸⁹) Varro *Rust.* 2. 4. 18. For the omen itself, see Fabius Pictor *FRH* 1 F 5/*FGrH* 809 F 2; Cato *FRH* 3 F 1. 14b; Varro *Ling.* 5. 144; D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 1. 56. 1–1. 57. 1; Verg. *Aen.* 8. 42–8.

(⁹⁰) D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 1. 64. 4–5. Cf. Liv. 1. 2. 6; Paul. ex Fest. p. 94 Lindsay s.v. *Indiges*; Servius Danielis, *Aen.* 1. 259, 12. 794. For Lavinium as a landscape of memory cf. Thomas (1990); Hartmann (2010) 235–42.

(⁹¹) Tac. *Ger.* 3.

(⁹²) Liv. 4. 20. 5–7.

(⁹³) Cf. Hartmann (2010) 454–61.

⁽⁹⁴⁾ Dessau (1906); cf. Harrison (1989); Kehne (1998) 187–207. Against this, Rich (1996). The traditional argument runs thus: Augustus did not want Crassus to gain the honour of the *spolia opima*. Therefore he sought to prove (by reference to the alleged inscription of Cossus) that the *spolia opima* might only be dedicated by commanders with full and undelegated *imperium*. However, Cassius Dio's claim that Crassus held no *imperium* in his own right and that this was the reason for his not dedicating the *spolia opima* (51. 24. 4) has been shown to be wrong (cf. also Tarpin (2003) 280–93). It follows that Augustus' remarks about Cossus' dedication had no political point and were due to antiquarian interests.

⁽⁹⁵⁾ Livy *Per.* 134–5; D.C. 51. 23–7; compare also Flor. 2. 26. For a modern discussion of the war cf. Mócsy (1966).

⁽⁹⁶⁾ *Inscr. Ital.* XIII.1 pp. 86–7.

⁽⁹⁷⁾ It is not sure, however, that the temple of Iuppiter Feretrius would have been accessible for everyone: Càssola (1970). Octavian must have had access as a *fetialis*. He claimed to have seen the spoils of Cossus when he undertook the restoration of the temple on the behest of Atticus: Liv. 4. 20. 7; Nep. *Att.* 20. 3.

⁽⁹⁸⁾ Walter (2004) 194. Sailor (2006) argues along similar lines by comparing Augustus' referral to Cossus' dedication with the revelations of Egeria and the epiphany of Romulus. This seems not very convincing to my mind.

⁽⁹⁹⁾ Eus. *Vit. Const.* 1. 28.

⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Liv. 4. 20. 5–7 (~ Licinius Macer *FRH* 17 F 16). For other mention of *libri lintei*, see Licinius Macer *FRH* 17 F 14–15; Fronto *Ep. ad M. Aurel.* 4. 4. 1; Symmachus *Ep.* 4. 34. 3. Cf. Piccaluga (1994) for Licinius Macer and the *libri* in the temple of Iuno Moneta; also Ogilvie (1958); Frier (1975) esp. 87–9, and (1979) 154–9; Meadows and Williams (2001).

⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Indictment of Livy's 'intellectual inability to find solutions to complex historical and historiographical problems': Forsythe (1999) 64.

⁽¹⁰²⁾ We cannot know what Augustus actually saw in the temple of Iuppiter Feretrius. Perhaps he mistook an archaic COSO to be an abbreviation for *consul*, as has already been suggested by Hirschfeld (1913). In this case, the emperor would have been not a ruthless forger

nor an unscrupulous liar, but only a bad amateur epigrapher grappling with an archaic inscription.

(¹⁰³) Cf. Schepens (2003) 335–40. The inscriptions help to correct this skewed perspective: Chaniotis (1988) 141–3. On interest in ‘ancient history’ in general cf. Weiß (1984).

(¹⁰⁴) Cf. Langslow in this volume (Ch. 7, sect. 1) who identifies comments on the character of letter-forms as a recurrent element in the discussion of ancient Latin inscriptions by literary writers.

(¹⁰⁵) Pollitt (1974) 156–7 is somewhat inconsistent on this point. On the one hand he states that ‘ἀρχαῖος could be used to describe works of art dating from anywhere between the remote, legendary past and the Early Classical period’; on the other hand he thinks that this ‘is very close to the use of *Archaic* by twentieth-century art historians’. Surely the remote (let alone the legendary) past is not designated as ‘archaic’ in modern scholarship. As we shall presently see, it is also questionable if it was ever possible to distinguish properly pre-480 BC works from more recent ones.

(¹⁰⁶) The most important instances are D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 1. 79. 8: χαλκᾶ ποιήματα παλαιᾶς ἐργασίας (‘the figures being in bronze and of ancient workmanship’) and 4. 40. 7: ἡ δ’ εἰκὼν, οἷα πρότερον ἦν, ἀρχαϊκὴ τὴν κατασκευὴν (‘the statue, as aforetime, is of ancient workmanship’, trans. Cary (1937)).

(¹⁰⁷) This is all the more astonishing because the very same Dionysius is able to describe very elaborately different styles of painting: D.H. *Is.* 4. Pernice and Groß (1969) 458 n. 1 qualifies most of Dionysius’ reports on ‘ancient’ monuments as ‘unerfreulich’, but he preferred to hide this embarrassing qualification in the footnotes, because it ran counter to his views about the refinement of art historical studies in antiquity. It may be significant that Dionysius does not assign absolute dates to the styles that he describes in his rhetorical works.

(¹⁰⁸) Plin. *Nat.* 33. 24, 33. 9, 34. 22–3. The same had already been done by the younger Cato: Ascon. Scaur. p. 29 Stangl.

(¹⁰⁹) On the problems of dating and reconstruction, see Evans (1990).

(¹¹⁰) Aeschin. 1. 25–6.

(¹¹¹) D. 19. 251–2.

(¹¹²) Lindian Chronicle, *BNJ* 532 F 2.XV.88-91 (~ Xenagoras *BNJ* 240 F 8/Gorgon *BNJ* 515 F 15): τᾶν φυλᾶν ἐκάστα πίνακα [παναρχ]αϊκόν, ἐν ᾧ ἦν | ἐζωγραφημένος φύλαρχος καὶ δρομεῖς ἐννῆ | πάντες ἀρχαϊκῶς ἔχοντες τοῖς (σ)χήμασι ('Each of the *phylai*, a most ancient plaque. On which was painted a *phylarkhos* and nine *dromeis*, all holding archaic stances'; trans. Higbie *ap. BNJ*); Paus. 8. 40. 1: Φιγαλεῦσι δὲ ἀνδριάς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς Ἀρ(ρα)χίωνος τοῦ παγκρατιαστοῦ, τά τε ἄλλα ἀρχαῖος καὶ οὐχ ἡκιστα ἐπὶ τῷ σχήματι: οὐ διεστᾶσι μὲν πολὺ οἱ πόδες, καθεῖνται δὲ παρὰ πλευρὰν αἱ χεῖρες ἄχρι τῶν γλουτῶν ('The Phigalians have on their market-place a statue of the pancratiast Arrhachion; it is archaic, especially in its posture. The feet are close together, and the arms hang down by the side as far as the hips'; trans. Jones (1935)); Philostr. VA 4. 28: ἐξηγήσατο δὲ καὶ τὸν χαλκοῦν Μίλωνα καὶ τὸν λόγον τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸν σχήματος. ὁ γὰρ Μίλων ἐστάναι μὲν ἐπὶ δίσκου δοκεῖ τῷ πόδε ἄμφω συμβεβηκῶς, ῥόαν δὲ ξυνέχει τῇ ἀριστερᾷ, ἡ δεξιὰ δέ, ὀρθοὶ τῆς χειρὸς ἐκείνης οἱ δάκτυλοι καὶ οἶον διείροντες.... τὸ δὲ ἔργον τῶν δακτύλων καὶ τὸ μήπω διεστῶς τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ ἀγαλματοποιίᾳ προσκεῖσθω ('And he also gave them an account of the brazen statue of Milo and explained the attitude of this figure. For this Milo is seen standing on a disk with his two feet close together, and in his left hand he grasps a pomegranate, while of his right hand the fingers are extended and pressed together as if to pass through a chink....As for the artist's rendering the fingers and feet, between which he has left no interval, that you may ascribe to the antique style of the sculpture'; trans. Conybeare (1912)). Pausanias took crude workmanship as a sign of antiquity: 10. 38. 7. On σχῆμα as a technical term in ancient art criticism cf. Pollitt (1974) 258-62; Koch (2000a) and (2000b) 59-61.

(¹¹³) It may be added that Cook (1955) 266-7 has argued convincingly that Th. 1. 10. 1-3 judged the importance of Bronze Age Mycenae according to the remains of the archaic and classical city that had been destroyed by the Argives in the middle of the fifth century BC. The historian did not distinguish between ruins from the Bronze Age and later ones.

(¹¹⁴) On Pliny's view of art cf. the pertinent contributions in Pigeaud and Oroz Reta (1987) and Isager (1991).

(¹¹⁵) Schweitzer (1932). For more recent treatments, mostly along the lines of Schweitzer, cf. Jucker (1950) 118-46; Pollitt (1964); Pernice and Groß (1969) 481-96; Pollitt (1974) esp. 73-84; Preiðhofen (1979); Settis (1993), (1995a) 44-6, (1995b); Rouveret (1995); Koch (2000b); Tanner (2006) esp. 205-76; Strocka (2007).

(¹¹⁶) Sprigath (2000).

(¹¹⁷) Strocka (2007). A teleological interpretation of the development of artistic techniques is already to be found in Pl. *Hp. Ma.* 281d. Cf. also Cic. *Brut.* 70; Quint. *Inst.* 12. 10. 7–9.

(¹¹⁸) Archaizing inscriptions: Lazzarini (1986); Chaniotis (1988) 267–73; Donderer (1995) 113–15; Aleshire (1999). Archaistic art: Schmidt (1922); Mitchell (1953); Havelock (1964), (1965); Herdejürgen (1968), (1972); Willers (1975); Havelock (1980); Fullerton (1986), (1987), (1990); Zagdoun (1989); Leibundgut (1991); Brahms (1994); Hackländer (1996); Fuchs (1999); Strawczynski (2006); Lissarrague and Huet (2006); Wyler (2006). Cf. also Zanker (1974) on classicizing art. On conservative repairs of buildings, see Buchert (2000) 59–201. Unfortunately there is no systematic study of ancient repairs of statues. Frel (1982) gives a catalogue of ancient repairs of archaic statues.

(¹¹⁹) Cf. Pirenne-Delforge (2006) on Pausanias.

(¹²⁰) The seminal work on the meaning of different styles in eclectic art is Hölscher (1987). Hölscher speaks of a semantization of style (49). Fullerton (1990) 202 names the implication of antiquity as ‘perhaps the most obvious motivation for the use of archaistic style’. Possibly the motivation is more apparent than obvious.

(¹²¹) On archaism in literary theory cf. Lebek (1969); Pennacini (1974); Valette-Cagnac (2006).

(¹²²) Auctor ad Herennium 4. 9; Lucian. *Im.* 6. Cf. Preißhofen and Zanker (1970–1).

(¹²³) It would be very interesting to know the contents of Pasiteles’ five volumes on *mirabilia* (or *nobilis*) *opera*. Pasiteles was the head of a school that produced classicistic works of sculpture. His writings perhaps formed a missing link between theoretical art history and practical historicism. Unfortunately his book remains a mere title for us. Cf. Pollitt (1974) 78–9.

(¹²⁴) Most recently volume 43.2 of *Arethusa* has been devoted to the topic of ancient art history. As the editor points out, the articles are focused not so much on the question of whether there was a *history* of art in antiquity, but of whether there was *art* in our sense of the word: Squire (2010) 136.

(¹²⁵) Schweitzer (1932) 3, offering as evidence Paus. 7. 5. 9 and 9. 10. 2.

⁽¹²⁶⁾ Paus. 5. 25. 5, 7. 5. 9, 7. 26. 6, 9. 10. 2. A similar comparison between works of art can be found at 3. 10. 8. Cf. Elsner (2007) 51–8. For the ability to recognize the personal style of famous artists, see also D.H. *Dem.* 50 and above all Stat. *Silv.* 4. 6. 22–31. Obvious similarities between Egyptian and early Greek art are observed by D.S. 1. 97. 6 and 1. 98. 6–9. Regarding Pausanias it must be added that ancient periegesis contained much valuable material for a history of art, but it was not itself focused on art history or art criticism: Pernice and Groß (1969) 398.

⁽¹²⁷⁾ Schweitzer (1932) 3.

⁽¹²⁸⁾ Schweitzer (1932) 16–19.

⁽¹²⁹⁾ Lissarrague (1995) is right in emphasizing that Philostratus' *Imagines* are not to be classified as art history. The most refined observations on stylistic matters in art can be found in Dionysius of Halicarnassus: *Isaeus* 4; *Ant. Rom.* 16. 3. 2.

⁽¹³⁰⁾ Cf. Elsner (2007) 52.

⁽¹³¹⁾ But Apollodorus of Athens included notices about famous artists in his *Chronicles*: *FGrH* 244 F 81. Hebert (1986) 130–1 tentatively detects traces of Apollodorus in the *Laterculi Alexandrini* (see n. 135).

⁽¹³²⁾ Landwehr (1982), (1985) (see esp. 12–25 on the technique of ancient casts); Gasparri (1995).

⁽¹³³⁾ On this kind of technical literature, see Pernice and Groß (1969) 409–32.

⁽¹³⁴⁾ See n. 115.

⁽¹³⁵⁾ The *Laterculi Alexandrini*, short lists of basic knowledge for use in school, give a fair impression of this canon of famous artists: P. Berol. inv. 13044/TM 65645/LDAB 6897/CPP 273/MP³ 2068 (1st edn. Diels (1904); cf. Hebert (1986)). Cf. Pekáry (1989) on art history in ancient schools. On the emergence of modern art history as an opposing model to a traditional history of artists, see Pommier (2003) 117–49.

⁽¹³⁶⁾ Cf. the normative status of 'ancient' artists implied by Plb. 12. 25e. 7.

⁽¹³⁷⁾ Cf. the explicit remark of Plin. *Nat.* 35. 56 on the earliest painters: 'quorum aetas non traditur'. From this Schweitzer (1932) 17 deduced that Xenocrates gave no absolute dates at all. See also Pollitt (1974) 75.

On the lack of knowledge of biographical details about the archaic painters, see also Koch (1996) 16.

(¹³⁸) See n. 30.

(¹³⁹) But see the problems with the reproduction of drawings as deplored by Plin. *Nat.* 25. 8 in respect to botanical books: ‘pinxere namque effigies herbarum atque ita subscripsere effectus. verum et pictura fallax est coloribus tam numerosis, praesertim in aemulationem naturae, multumque degenerat transcribentium so(co)r(d)ia’ (For they painted likenesses of the plants and then wrote under them their properties. But not only is a picture misleading when the colours are so many, particularly as the aim is to copy Nature, but besides this, much imperfection arises owing to the carelessness of the copyists), trans. Jones and Andrews (1956), but following the text of Mayhoff. I owe this reference to M. Rathmann.

(¹⁴⁰) D.S. 1. 4. 6: three books on τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχαιολογίας, i.e. the events before the Trojan War. Thucydides does not use the term ἀρχαιολογία himself. His famous archaeology is first designated as such by Σ. Th. 1. 12. 1.

(¹⁴¹) Cf. Calame (2006) 45–9 (on Herodotus); Hartmann (2010) 419–23.

(¹⁴²) Cf. Payen (2006). For the complex history of the notion of an ‘archaic’ period, see Most (1989).

(¹⁴³) Varro *ap.* Porph. Hor. epod. 16. 13; D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 1. 87. 2; Fest. p. 184 Lindsay s.v. *Niger lapis*.

(¹⁴⁴) D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 3. 1. 2. Cf. Langslow’s discussion in this volume (pp. 169 and 182).

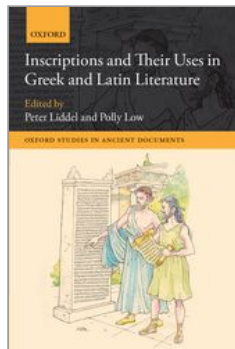
(¹⁴⁵) Bosworth (1999).

(¹⁴⁶) D.H. *Ant. Rom.* 2. 54. 1 locates the *Res Gestae* of Romulus himself at the Volcanal. The tradition about the tombs of Faustulus, Romulus, and Tullus Hostilius in Dionysius is probably the result of a garbled compilation of the different interpretations of the monument under the *niger lapis*. This is suggested by Fest. p. 184 Lindsay s.v. *Niger lapis*, who gives at least Faustulus and Romulus as alternative occupants of the alleged grave.

(¹⁴⁷) Starr (2009).

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Herodotus and Temple Inventories

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Abstract and Keywords

Scholars have repeatedly taken note of Herodotus' use of epigraphic material in his work, although whether the historian was the ἀρχηγέτης of epigraphy as a discipline or not, remains unclear. Only a handful of inscriptions cited by Herodotus survived to this day, while scholarly research has focused on specific references to inscribed documents as they relate to his method. This chapter discusses evidence of Herodotus' complex and sophisticated use of temple inventories in Delphi and on Delos. None of these presumably inscribed early temple inventories has survived to date, but it is likely that some had been made available in some form. Indeed, both Herodotus and his audience appear to have been familiar with this type of documents that were published in inscribed form at least as early as the fifth century bc. It is also argued that Herodotus had access to temple inventories which were preserved in the Delphic sanctuary archives, while he saw and studied several of the dedications he mentions in detail, often juxtaposing the epigraphic evidence to his contemporary oral tradition. Attention is drawn to the wording of the historian's account of Croesus' Delphic dedications; the Delphic and Delian inventory practices; and the existence of dedications that Herodotus associates with the Delian Artemision in the Hellenistic inventories of that temple.

Keywords: Herodotus, temple inventories, dedications, autopsy, Delphi, Delos, Croesus, oral history

The extent to which Herodotus used epigraphic material as a primary source for his work, thereby earning the title of ἀρχηγέτης (founder) of epigraphy, has been the subject of vivid scholarly debate for many decades.¹ Only a handful of the inscriptions he cites have survived to this day, and these certainly testify to the accuracy of parts of his work, allowing important insights into his historical method. However, assessing the Halikarnassian historian's epigraphic interests has been no easy task. Like many ancient authors, Herodotus both cites *verbatim* and paraphrases inscriptions, and careful study of the wording of his text may suggest that he consulted an even greater number of epigraphic texts than was previously assumed.² Far from claiming to settle long-standing debates on Herodotus and his sources, this article will recast the debate on the Father of History as στηλοκόπας (inscription-glutton) by making a case, by reference to his style of writing, for his use of Delphic and Delian inventory lists.

In a number of famous passages, Herodotus discusses in detail the lavish gifts offered to Delphic Apollo by various rulers of the Lydian Mermnad dynasty, starting from Croesus (560–546 BC), the last Mermnad king, moving on to his predecessors Gyges (c.680–644 BC) and Alyattes (619–560 BC). While the splendour of the dedications is consistent with the mythical wealth of the Mermnadae, scholars have overlooked the different writing styles Herodotus employs to describe the objects, as well as the painstaking research he appears to have conducted into them. Indeed, the Halikarnassian's account of the Lydian royal dedications involves two groups of objects: the earlier one consists of Gyges and Alyattes' offerings to Apollo's sanctuary, which seem to have survived intact to the days of Herodotus. The larger, later group of offerings involves Croesus' benefactions, some of which had been damaged or misappropriated. In describing the former, Herodotus uses the aorist tense, as was his habit when generally narrating past events that he learned in all likelihood mostly through oral reports. On the **(p.66)** other hand, his use of the present tense indicates which of Gyges' and Alyattes' offerings he had successfully, albeit easily, located and seen. In Croesus' case, however, Herodotus used an entirely different narrative technique by employing the prospective imperfect in his account of the king's dedications, the most important of which he actually saw and described, often in great detail.³

τὴν μὲν δὴ τυραννίδα οὕτω ἔσχον οἱ Μερμνάδαι τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας ἀπελόμενοι, Γύγης δὲ τυραννεύσας ἀπέπεμψε ἀναθήματα ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ὀλίγα, ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν ἀργύρου ἀναθήματα, ἔστι οἱ πλεῖστα ἐν Δελφοῖσι, πάρειξ δὲ τοῦ ἀργύρου χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἀνέθηκε ἄλλον τε καὶ τοῦ μάλιστα μνήμη ἄξιον ἔχειν ἐστί, κρητῆρες οἱ ἀριθμὸν ἕξ χρύσειοι ἀνακέαται. ἐστᾶσι δὲ οὗτοι ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, σταθμὸν ἔχοντες τριήκοντα τάλαντα αἱ ἀληθεῖ δὲ λόγῳ χρεωμένῳ οὐ Κορινθίων τοῦ δημοσίου ἐστὶ ὁ θησαυρός, ἀλλὰ Κυψέλου τοῦ Ἡετίωνος. οὗτος δὲ ὁ Γύγης πρῶτος βαρβάρων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκε ἀναθήματα μετὰ Μίδην τὸν Γορδῖεω Φρυγίης βασιλέα. ἀνέθηκε γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μίδης τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον ἐς τὸν προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε, ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητον· κεῖται δὲ ὁ θρόνος οὗτος ἔνθα περ οἱ τοῦ Γύγεω κρητῆρες. ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς οὗτος καὶ ὁ ἄργυρος τὸν ὁ Γύγης ἀνέθηκε, ὑπὸ Δελφῶν καλέεται Γυγάδας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπωνυμίην.

(Thus the Mermnadae obtained the kingship by taking it from the Heraklids. When Gyges became king, he sent quite a few dedications off to Delphi, and of all the silver dedications in Delphi, most are his. Besides silver, he dedicated an unbelievable amount of gold. Most worthy of mention among them are the bowls; six golden bowls are his offerings. They weigh thirty talents and stand in the treasury of the Corinthians, although the truth is that it is not the treasury of all the Corinthians, but of Kypselos son of Eetion. Of all barbarians known to us, it was Gyges who first dedicated offerings to Delphi, after Midas son of Gordias, the king of Phrygia. Midas in fact dedicated a royal throne worth seeing, on which he sat when he gave judgments. This throne sits in the same place as Gyges's bowls. The gold and silver dedicated by Gyges is called 'Gygian' by the Delphians, named after its dedicator.) (Hdt. 1. 14)⁴

Herodotus also employs the aorist tense in his short reference to Alyattes' gifts to Delphi:

Ἀλυάττης δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους πόλεμον διενείκας μετέπειτα τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας ἕτεα ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα. ἀνέθηκε δὲ ἐκφυγῶν τὴν νοῦσον δεύτερος οὗτος τῆς οἰκίης ταύτης ἐς Δελφοὺς κρητῆρά τε ἀργύρεον μέγαν καὶ ὑποκρητηρίδιον σιδήρεον κολλητόν, θῆξ ἄξιόν (ἐστί) διὰ πάντων τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀναθημάτων, Γλαύκου τοῦ Χίου ποίημα, ὃς μοῦνος δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων σιδήρου κόλλησιν ἐξεῦρε.

(Alyattes the Lydian died after concluding his war against the Milesians; he had reigned for fifty-seven years. This man was the second of his family to make a dedication to Delphi; when he was relieved of his sickness he dedicated a large silver bowl and a welded iron stand, worthy of seeing among all the dedications at Delphi. It is the work of Glaukos of Chios, the only man to discover the art of welding iron.) (Hdt. 1. 25. 1-2)

The first, more detailed, text lists some of the objects that Herodotus accepts as Gyges' dedications at Delphi, including weights and storage locations. It clearly also testifies to the historian's interest in reporting conflicting information about their provenance. There is little doubt that his sources here were oral reports, possibly official sources within the sanctuary that may have been eager to increase **(p.67)** the value of certain prestige objects by associating them with the legendary, and significantly older than Kypselos, Gyges. However, at least in this case, Herodotus does not appear to offer any direct critical evaluation of the objects under discussion, and his mention of Midas and the early Mermnad benefactions is somewhat vague. Whether the Corinthian tyrant Kypselos (657-627 BC) appropriated the Lydian gifts that were housed in the treasury he sponsored, and perhaps even carved his own fake dedicatory inscription in order to enhance his ὑστεροφημία, remains unclear but cannot be dismissed entirely, since it was known to happen in several other sanctuaries.⁵

In his account of Croesus' Delphic dedications, which had achieved the status of historical relics, Herodotus appears to be on more secure ground. As was the habit in other Greek sanctuaries, according to the testimony of surviving inventories, all of which postdate Herodotus, Croesus' dedications were not kept together; his four silver *pithoi* were stored in the Treasury of the Corinthians, while other objects were kept at the Temple of Apollo and the Treasury of the Klazomenians. His extraordinary gifts also included, among other things, two lustral basins (περιρραντήρια) made of gold and silver respectively, a large gold lion, a gold statue of a woman that was slightly under life-size, miscellaneous votives including electrum 'bricks', vessels, and jewellery.⁶ With the exception of the lustral basins, most of these were kept at unknown locations.⁷

In discussing Croesus' benefactions to Delphi, Herodotus offers a more detailed text written in the prospective imperfect, especially in describing perishable objects he does not expect to survive, some of which were already damaged.⁸ Naiden's comprehensive study of this distinctive Herodotean style has shown that the historian used it to describe locations or objects that certainly once existed but no longer

did in his time, or were damaged or ruined in the case of monuments.⁹ Naiden further associates Herodotus' consistent use of this tense in similar contexts with the Halikarnassian's concern in the preamble of his *Histories* to commemorate ἔργα, be those deeds or works. In this respect, he functions both as commentator and forecaster of the fate of his *realia*, emphasizing that his familiarity with them was due to his autopsy. The description of Croesus' gifts to Apollo, with which the historian was especially familiar, is a compelling illustration of Herodotus' sophisticated narrative technique:

(p.68) μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θυσίησι μεγάλῃσι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεὸν ἱλάσκετο· κτήνεά τε γὰρ τὰ θύσιμα πάντα τρισχίλια ἔθυσσε, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας καὶ εἴματα πορφύρεα καὶ κιθῶνας, νήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, κατέκαιε, ἐλπίζων τὸν θεὸν μᾶλλον τι τούτοις ἀνακτήσεσθαι· Λυδοῖσι τε πᾶσι προεῖπε θύειν πάντα τινὰ αὐτῶν τούτῳ ὃ τι ἔχοι ἕκαστος. ὥς δὲ ἐκ τῆς θυσίης ἐγένετο, καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἡμιπλίνθια ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήλαυνε, ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρότερα ποιέων ἑξαπάλαιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ βραχύτερα τριπάλαιστα, ὕψος δὲ παλαιστιαῖα. ἀριθμὸν δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τούτων ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ τέσσερα, τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον ἕκαστον ἔλκοντα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡμιπλίνθια λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ, σταθμὸν διτάλαντα. ἐποιέετο δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου ἔλκουσιν σταθμὸν τάλαντα δέκα. οὗτος ὁ λέων, ἐπεὶ τε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖσι νηὸς, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλινθίων (ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοις ἵδρυτο), καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων σταθμὸν ἑβδομον ἡμιτάλαντον· ἀπετάκη γὰρ αὐτοῦ τέταρτον ἡμιτάλαντον.

ἐπιτελέσας δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Δελφούς, καὶ τάδε ἄλλα ἅμα τοῖσι, κρητῆρας δύο μεγάθῃ μεγάλους, χρύσειον καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν ὁ μὲν χρύσειος ἔκειτο ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ ἐσιόντι ἐς τὸν νηόν, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπ' ἀριστερά. μετεκινήθησαν δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ὑπὸ τὸν νηὸν κατακαέντα καὶ ὁ μὲν χρύσειος κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κλαζομενίων θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων σταθμὸν εἵνατον ἡμιτάλαντον καὶ ἔτι δωδέκα μνέας, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπὶ τοῦ προνηίου τῆς γωνίης, χωρέων ἀμφορέας ἑξακοσίους· ἐπικίρναται γὰρ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν Θεοφανίοισι. φασὶ δὲ μιν Δελφοὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου ἔργον εἶναι, καὶ ἐγὼ δοκέω· οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὸν φαίνεται μοι ἔργον εἶναι. καὶ πίθους τε ἀργυρέους τέσσερας ἀπέπεμψε, οἱ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ ἐστᾶσι, καὶ περιρραντήρια δύο ἀνέθηκε, χρύσειόν τε καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν τῷ χρυσέῳ ἐπιγέγραπται Λακεδαιμονίων φαμένων εἶναι ἀνάθημα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο Κροίσου, ἐπέγραψε δὲ τῶν τις Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίοισι βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι, τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὐνομα οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παῖς, δι' οὗ τῆς χειρὸς ῥέει τὸ ὕδωρ, Λακεδαιμονίων ἐστί, οὐ μέντοι τῶν γε περιρραντηρίων οὐδέτερον. ἄλλα τε ἀνάθηματα οὐκ ἐπίσημα πολλὰ ἀπέπεμψε ἅμα τούτοις ὁ Κροῖσος, καὶ χεύματα ἀργύρεα κυκλοτερέα, καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναικὸς εἰδωλον χρύσειον τρίπηχυν, τὸ Δελφοὶ τῆς ἀρτοκόπου τῆς Κροίσου εἰκόνα λέγουσι εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ γυναικὸς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δειρῆς ἀνέθηκε ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ τὰς ζώνας.

(After this he tried to please the god at Delphi with generous offerings. He sacrificed 3,000 of every kind of appropriate animal. He piled up gold- and silver-plated couches, golden libation cups, and purple garments, and then burned them on a huge pyre, hoping thereby to gain a bit more of the god's favour. He ordered all the Lydians to sacrifice according to their means. After the sacrifice, Croesus melted down a great amount of gold and beat it into ingots, 117 in all, each measuring 18 inches long, 9 inches wide, and 3 inches high. Of these, four were made of refined gold, weighing two and a half talents each, and the rest were made of white gold, weighing two talents each. He also had a statue of a lion made of refined gold, weighing ten talents. When the temple at Delphi burned down, this lion fell from the ingots on which it had been sitting, and was set up in the treasury of the Corinthians; it now weighs six and a half talents, since three and a half talents melted off in the fire.

When Croesus had finished preparing these offerings, he sent them to Delphi together with two bowls of enormous size: one of gold which was set on the right of the temple entrance, and the other of silver, which was set on the left. These also were moved when the temple burned down. The golden bowl is now displayed in the treasury of the Clazomenians and weighs eight and a half talents and twelve minas; the silver one is in the corner of the temple's front hall and holds 600 amphoras. I know this because they are now used by the Delphians for mixing wine at the Theophania festival. The Delphians say they are the work of Theodoros of Samos, and I believe them, since they do not look to me like any ordinary pieces. In addition, Croesus sent four large silver storage jars, which are in the treasury of the Corinthians; and he dedicated two vessels for sprinkling holy water, of gold and silver. Of these, the golden jar has an inscription that claims it is a dedication of the Spartans, but that is incorrect, for this, too, came from Croesus; but a Delphian inscribed it **(p.69)** thus in order to ingratiate the Spartans. I know his name but will not mention it. There is, however, a statue of a boy with water flowing through his hands which is really from the Spartans, but neither of the sprinklers are theirs. Together with these offerings, Croesus sent many other less remarkable items: these included some round cast objects of silver, a golden statue of a woman four and a half feet tall, which the Delphians say is an image of

Croesus' baker, and his own wife's necklaces and belts.) (Hdt. 1. 50-1)

Herodotus singles out a number of Croesus' votives that survived major disaster, moves, and misappropriation, tracing their history in the Delphic sanctuary mainly in the prospective imperfect and, once they found their permanent location, in the present tense: a giant gold lion (1. 50. 3), originally weighing ten talents, was partially destroyed during the fire of 548/7 BC, losing three and a half talents of its original weight, and was transferred to the Corinthian treasury. Although it was damaged, its large size rendered it almost imperishable, hence Herodotus' shift from the prospective imperfect (ἐποιέετο δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ (he was also making an image of a gold lion)) to the present tense when informing the reader of its final location (νῦν κεῖται (it is now located)). The same narrative technique (ἀπέπεμπε, ἔκειτο (was sending, was located)) is employed in the case of Croesus's two gold and silver kraters that were eventually moved from their original location (κεῖται (is located)). Interestingly, for contested and objects of disputed origin, including four storage jars in the Corinthian treasury (known for housing votives of suspect origins), two lustral basins (περιρραντήρια) (one of which was under dispute as a Spartan or Lydian offering), and miscellaneous dedications, Herodotus shifts from the aorist to the present tense in order to denote contemporary hearsay (ἀπέπεμψε, ἀνέθηκε, λέγουσι (he sent, he dedicated, they say)).

Scholars have mainly stressed the central role that oral sources played in Herodotus' reconstruction of the Delphic sanctuary, including his reports on famous dedicants, following his visit there during the 440s.¹⁰ Yet evidence in his account of Croesus' votives suggests that the historian was much more scrupulous in his research than previously understood. His report on Gyges and Alyattes' dedications employs the aorist tense, focusing more on the general reports the historian received on them and less on the offerings. On the other hand, Herodotus' information on Croesus, related in continuous prospective imperfects, involves real objects that he examined at Delphi, many of which, being perishable, were already damaged and had been relocated to different treasuries over time. Indeed the prospective imperfect in Herodotus, especially in connection to votives, is employed for objects that are movable, perishable, and only expected to survive for posterity in the historian's text.¹¹

Herodotus' description of Croesus' Delphic dedications seems to have been based on an additional, much more important source that was as reliable as autopsy: that is, written accounts in the form of inventory lists that were either inscribed and set up in the sanctuary or kept in

the archives.¹² Even though no Delphic stone inventories have survived to date, the sanctuary undoubtedly kept **(p.70)** meticulous accounts of its property, and Herodotus quite possibly consulted these documents when researching Croesus' activities. Indeed, his text reads at times very much like epigraphically attested inventories listing the same types of dedications that were reportedly kept in Greek sanctuaries.¹³ It certainly follows the format we know from elsewhere and displays the same inconsistencies. Its vocabulary is also surprisingly familiar, especially in the recording of weights and of the exact location of a given dedication within a treasury, its state of preservation, repairs, and relocation. For example, the reference to Croesus' two large, apparently unweighed, gold and silver kraters that were located in the cella of the Delphic temple, immediately to the right and left of the entrance respectively, reads:

τῶν ὁ μὲν χρύσεος ἔκειτο ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ εἰσιόντι ἐς τὸν νηόν, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπ' ἀριστερά.

(Of these, one of gold was set on the right of the temple entrance, and the other of silver, was set on the left.) (Hdt. 1. 51. 1)

The same clause (δεξιᾷ εἰσιόντι / ἀριστερᾷ εἰσιόντι) is attested elsewhere exclusively in inventories contemporary to, and later than, Herodotus.¹⁴

It is noteworthy that the same clause is often associated with large vessels that were permanently mounted on bases resting on the floor of the Delphic Temple of Apollo, and were counted annually but not weighed, because their size made it impossible to steal them.¹⁵ However, it was possible to relocate them at times. For example, twelve cauldrons (λέβητες) were reportedly placed along the left side of the Temple of Delian Apollo in c.200 BC, while ten silver *phialai* replaced them about two years later.¹⁶ The vocabulary changed after twenty years, at least on Delos, to describe a series of twelve and eighteen *phialai* that were lined up on the right and left sides of the Artemision respectively. The clause used in that case is δεξιᾷ εἰσπορευομένων—ἀριστερᾷ εἰσπορευομένων (to the right of those who entered—to the left of those who entered).¹⁷

The Delian inventories also refer to large objects as τάδε ἄστατα, and in the few instances that weights of very large objects are mentioned in inventories these are always associated with their dedicatory inscription, often designated as such in the inventory text:

...[θυμι]ατήριον χρυσὸν ὑγι-
 ἐς ὑπόχαλκον, σταθμὸν τοῦ χρυσοῦ [ἐπι]γέγραπται ἐπὶ τῷ
 θυμια-
 τηρίῳ ΗΗΗΔΔΙΙ, συναμφότερα δὲ εἴλκυσε XXXΗΗ...ἕτερον
 θ-
 υμιατήριον χρυσὸν ὑγιὲς ὑπόχαλκον, σ[τ]αθμὸν τοῦ
 χρυσοῦ οὐκ ἐπι-
 γέγραπται, συναμφότερα δὲ εἴλκυσε ΧΗΔΔΗΗΗ κανῶν
 χρυσὸν ὑ-
 γιὲς ὑπόχαλκον ὀρθηλόν, σταθμὸν τοῦ χρυσοῦ
 ἐπιγέγραπται ἐπὶ τ-
 ῶι κανῶι ΧΗΗΔΔΔΗΗΙΙC.

(p.71) (A bronze, gold-plated incense-burner in sound condition, the weight of the gold is inscribed on the incense-burner: 1320 drs. 2 obols, both (metals) weighed 3700+ drs.; another bronze, gold-plated incense-burner in sound condition, the weight of the gold is not inscribed, both (metals) weighed 1624 drs. A tall bronze, gold-plated sacrificial basket (*kanoun*) in sound condition, the weight of the gold is inscribed on the sacrificial basket (*kanoun*): 1232 drs. 2 ½ obols.) (ID 104, ll. 39-45 (364/3 BC))

Elsewhere in the Delian inventories, the decision not to weigh large objects, opting to note down the inscribed weight instead, was also recorded:

θυμιατήριον φιαλωτὸν μέγα περίχρυσον, ὃ ἐπιγέγραπται
 ὀλκὴ τοῦ χρυσοῦ δραχμαὶ · ϞΗΗΗΔΔΙΙ· τοῦτο οὐκ ἐστάθη.
 (A large saucer-shaped incense-burner set in gold, on
 which the weight of the gold is inscribed: 820 drs. 2 obols;
 this was not weighed.) (IG XI (2) 161, B, l. 36 (278 BC))

Herodotus uses the same type of clause in his fourth book where he describes briefly the Delian Artemision and mentions the Delian tradition involving the gifts that the Hyperboreans brought to Delos. The Temple of Artemis reportedly housed the tomb of the mythical maidens, Hyperoche and Laodike, and Herodotus mentions dedications that were offered to these deities by Delian boys and girls as rites of passage:

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτας οἶδα ποιεύσας· τῇσι δὲ παρθένοισι
 ταύτῃ τῇσι ἔξ Ὑπερβορέων τελευτησάσῃσι ἐν Δήλῳ κείρονται
 καὶ αἱ κόραι καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Δηλίων· αἱ μὲν πρὸ γάμου πλόκαμον
 ἀποταμνόμεναι καὶ περὶ ἄτρακτον εἰλίξασαι ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα τιθεῖσι
 (τὸ δε σῆμα ἐστὶ ἔσω ἐς τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐσιόντι ἀριστερῆς χειρός,

ἐπιπέφυκε δὲ οἱ ἐλαίῃ), ὅσοι δὲ παῖδες τῶν Δηλίων, περὶ χλόην
τινὰ εἰλίξαντες τῶν τριχῶν τιθεῖσι καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα.

(I know that the Thracian and Paionian women do this, but at Delos, the girls and boys cut their hair in honour of the Hyperborean virgins who died there. Before marriage, the girls cut off a lock of their hair, wind it around a spindle, and place it upon the tomb. The tomb is located within the Artemision, to the left of the entrance, and has an olive tree growing over it. All the boys, too, wind some of their hair around a plant shoot and set it on the tomb. Those are the honours that the inhabitants of Delos give to these maidens.) (Hdt. 4. 34)

Herodotus' Delian spindles (ἡλακάται or ἡλακάτια) appear in the inventories of the Delian Artemision from 279 to c. 145 BC, and they were all made of silver (ἄργυρᾶ). Earlier examples, dating to the early third century BC were also kept in the temple of Apollo, but it is unclear whether these were moved from the Artemision. Whether they were all dedicated to the sanctuary around the time they were recorded in our surviving inventory lists, or whether some, or all of them, were much older and only incidentally recorded in later catalogues, is unknown.¹⁸ Moreover, questions inevitably arise regarding the similarities and differences between the inventory practices in Herodotus' time and the Hellenistic period.

(p.72) The purpose and accuracy of stone inventory lists are notoriously difficult to gauge.¹⁹ The earliest inventory lists were probably associated with the Periclean building projects on the Athenian Akropolis and were therefore inscribed in stone around Herodotus' lifetime. The practice undoubtedly reflected a democratic requirement of freedom of information and the accountability of officials, and was also adopted by other Greek cities.²⁰ The publication of the Delian inventories was imposed by the Athenians who controlled the island's amphictionic administration in the early fourth century BC, and a study of the surviving texts makes it evident that they included much earlier votives that had undoubtedly been included in earlier texts that were not published.²¹ While it may be impossible for us to reconstruct accurately the language of early, non-surviving inventories, the fact that the clauses under discussion appear almost exclusively in inventory lists or literary texts describing sanctuaries suggests strongly that Herodotus reconstructed their format in his own account of the treasuries that he visited.

Any interpretation of Herodotus' language should also consider whether the historian may have purposefully imitated the language and structure of the contemporary public inventories of the Athenian Akropolis in order to achieve the optimal response of his Athenian audience who had presumably just become familiarized with them. Existing evidence probably does not allow us to speculate whether the historian aimed at more than the entertainment of his audience by creating a 'virtual' inventory and thus bringing the Delphic treasures to life through his descriptions.²² However, his distinct writing style as analysed above, as well as further indications for his use of similar texts, suggest that his research may have been more sophisticated and in-depth. Beyond his description of Croesus' votives, Herodotus offers a complete record of the fate of the Lydian king's ex-votos following a reorganization of the Delphic treasures after the fire that devastated the temple in 548/7 BC: the sanctuary's administrators reportedly transferred Croesus' kraters to the Treasury of the Klazomenians and to the Proneos of the Temple of Apollo, perhaps after initiating the procedure of ἐξετασμός. This move occasioned their weighing before they were installed in their new home, something that had not been previously attempted. If this was the case, Herodotus may have consulted, besides the original inventory of Croesus' votives, an account of repairs that may have been very similar to a surviving fourth-century BC Delphic inscription that documented further repairs that were needed for Croesus' silver lustral basin and krater.²³

(p.73) Herodotus' report on Croesus' votives includes direct and indirect references to dedicatory inscriptions associated with the objects. The expected name of the dedicant of one of the silver lustral basins was thus forged on its gilded surface (τῶν τῷ χρυσέῳ ἐπιγέγραπται), a detail that is reported in later inventory lists from Athens and especially Delos.²⁴ However, an even more compelling indication that Herodotus may have used Delphic inventories involves his discussion and reconstruction of Croesus' kraters. To begin with, in his discussion of a Lydian bronze krater, the Vix treasure now kept at the Châtillonnais Museum, Griffith questioned the accuracy of Herodotus' report that one of Croesus's kraters could have been made of solid gold. His theory that it was rather made of gilded bronze certainly has merit, given the fact that gold and gilded objects are often confused in inventories.²⁵ Alternatively the krater could have been entirely made of bronze, but Herodotus and others may have mistaken its patina for gold. Moreover, on the basis of surviving finds, Griffith convincingly argued that Croesus' silver krater could not have had the capacity of 600 amphoras that Herodotus reports. If this were the case, Griffith, and the engineers Blackman and Sawyer, calculated the

vessel's weight would be about 160 kg, its height 3.5 m, an overall size and dimensions that would make it impossible for the vase to fit through the door of the temple. Griffith therefore suggested that Herodotus' text had been corrupted there due to a scribe's error, and that the vessel in question had the more plausible capacity of 60 amphoras. At first glance this is an attractive theory, but one may wonder how a scribe could have mistakenly copied ἑξακοσίους instead of ἐξήκοντα. However, this difficulty disappears if we take into account that the weights of votives were usually recorded in inventory lists in Greek numerals, rather than in full.²⁶ It was therefore possible for the scribe to inadvertently record ϜH instead of ϜΔ. Interestingly enough, a similar error can be found in one of the annual inventories of the Delian Artemision whose earlier and later versions have survived.²⁷ Of course, what remains unclear is whether the mistaken weight was recorded by the scribe or letter-cutter of the original inventory, Herodotus' scribe and copier, or Herodotus himself.²⁸

(p.74) Herodotus' literary style makes it possible that he was familiar with the kind of language that is known from inventories. One may wonder where these documents were located and whether he was able to consult them. The Delian material associated with the Artemision is significant but dates from 367 to c. 145 BC, even though there is very important evidence that the temple was used as storage for precious votives for a longer time.²⁹ To date there are no surviving stone inventories from Delphi, but the state of fragmentary evidence does not rule out the possibility that there may have been times when limited lists of important votives such as those of Croesus may have been published.³⁰ One may also wonder about the medium the sanctuary used to carve its inventory lists. There is evidence that bronze inscriptions were set up in sanctuaries, and at least one very important Athenian inscription (*IG II² 1498+1501*) of an *exetasmós* that took place on the Akropolis between 340 and 330 BC mentions a significant number of bronze inventories referred to as στήλη τῶν ταμιῶν τῆς θεοῦ καὶ στήλη τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν (*stele* of the *tamiai* of the Goddess and *stele* of (the *tamiai* of) the Other Gods). These inventories had been taken off their base for reasons unknown, perhaps to be melted down during a *kathairesis* (removal). The larger set inventories are juxtaposed to a smaller bronze *stele* that was set in precious stones (στηλύδριον χαλκοῦν διάλιθον).³¹ The Delian inventories also mention bronze *stelai* associated with Cypriot royalty, of which a fragment was excavated in the Delian Artemision.³² That the reconstructed inventory of Croesus' gifts may have been commissioned in bronze is not an impossibility, as knowledge of the king's much-discussed and probably mostly

inaccessible votives is likely to have been based on descriptions and texts that were available to the public.

It remains then to reconstruct the lost ‘Croesus *stèle*’. Herodotus’ text suggests that it may have been a partial or complete offering list that consisted of an inventory in epistolary form. Indeed, part of Herodotus’ transmitted statement, reportedly made by Croesus’ representatives to Delphi seeking to consult the oracle on behalf of the Lydian ruler, may reflect the preamble of a letter that may have included the votive list: Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βασιλεύς, νομίσας τάδε μαντήια εἶναι μοῦνα ἐν ἀνθρώποισι, ὑμῖν τε ἄξια δῶρα ἔδωκε τῶν ἐξευρημάτων (Croesus, king of Lydia and other nations, believing that this is the only true place of divination among men, offers you gifts that are worthy of your prophetic wisdom), 1. 53. 2. This clause may have become standardized and be reflected centuries later in the letter of Seleucus I that was inscribed on the inventory listing his luxurious dedication to Apollo Didymaios. Like Croesus, Seleucus I sent his gifts, including a sacrifice to Didyma in 288/7 BC, explaining the occasion for his dedication in a letter.³³ While Croesus’ proposed communication (p. 75) by letter and its presumed parallels to Hellenistic royal correspondence are by no means certain, the similarities make this an attractive theory.

This chapter does not pretend to have settled once and for all the problem of Herodotus’ epigraphic interests, or indeed to have addressed all the difficulties surrounding the Delphic epigraphic and archival patrimony and its accessibility to ancient historians.³⁴ The fact that Herodotus took pains to reconstruct such a detailed history of Croesus’ votives suggests that, besides collecting oral reports from Delphi, he may also have taken the time to consult the sanctuary’s records. It is unclear how many of these were available to him and in what form, of course, and to what extent he could research their history and vicissitudes. However, comparative material from other Greek sanctuaries suggests that he may have had access to both inventory lists and accounts, including documents detailing the procedure of ἐξετασμός and repairs. The image of a scrupulous historian then emerges, who, besides conversing with the locals in order to listen to their oral histories, also sat in archives, wandered around a sanctuary, read critically, and used inscriptions as primary sources for his work. He may have also read carefully through Croesus’ original offering list before sifting through masses of dedications in later inventories, in order to trace the subsequent history of each offering. Herodotus’ research abilities and achievement in historiography as he pioneered a

new discipline through trial and error certainly merit debate, but his research methods appear to have been a little more subtle and sophisticated than previously thought.

Appendix

Uses of δεξιᾶς/ἀριστερᾶς εἰσιόντι and its variants in chronological order.

1. Δεξιᾶς/ἀριστερᾶς εἰσιόντι (on entering, on the right/left).
 - a. Delos Artemision: Hdt. 4. 34. 2 (ἔσω ἐς τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον εἰσιόντι ἀριστερῆς χειρός (inside, on the left hand side, on entering the Artemision)).
 - b. Aigina, Mnia inventories: *IG I*³ 1455, l. 26 (εἰσιόντι ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰσόδου (on entering, over the door) (c.430–404 BC).
 - c. Athens, Akropolis inventories: *IG II*² 1642 (= Woodward *SEG* 21. 562), l. 8 (c.360 BC); *IG II*² 1456, A, Fr. b, l. 25–6 (post 341 BC); *IG II*² 1487, A, col. I, l. 42, 45, 47 (late fourth century BC); *IG II*² 1489, ll. 8, 12, 14 (late fourth century BC); *IG II*² 1534, A, l. 49 (c.275 BC).
 - d. Athens, Asklepieion: *IG II*² 1534A + *SEG* 39.165 (= Aleshire, *Athenian Asklepieion* 177, IV), ll. 72, 137 (274/3 BC).
 - e. Delian inventories: *ID* 372, B, ll. 28, 75–6 (c.200 BC); *ID* 379, l. 17 (c.200 BC); *ID* 380, ll. 67, 101 (198? BC); *ID* 385, A, l. 66, 70–1 (196? BC); *ID* 421, ll. 65–6 (c.190? BC); *ID* 422, l. 16 (c.190? BC); *ID* 442, B, ll. 36, 38–9 (179 BC); *ID* 455, B, Fr. a, l. 31 (173 BC); *ID* 461, B, Fr. b, l. 45 (169 BC); *ID* 1413, Fr. b, ll. 18, 28 (166–157/6 BC).
 - f. Tenos: *IG XII.5* 872, l. 11 (Hellenistic).

(p.76) 2. Δεξιᾶς/ἀριστερᾶς εἰσιόντων (As they enter, on the right/left).

- a. Delian inventories: *ID* 298, l. 4 (240 BC); *ID* 439, Fr. a, ll. 34, 36–7, 57 (181 BC); *ID* 442, B, ll. 61, 109 (179 BC); *ID* 443, B, ll. 33, 72, 75 (178 BC); *ID* 444, B, l. 56 (177 BC); *ID* 455, B, Fr. a, l. 24 (173 BC); *ID* 461, B, Fr. a, ll. 43, 46, 67 (169 BC); *ID* 1412, Fr. a, l. 13 (166–157/6 BC); *ID* 1416, A, col. I, ll. 33–4; col. II, l. 24 (156/5 BC); *ID* 1417, A, col. I, ll. 75, 119; B, col. II, ll. 34–5 (155/4 BC); *ID* 1421, Fr. b, col. II, ll. 16, 19, 22 (c.156/5 BC); *ID* 1432, B, Fr. b, col. II, ll. 1, 3, 5–6 (153/2 BC); *ID* 1441, A, col. I,

l. 32 (c.150 BC); *ID* 1443, A, col. I, l. 11 (c.145/4–142/1 BC); *ID* 1446, l. 9 (post 166 BC); *ID* 1450, A, ll. 7, 30.

b. Delphi, Apollo Sanctuary: *FD* III/4293, l. 9 ([ἐ]ν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐξ εὐ[ω]νύμ[ου] ἐ[ἰ]σ[τ]ή[ο]ντων) (inside the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, on the left as they enter)), (AD 114).

3. Δεξιᾶς/ἀριστερᾶς ε(ἰ)σπορευομένων (on the right/left as they walk in).

a. Epidaurus: *IG* IV² 123 (= *SEG* 13. 391), l. 132 (c.350–300 BC).

b. Larissa, Pelasgiotis: *IG* IX.2 522, l. 19 (late third/second century BC).

c. Kos, Apollo Temple: *SEG* 54. 745, ll. 32–3 (late third century BC).

d. Delian inventories: *ID* 407, l. 19 (c.190 BC); *ID* 442, B, ll. 211–12 (179 BC); *ID* 1414, Fr. b, col. II, ll. 13–14 (166–157/6 BC).

e. Olympos Apollo and Artemis temple: *IMylasa* 877, l. 2 (Hellenistic).

f. Priene, Askleion: *IPriene* 19, l. 46 (Hellenistic).

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Notes:

(¹) Stephanie West's study of Herodotus' use of inscriptions as primary sources is still a classic despite her negative conclusions. Cf. West (1985). For the most recent studies of Herodotus' sources, see various important studies in Luraghi (2001); Cartledge and Greenwood (2002); Hornblower (2002); Osborne (2002) 511–12; Dewald and Marincola (2006).

(²) This conclusion is hardly surprising given the fact that several ancient authors cited directly or alluded to epigraphical texts they used as sources, most notably Pausanias. Cf. Habicht (1986) and Tzifopoulos (1991); Tzifopoulos (this volume, Ch. 6); Mari (this volume, Ch. 5).

(³) Herodotus' narrative techniques, especially his use of the prospective imperfect, were presented in Naiden's brilliant article. See Naiden (1999).

(⁴) All translations from Herodotus are by Purvis, *apud* Strassler (2007).

(⁵) Cf. Prêtre (2004) on accidental or intentionally erroneous attributions in the Delian inventory lists. Forgeries were definitely recorded in inventories, but it is unknown whether these were the result of error or manipulation. One of numerous examples involves a gold laurel crown dedicated by a certain Ameinondas, otherwise unknown, before 278 BC, which became reinvented as a gift by the famous Theban general Epameinondas a few years later. Cf. *IG* XI.2 161, B, l. 46 (278 BC) v. *IG* XI.2 164, A, l. 95 (276 BC).

(⁶) The treasury's administrators had apparently relied upon the inscribed weight reference on the lustral basin, as was the habit elsewhere. Their change of policy was probably due to the fact that a number of votives were damaged by the fire of 548/7 BC (see below) and had to be reweighed in order to assess the amount of metal they lost.

(⁷) On dispersed dedication lots as recorded in inventory lists, see Kosmetatou (2009).

(⁸) Besides Herodotus 1. 50–1, Diodorus (9. 10. 6; 16. 56. 6) and Pausanias (10. 8. 7) use this technique. For an earlier discussion of Croesus's dedications at Delphi and Herodotus' possible use of inventory lists, see Kosmetatou (2004) 139–44.

(⁹) Naiden (1999) 136, which discusses in detail Herodotus' description of the ruins of the tomb of Alyattes in 1. 93. 2.

(¹⁰) Cf. Herodotus 1. 1; 2. 148. 2; Naiden (1999) 135.

(¹¹) See Naiden (1999) 136–7.

(¹²) On the oral sources of Herodotus' section on the Delphic treasures, see Parke (1984); Flower (1991). For a valuable survey of the use of inscriptions by Herodotus, see also Fabiani (2003).

(¹³) For a discussion of some inscriptions that were associated with Croesus' dedications, see Fabiani (2003) 167–8, although the author's survey does not connect Herodotus' report on the Lydian votives with inventory lists.

(¹⁴) For a catalogue of the occurrence of δεξιᾶς/ἀριστερᾶς εἰσιόντι, see the Appendix to this chapter.

(¹⁵) For evidence of theft of votives in surviving inventories, see Kosmetatou (2003a).

(¹⁶) Cf. *ID* 372, B, l. 28 (200 BC); *ID* 380, l. 67 (198? BC).

(¹⁷) *ID* 442, B, l. 212 (179 BC); *ID* 443, B, l. 136 (178 BC); *ID* 444, B, l. 56 (177 BC). For a discussion of clauses indicating the precise location of specific objects in the Delian Temple of Apollo, see Tréheux (1988) 31–5.

(¹⁸) See e.g. ἀργύριον παντοδαπὸν καὶ ἀνδριαντίσκος καὶ ἡλακάται καὶ ἀμφιδᾶϊ καὶ δελφίς καὶ προχοΐδιον καὶ ἄλλα παντοδαπά, ὅλκῃ πάντων δραχμαῖφ ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ (silver of all sorts and a little figurine and spindle stalks and twin bracelets and dolphin and a *little pitcher* and various other objects of all kinds, weight of all 444 drs.), associated with *Artemision B* (*ID* 161, B, ll. 17–18 (279 BC); *ID* 162, B, ll. 14–15 (278 BC)). Ἥλακάτια ἀτράκτια ἀργυρᾶ ΔΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ (47 little silver spindle stalks), associated with *Artemision D* (*ID* 1442, B, l. 56 (c. 145 BC)).

(¹⁹) For an overview on the topic, see Linders (1988); cf. also Hamilton (2003).

(²⁰) Harris (1994).

(²¹) Cf. references to dedications associated with the activities of the Athenian general Nikias, son of Nikeratos on Delos in *ID* 1421, B, ll. 1–5 (156/5 BC) and elsewhere, which occur only in Hellenistic texts. Cf. also, among many examples, the very old and damaged αἰετὸς ἀργυροῦς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων διαπεπτωκώς (silver eagle broken asunder of old) (*ID* 101, l. 28 (367 BC)).

(²²) While Herodotus' work is certainly didactic and serves as a warning to the possible excesses of empire, it is unlikely, in my opinion, that he associated Croesus' hybris with the increasing arrogance of the Athenian empire during the Pentekontaetia.

(²³) For an overview of the phases of the Delphic Temple of Apollo and a review of the literature, see Bommelaer and Laroche (1991) 176–84. Lewis convincingly argued that Croesus' silver lustral basin and krater were repaired again in the fourth century BC by a team of Athenian and Corinthian craftsmen, including the Athenian Nikokrates of Kolonos, a metal-worker who is mentioned in several Athenian inventories. Cf. *FD* III/5 48, ll. 23–41; Lewis (1986) 78. On Nikokrates' career, see Harris (1988), who does not discuss Nikokrates' activities in Delphi.

(²⁴) Cf. Prêtre (2003–4).

(²⁵) Cf. Griffith (1988).

(²⁶) Cf. Griffith (1988); Blackman and Sawyer (2000). In her unpublished, as yet, dissertation on the Lydian votives at Delphi, Buxton does not take into account Griffith (1988) and Blackman and Sawyer (2000), and therefore accepts Herodotus' transmission of the enormous silver amphora of a presumed capacity of 600 amphoras. She cites, among other examples, Kallixeinos' later report of a similar vessel, as well as an even larger *askos*, that were both paraded in the early third century by Ptolemy II Philadelphos. Cf. *Ath.* 5. 199b–c; Rice (1983) 13, 71; Buxton (2002) 100–1, 180–3. There is little doubt that the construction of such large vessels became technologically possible at some unknown point in time, but this still does not explain how Croesus' krater could have entered the Temple of Apollo.

(²⁷) For one of numerous examples, see *ID* 314, B, l. 115–19 (234 or 233 BC).

(²⁸) Another possibility is that the weight was simply inscribed wrongly on the artefact itself just before its dedication, as these inscriptions were often carved on the objects, rather than on a tag. For two out of the numerous examples of references to inscribed votives, see repeated references in *IG* II² 1492A (Athenian Acropolis 306/5 BC) and *ID* 1444, Aa, l. 41–3 (Delos 145 BC). Discrepancies between inscribed and actual weight of votives was noted on Delos. Cf. *ID* 104, ll. 39–41 (364/3 BC); *IG* XI.2 161, B, l. 109 (278 BC). On the weight of votives in the late inventories of Athena, see Lewis (1988) 301.

(²⁹) Cf. Vallois (1924).

⁽³⁰⁾ For a valuable overview of inventories from various Greek localities, see Dignas (2002).

⁽³¹⁾ Kosmetatou (2003*b*).

⁽³²⁾ Vallois (1924); Kosmetatou (2003*b*). Besides votive inventory lists, there is evidence that temple accounts and inventories of sacred funds were also published in bronze. Examples have been discovered at the sanctuary of Zeus at Lokroi (southern Italy) and more recently at Boeotian Thebes and at Classical Argos. For a review of the evidence, see Kritzas (2006).

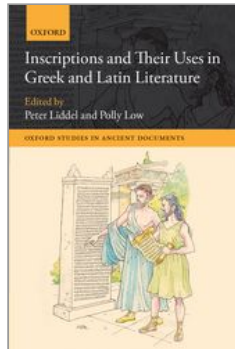
⁽³³⁾ *I.Didyma* 480 (= *SEG* 4. 470); Welles (1934) 33–40 no. 5.

⁽³⁴⁾ For more on the topic, cf. Mari (this volume, Ch. 5).



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Illustrating, Documenting, Making-believe: The Use of psephismata in Hellenistic Biographies of Philosophers

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter evaluates the use of epigraphic evidence in Hellenistic biographies of philosophers. There are different types of epigraphic evidence cited in Hellenistic biographies of philosophers, but epitaphs or psephismata are the most common. The chapter concentrates on psephismata. Four passages are analysed in detail: an honorary decree moved by Menedemus of Eretria to praise the Macedonian king Antigonus Gonatas after his victory against the Celts in the battle of Lysimachia; two Athenian honorary decrees for Aristotle and Zeno of Citium, respectively; and an Athenian decree making it possible for every Athenian man to have two wives at once in order to increase the population at a time of lack of men and general population shortage. This last decree plays an important role in the context of the alleged bigamy of Socrates widely discussed by Hellenistic authors. An evaluation of this material shows that there are three kinds of epigraphic evidence used by ancient authors in biographical texts on philosophers: original inscriptional texts, revised inscriptional texts, and invented inscriptional texts. Against this background, the following question is addressed here: What is the function of evidence of epigraphic nature in Hellenistic biographies of philosophers? Finally, the results of this investigation are shortly set and discussed in their wider cultural context.

Keywords: biography, Hellenistic period, decrees, psephismata, Socrates, philosophers, honour, authenticity

Dieser Unterricht war der im Fach Geschichte.

Da kam alles auf Dokumente an.

D. Dath, *Die Abschaffung der Arten*, Frankfurt am Main 2008, 20

When the Peripatetic Hieronymus of Rhodes wrote a biography of Socrates sometime in the first half of the third century, the real character of that philosopher was a controversial issue in an already long-lasting debate about his morality.¹ The positions held in this literary dispute alternate between a Socrates who is praised in virtue of his integrity and a Socrates who is accused of squalor, between a Socrates who acted law-abidingly throughout his life and a Socrates who was justifiably sentenced to death due to his repeated law-violating **(p.80)** behaviour.² Therefore, the Rhodian Peripatetic had to make his choice on his own position towards Socrates; this choice shaped the framework for his arrangement of Socrates' 'life' à la *Hieronymus*. Since Hieronymus had the agenda of depicting Socrates essentially in a positive manner,³ he found himself constrained to deal carefully with a weighty accusation against the 'arch-philosopher'. Some time earlier, in the last decades of the fourth century, the Peripatetic Aristoxenus of Tarentum had authored a highly polemical *Life of Socrates*.⁴ In this *Life*, Aristoxenus was the first to claim that Socrates was a bigamist married to two women, Xanthippe and Myrto, at the same time.⁵ Since bigamy was illegal in Athens,⁶ Socrates, according to the Tarentine, was consequently a law-breaker. Thus, Aristoxenus added a new facet to the already 'classical', well-established image of Socrates as a law-breaker. This new facet of Socrates' image fitted in well with a further already existing topos of anti-Socratic polemic: Socrates' self-indulgent sexual desire.⁷ In order to vindicate Socrates, Hieronymus not only decided to contradict Aristoxenus, but resolved upon bringing into play an exculpatory piece of evidence in order to confute the Tarentine's double accusation. Hence, the Rhodian Peripatetic referred to an Athenian *psephisma*; yet this *psephisma* was, regarding its content as present in Hieronymus' text, undoubtedly an invention of his own.⁸ According to the Rhodian Peripatetic, this decree contained the regulation that, due to a momentary population shortage, it was allowed for any man to have two legal wives at the same time with the objective of reproduction.⁹ Consequently, Aristoxenus' accusation was, according to Hieronymus' reasoning, invalid; furthermore, Socrates behaved actually in line with the law: thus, in this instance he was also a good citizen obeying the law and fulfilling not his personal sexual longings, but everybody's civic duties. Even this characterization reflects an already 'classical' image of Socrates at that time.

(p.81) 1. Hellenistic biographies, *psephismata*, and modern scholarship

While there are definitely more prominent records on Socrates in the ancient tradition about the 'arch-philosopher' than the account of his alleged bigamy, this controversy has been thoroughly discussed in modern scholarship, and it will be considered in greater detail at a later point in this chapter.¹⁰ Yet it is worthwhile to focus on one crucial point that has attracted surprisingly scant attention: Hieronymus' use of a *psephisma* as an argument. This use of a *psephisma* as an argument is by no means an isolated case in Hellenistic biographies. However, up to now, modern scholars have generally taken little interest in the use and especially in the argumentative value of documentary evidence in Hellenistic biographies. Only individual cases have been occasionally discussed, with particular reference to their authenticity or the degree of their fabrication,¹¹ whereas the general phenomenon of the use of documentary evidence in biographical writings of the Hellenistic period has never been adequately considered.¹² This cannot be explained satisfactorily with reference to the exceedingly fragmentary transmission of the respective texts—Hellenistic biography is, regarding its transmission, a real 'scene of devastation'.¹³ Nonetheless, the state of research is astonishing for various reasons—three at least: on the one hand, general interest in ancient and specifically in Hellenistic biography has clearly increased in recent scholarship;¹⁴ on the other hand, the use of authentic documents, partially fabricated and completely invented documents in different literary genres as well as by various ancient authors has again become a much examined aspect over the last decade;¹⁵ and finally, the use of inscriptions in Plutarch's biographies has already been examined, and valuable conclusions have been derived from these studies.¹⁶

2. Hellenistic biographies of philosophers and *psephismata*: some clarifying remarks

Against this background, the aim of the current investigation is to provide a first outline of the use of documents in biographies written in Hellenistic times,¹⁷ when **(p.82)** this type of literature was fully developed and flourishing.¹⁸ The term document is understood as ‘something written, inscribed, engraved, etc., which provides information or serves as a record’.¹⁹ Since the topic ‘documents in Hellenistic biographies’ is too extensive to be thoroughly examined from every point of view in the present context, it is necessary to restrict the objectives and to focus on specific aspects. For this reason, two limitations of scope are introduced: on the one hand, the analysis is confined to biographies of philosophers, thus to a particular type of person who constitutes a specific social type which calls for a specific form of biography.²⁰ On the other hand, the texts that will be analysed are restricted to passages either where an ancient author cites a text partially or completely that he labels *psephisma* or where he simply refers to a *psephisma* without citing its text, but pointing out its content.²¹ Consequently, the analysis is restricted to a specific type of documents, namely those that were resolved by the majority vote of a political community²² and that therefore inherently possess a specific argumentative value;²³ these political communities are in the present concern without exception *poleis*. Put the other way round, the chosen restriction effectively excludes other types of documentary evidence which found use in biographies of philosophers, such as wills,²⁴ letters,²⁵ and epitaphs, that is mostly epigrams;²⁶ the restriction holds true even for documentary evidence like the impeachment of Socrates that was allegedly still accessible in the Athenian Metroon in the second century AD.²⁷

In dealing with *psephismata* it is important to bear in mind that they are not only a specific type of document as well as a particular category of inscription, but **(p.83)** also an epigraphic source whose inscribed text is—at least in the Hellenistic world—not necessarily the primary one; instead, the primary text was occasionally recorded on papyrus (or even other materials) and deposited in the city’s archive, while the version written on stone is a copy with possibly intended or unintended divergences.²⁸ These characteristics require an investigation of the provenance of each authentic *psephisma* cited by an ancient author:²⁹ did he copy the text from an inscribed stone, from an archived papyrus or from a collection of decrees compiled by an early ‘epigraphist’?

Four passages originating from Hellenistic biographies will be taken into account in order to analyse paradigmatically the use of *psephismata* by biographers in works on Hellenistic philosophers.

These four passages contain, according to the respective authors, a decree from Eretria moved by the philosopher Menedemus,³⁰ two Athenian *psephismata* regarding the philosophers Aristotle and Zeno of Citium respectively, and the already-mentioned *psephisma* to which Hieronymus of Rhodes referred in disputing the matter of Socrates' alleged bigamy. These four documents³¹ will be analysed particularly with reference to two aspects: first, the argumentative function of each document within the original author's reasoning will be examined. Second, each document will be analysed in terms of its authenticity: it has to be located within the 'spectrum of authenticity'³² that stretches from those *psephismata* whose historicity is beyond doubt to those *psephismata* that are undoubtedly complete literary inventions of an author and which must be viewed in the context of 'the document-manufacturing industry'.³³

3. Ancient biography: some preliminary remarks

'What is biography?' is the heading of a review on a collected volume entitled *La biographie antique*.³⁴ 'A bastard', Virginia Woolf once observed in her (p.84) notebook.³⁵ There is some truth in this dictum and to answer the question satisfactorily is a more complicated issue than might be expected at first glance.³⁶ This is not only due to the fact that the term βιογραφία occurs for the first time in the *Life of Isidorus* written by the Neoplatonist Damascius in the first quarter of the sixth century AD;³⁷ earlier authors instead wrote, in their own words, βίοι, lives.³⁸ Rather, the complexity of defining ancient biography arises both from the fact that no definition of *bioi* or biography was developed in the context of ancient 'literary theory'³⁹ and from the fact that modern scholars are far from agreement on whether and to what extent ancient biography can be defined as a fixed genre⁴⁰—a problem, after all, that is relevant also for the theory of modern biography.⁴¹

The idea that genre is an 'optional strategy of literary composition'⁴² offers an elementary framework for a characterization of (Hellenistic) biography that 'was not a rigidly defined genre'.⁴³ Biographies are usually complete, but sometimes also partial accounts of the life of an individual man from birth to death that were addressed to an educated readership and that are regularly written in prose.⁴⁴ The individual men taken into account by authors of Hellenistic biographies are mostly *hommes des lettres*, hence poets, orators, philosophers, historians, and scholars,⁴⁵ whereas the predominant absence of politicians, but not of politics, and militarily active men is noteworthy, but explicable.⁴⁶ Even if Hellenistic (p.85) biographies regularly cover the subject's life from birth to death, their authors' primary concern lay not in the exposition of the subject's development throughout its life, but in the outline and especially in the exposition of a type (of life) with particular reference to moral behaviour, a recurrent basic theme in ancient biographies.⁴⁷ Due to the fact that Hellenistic biographies were inherently either eulogistic or polemical in their tendency,⁴⁸ each author of a biography had to decide on his targets regarding the literary portrayal of his subject; correspondingly, he had to arrange and to shape the central elements of his subject's life.

4. On writing the philosopher's life: an outline

In the huge stream of Hellenistic biographies, the texts on philosophers show a specific mark that resembles the ethical concern of biographies.⁴⁹ To be sure, for philosophers, too, it is true that the subjects' portrayal in biographies could be related to common values and the appraisal of political activities in the widest sense;⁵⁰ yet, for philosophers, a particular reference was additionally at hand: their own *doxai* regarding morals and ethics, both topics that were of fundamental importance in ancient philosophy.⁵¹ Even if biographies of philosophers in the Hellenistic period were arguably not conceptualized as 'biodoxographies',⁵² this nevertheless does not mean that philosophical doctrines and ideas were mostly or even completely absent from Hellenistic biographies of philosophers.⁵³ Rather, in the view of ancient authors and their audiences 'life (βίος) and doctrine (λόγος) were inextricably linked'⁵⁴—at least in the discourses that belong to the literary field. But while it is true with respect to the literary field that philosophical doctrines were considered as maxims for the philosopher-protagonist to act on,⁵⁵ in the world beyond the texts, especially in the everyday world of social (p.86) (inter-)actions and *in politicis*, neither philosophers nor non-philosophers conceptualized generally philosophical *doxai* as orders that should be realized.⁵⁶ Yet the way that a biographer negotiated congruencies and discrepancies between a philosopher's way of life and his own *doxai* formed explicitly or implicitly the basis for the appraisal of the philosopher's life.⁵⁷

Two examples may illustrate these explanations. First: regarding the Peripatetic scholarch Lycon of Alexandria Troas,⁵⁸ honoured at Delphi by an Amphictionic decree⁵⁹ and mentioned as philosopher in an Athenian *epidosis*-list,⁶⁰ two biographical traditions can be explored. Both traditions were originally shaped more or less contemporaneously, shortly after Lycon's death in the mid 220s, and contradict each other. According to the hostile tradition that goes back to Antigonos of Carystus,⁶¹ Lycon, even today of ill repute, was a *bon vivant* whose affinities lay in luxury and pleasure, but not in philosophy.⁶² In contrast, in compliance with the friendly tradition that arises supposedly from Ariston of Ceos, a pupil of Lycon and possibly his successor as Peripatetic scholarch,⁶³ Lycon had a good reputation with regard to the conveyance of *paideia*.⁶⁴ Secondly: according to the Epicurean author of the *Life of Philonides*, perhaps Philodemus of Gadara,⁶⁵ the Epicurean philosopher Philonides from Laodicaea on the Sea lived in accordance with the Epicurean *doxai* at the Seleucid court of Demetrius I. Although Philonides lived at a royal court and even though the courtly life was generally considered as incompatible with a philosophical

life,⁶⁶ according to his biographer the Epicurean from Laodicea led nonetheless a 'good, philosophical and glorious life' by participating neither in the royal council nor in diplomatic missions.⁶⁷ And yet an honorary decree from Eleusis, moved by the *gene* of the **(p.87)** Ceryces and Eumolpidae, demonstrates the opposite: beyond the literarily constructed life of impassivity by an Epicurean author, Philonides was indeed involved in political matters.⁶⁸

One of the primary concerns of ancient authors who wrote biographies was to use their text as a vehicle for ideas and for the display of either positive or negative types.⁶⁹ In order to reach this goal, the biographer had to arrange his subject's way of life by considering the expectations of his intended audience. To be sure, the intended ancient readership of biographies was principally aware of how the lives of the protagonists of biographies were constructed by their authors. However, this fact did not relieve the biographer of the task of presenting a plausible as well as persuasive construct⁷⁰ that could include among other things calumnies and fabricated documents. Due to this, one should bear in mind that to analyse respective texts in search of the historical person behind the biography is a priori not a persuasive approach to the genre of biography. By no means does this imply the absence of historically accurate elements in the portrayal of a person in a biography—and undoubtedly it is one of the historian's tasks to distil these elements from the text. But the 'fictional' elements of a biography are worthy of the historian's attention if the historian wishes to understand the messages and the functions of the texts, the intentions of the authors, and the expectations as well as the socio-cultural environment of their intended readers.⁷¹

Turning back to the literarily displayed 'lives' of Philonides and Lycon, from these two examples—or more specifically, on the basis of their remaining fragments—it is possible to illustrate the preceding remarks. It is quite obvious that the *Life of Philonides* is wrong regarding the historical Epicurean's involvement in diplomatic activities and it is obvious, too, that these diplomatic affairs are intentionally absent from a *Life* that is otherwise exceedingly rich in trustworthy details of Philonides' life.⁷² Having in mind the content of Philonides' *Life*, it is possible to expose the motives of its author: the aim of his portrayal was the display of a true philosopher—in the present case a 'true' Epicurean philosopher who should conventionally shun a Hellenistic royal court society.⁷³ Since **(p.88)** philosophers were in general discursively 'experts not only in truth, but also in right living, good character, and true happiness',⁷⁴ it was necessary for the author to portray Philonides as a philosopher who conducted his life in correspondence to the doctrines of Epicurus. In all probability, it was

important to underline the integrity of the philosopher from Laodicea on the Sea if the author aimed to depict Philonides positively, a man whose character was, at least during his lifetime, not undisputed among his fellow Epicureans.⁷⁵ This leads to an important topic: concord and harmony prevailed neither among the members of various philosophical schools nor among members of the same philosophical school. On the contrary, severe quarrels between philosophers frequently shaped the atmosphere;⁷⁶ being in conflict with another philosopher in many cases equated not with a cultivated intellectual dispute, but with polemics and attacks on the opponent's moral integrity in every respect. These fights are an integral component of the biographies of philosophers; hence, apologies and invectives were embedded in the *Lives*, too.⁷⁷ This is also reflected in the biographical traditions on Lycon, where both an invective and an apologetic line can be recognized. In the case of Ariston of Ceos' intention to depict the Peripatetic scholarch Lycon in a positive manner, it is actually possible to identify the probable reason for his concern: it is their close relationship as teacher and disciple, predecessor and successor as scholarch of the Peripatus.⁷⁸ Yet, due to the lack of evidence, it is impossible to single out the reasons for Antigonos of Carystus' hostile attitude towards Lycon.⁷⁹

5. To be or not to be a flatterer: Menedemus of Eretria and an honorary decree for Antigonos Gonatas

The first document that is to be analysed is transmitted in Diogenes Laertius' *Life of Menedemus*. Diogenes quotes the beginning of an Eretrian *psephisma*, proposed by Menedemus, in honour of the Macedonian king Antigonos Gonatas who had celebrated his great victory over the Celts at Lysimachia in 278/7 shortly before; the text runs as follows:⁸⁰

οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ πρόβουλοι εἶπαν· ἐπειδὴ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος μάχῃ νικήσας τοὺς βαρβάρους παραγίνεται εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα πράσσει κατὰ γνώμην, ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ.

(p.89) (On the motion of the generals and the councillors:

Whereas King Antigonos is returning to his own country after vanquishing the barbarians in battle, and whereas in all his undertakings he prospers according to his will, the senate and the people have decreed.) (SSR² I Menedemus Eretrius [= III F] Fr. 16 ap. D.L. 2. 142; trans. Hicks (1925))⁸¹

Even though this passage is transmitted by Diogenes Laertius, it is by now accepted that he adopted this document from Antigonos of Carystus' *Life of Menedemus*;⁸² furthermore, it is reasonably accepted,

too, that this document is part of an authentic *psephisma*.⁸³ Consequently, the question arises of how the Eretrian *psephisma* became a document in a literary text. It has been suggested that the *psephisma* had been copied entirely from stone by the Carystian himself in the Eretrian sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephorus where it presumably had been set up. If it is true that the *stèle* was demolished in the early 260s when the political climate changed in Eretria and anti-Macedonian partisans dominated the city, then it is a necessary assumption that Antigonos of Carystus had copied the decree in about 270, before Antigonos Gonatas became one of Eretria's enemies and, as a result, Menedemus was forced to leave his *patris* probably in 268/7.⁸⁴ Alternatively, one should also consider whether Antigonos might have copied the text of the *psephisma* moved by Menedemus in the archive of Eretria after the Eretrian philosopher's death or already during his lifetime.⁸⁵ Due to the lack of relevant information it must be stated that each of the mentioned suggestions is possible and none can be reasonably excluded. Therefore, the question of how the *psephisma* in honour of Gonatas became a document for Antigonos of Carystus must remain open. But what had been the Carystian's objective in integrating this Eretrian inscription into his *Life of Menedemus*? According to the introductory passage in Diogenes Laertius that reflects Antigonos of Carystus' intention, the aim was to demonstrate that Menedemus was a friend of the Macedonian king, but in no way a flatterer.⁸⁶

Menedemus, born between 350 and 345 in Eretria and deceased between 266 and 261 at the court of Antigonos Gonatas, was a prominent, but also controversial **(p.90)** citizen of his *patris*:⁸⁷ he was known as a philosopher as well as a leading citizen of Eretria⁸⁸ and both aspects led him into quarrels. The criticism of an anonymous pupil of the Megarian philosopher Alexinus after Menedemus had moved a *psephisma* is harmless, but revealing in respect of philosophical discussions about the philosopher's involvement in politics within the field of philosophy and philosophical dispute: after Menedemus had moved a decree, the pupil of Alexinus attacked him by pointing out that it did not befit a philosopher to move *psephismata*.⁸⁹ However, Menedemus' political activities, which found their expression among other things in proposing decrees, were a cause not only of philosophical criticism, but also of numerous and serious difficulties during his lifetime.⁹⁰ At least twice he seems to have been charged with treason:⁹¹ at the court of Demetrius Poliorcetes, Menedemus was first accused of planning to hand over Eretria to Ptolemy II; but this accusation apparently failed.⁹² For a second time, sometime in the 260s, Menedemus was again accused of treason.⁹³ According to the

Peripatetic **(p.91)** Hermippus of Smyrna,⁹⁴ the Eretrian philosopher was suspected of handing over Eretria to Antigonos Gonatas due to their close relationship.⁹⁵ After Menedemus was accordingly impeached, he escaped from his *patris*, went to Oropus, and took refuge in the sanctuary of Amphiaraus.⁹⁶ However, even there the old man of Eretrian politics was not immune from persecutions. As Hermippus reliably reports, Menedemus was forced by a federal decree of the Boeotians to leave the Amphiaraeum after some golden vessels had—allegedly—disappeared.⁹⁷ Hence, at least implicitly, Menedemus was judged guilty by the Boeotians for theft.⁹⁸ Not much later, Menedemus was said to have died of broken heart in his last refuge at the royal Macedonian court at Pella. Another tradition offers a more favourable account of the end of Menedemus' life: according to Antigonos of Carystus, in all likelihood the inventor of this apologetic tradition, and also to Heracleides Lembus, Menedemus was the victim of a false accusation since he had indeed travelled to Antigonos Gonatas, but had done so in order to liberate his *patris* from Macedonian domination. The Macedonian king supposedly denied the philosopher's wish, and Menedemus allegedly decided to refuse food—and died after seven days.⁹⁹

Fortunately, it is not only possible to expose Antigonos of Carystus' positive attitude towards Menedemus of Eretria, but also to expound the reason for the Carystian's attitude towards the Eretrian philosopher: Antigonos knew Menedemus personally,¹⁰⁰ and perhaps he was even his pupil.¹⁰¹ Therefore, it was Antigonos' aim to present to his audience a favourable image of Menedemus, whose standing in his *patris* Eretria was anything but uncontested. Rather, during his lifetime, especially during the sixties of the third century, Menedemus had a very bad reputation, propagated by those of his fellow citizens who were anti-Macedonian partisans. Elements of this bad reputation were later integrated by Hermippus of Smyrna into his *Life of Menedemus*.¹⁰²

It is against this background that the use of the Eretrian *psephisma* in honour of Antigonos Gonatas as a piece of evidence has to be considered. Whereas it is impossible to decide which elements of the two traditions regarding Menedemus are historically true or not, it is obvious that they reflect plausible accounts for the **(p.92)** intended contemporary readership of the *Lives* of the Eretrian philosopher.¹⁰³ However, it is possible to say why Antigonos of Carystus integrated the *psephisma* into his *Life of Menedemus*, written not long after the philosopher's death. It is a more than plausible assumption that the decree in honour of Antigonos Gonatas moved by Menedemus was an important issue within the context of intra-Eretrian controversies

regarding the city's relationship to the Macedonian king as well as in the ensuing dispute over pro-Macedonian partisans like Menedemus. For his Eretrian opponents the *psephisma* was undeniably a favourable opportunity to discredit Menedemus as a royal flatterer—regardless of the decree's real content. For them the act of moving a decree in honour of the Macedonian king was already an act of flattery. In order to contradict this position, Antigonus of Carystus decided to integrate the *psephisma* in dispute as a document into his *Life of Menedemus*. He wanted to demonstrate according to his own words that the decree was formulated 'in simple terms and free from flattery'.¹⁰⁴ Therefore, unlike Diogenes Laertius who quoted only the beginning of the decree, the Carystian must, in all likelihood, have cited its entire text,¹⁰⁵ given that the passage in Diogenes Laertius is (due to its structural characteristics) rather pointless for an apology or even any other argument regarding Menedemus, since his name is not mentioned in that passage.¹⁰⁶

There can be no doubt that the argumentative importance of the Eretrian *psephisma* proposed by Menedemus in honour of Gonatas was highly estimated by Antigonus of Carystus since it served to defend Menedemus against the accusations of his Eretrian opponents. Compared to that *psephisma* in the Carystian's text, the *dogma* of the Boeotian league mentioned by Hermippus in terms of content, but not quoted verbatim, was by all indications not of the same importance within the Smyrnaean Peripatetic's argument (if one supposes that Diogenes Laertius has not extensively modified the Hermippian prototype).¹⁰⁷ The *dogma* functioned as a useful element in Hermippus' account of Menedemus to demonstrate that, along with a greater part of the Eretrians, the Boeotian Confederacy, too, was convinced that Menedemus was a scoundrel who would not even hesitate to rob a temple.

Yet the Eretrian *psephisma* and the Boeotian *dogma* illustrate the value of documents in biographies written in Hellenistic times; they also manifest the different ways authors might have been using documents within their biographical writings.

(p.93) 6. An invented Athenian honorary decree for Aristotle—or: how to construct a telling piece of evidence

During his lifetime, Aristotle was anything but a sage who lived peacefully and in an unworldly manner in his ivory tower.¹⁰⁸ In fact, because of his social position he became involved in the political struggles of his time;¹⁰⁹ this involvement can be clearly seen in two events after the death of Alexander the Great: in Aristotle's flight from Athens¹¹⁰ and in the deprivation of his Amphictionic honours at

Delphi.¹¹¹ The enmeshments of Aristotle in the world of politics constitute a central element of the biographical traditions regarding the philosopher from Stagira:¹¹² a huge amount of real and alleged political activity is reported by numerous ancient authors in various ways.¹¹³ The facets of the philosopher evoked in the ancient sources oscillate between an Aristotle who is a traitor to his *patris* Stagira as well as to his second home Athens, and an Aristotle who is a benefactor not only to his *patris*, Athens, and various individuals or even several *poleis*, but to the whole of mankind.¹¹⁴

(p.94) In the context of this dispute on the true character of Aristotle, an Athenian document comes into play whose text is known as a result of its quotation by the Arabian scholar Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a:¹¹⁵

(17) On the account of his numerous good deeds and excellent services in this respect, the Athenians went so far as to assemble and to decide by vote to draft an inscription. They had it chiselled in a stone column which they set up on the highest citadel of their city which is called the Summit. (18) In the inscription on this column they mentioned that Aristotle of Stagira, son of Nicomachus, had served the city well by doing good and by the great number of his own acts of assistance and beneficence, and by all his services to the people of Athens, especially by intervening with King Philip for the purpose of promoting their interests and securing that they were well treated; that the people of Athens therefore wanted it to be quite clear that they appreciated the good that had come out of this; that they bestowed distinction and praise upon him, and would keep him in faithful and honoured remembrance. (19) Those of the men in high position who hold him unworthy of this honour, may they after his death try to do what he did, taking share in affairs where they in their own interest would like to make an intervention. (Düring (1957) 215–16 §§ 17–19)¹¹⁶

Although this document is transmitted in Arabic by an Arab scholar, its origins lie without question in the Hellenistic age; nevertheless, the text does not originate from a genuine Athenian *psephisma*. Despite the substantive and textual correspondences between the document and comparable authentic Athenian epigraphic evidence,¹¹⁷ it can be demonstrated for different reasons that the alleged decree is a literary invention fabricated in the Hellenistic period.¹¹⁸ On the basis of a long-known, but still unpublished eighteenth-century manuscript from Istanbul, this finding can be elaborated: the prototype of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a's entry on Aristotle, the 'biobibliography' *The Will of Aristotle, the Pinax of his Works, and a Brief Life, to Gallus* by a certain

Ptolemy,¹¹⁹ depended heavily on **(p.95)** Andronicus of Rhodes.¹²⁰ This first-century Peripatetic, possibly a scholar, wrote a lengthy work on Aristotle consisting of a biography and a catalogue of writings.¹²¹ Part of Andronicus' biographical account on Aristotle was, almost certainly, the Athenian *psephisma* in question.¹²² What makes this invented decree exceptional among the known documents is its 'story', handed down also by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a and attested also in the Istanbul manuscript.¹²³

(20) When the Athenians had decided to set up this inscription, the decision was opposed by an Athenian by name of Himeraeus. As regards Aristotle he advocated a contrary opinion and pounced upon the column on which the Athenians had decided to inscribe the laudatory words and which they had set up on the place called the Acropolis⁽¹⁾ of the city, and hurled it down. On account of this deed he was (afterwards) seized and executed by Antipater. (21) Thereupon an Athenian by name of Stephanus, aided by numerous others, set up a column of stone. On this they inscribed such praise of Aristotle as had been expressed in the original inscription; in addition they explicitly mentioned Himeraeus who had hurled down the column, related what he had done, and recommended that he should be cursed⁽²⁾ and the city purified.¹²⁴ (Düring (1957) 216 §§ 20–1)

There can be no doubt that the invented *psephisma* and its story were concocted by one and the same person; but it is far from certain who that person was. In fact, owing to the lack of evidence, it is actually impossible to decide on a certain date when the document and its story were fabricated. However, for any further consideration, it is of crucial importance to emphasize that the creator presented a firm philo-Aristotelian plot via his decree and its story: in the course of a detailed **(p.96)** analysis of its reasoning it is possible to demonstrate that the author aimed to refute more or less all contemporary anti-Aristotelian reproaches and simultaneously to discredit opponents of Aristotle.¹²⁵ Against this background, there are principally two historical contexts for the philo-Aristotelian fabrication that can be plausibly suggested: first, the third century, the time when a lot of anti-Aristotelian as well as philo-Aristotelian texts were written;¹²⁶ second, the early first century, the time of an 'Aristotelian renaissance'.¹²⁷ Nevertheless, considering the fabricator's precise knowledge of the anti- and pro-Aristotelian arguments in the late fourth and third centuries as well as of the Athenian internal affairs in the early Hellenistic period, it seems more likely to assume that an unknown philo-Aristotelian (Athenian?)

author fabricated the *psephisma* as well as its story for a biographical account of Aristotle in the third century. If this is true, then Andronicus of Rhodes 'rediscovered' this pro-Aristotelian plot in the first century and seized it for his 'biobibliographical' account of Aristotle.

When the Athenian *psephisma* for Aristotle was invented, its fabricator must have ascribed a high argumentative value to a public document within the quarrel about the philosopher's true character. In this context, it might be worth recalling Demochares of Leuconoe's apology of Sophocles of Sounion at Athens in 306/5:¹²⁸ his plea was read in the course of the proceedings against the 'law of Sophocles' and contained, among other things, serious charges against the late Aristotle of a threefold perfidiousness which included an act of treachery against Athens.¹²⁹ Like this reproach of treason, most of the anti-Aristotelian calumnies were political: for a writer with an apologetic purpose could there be a better rebuttal than an honorary decree that had been resolved by the same city that was allegedly a manifold victim of the intrigues of the honorand? And yet the fabricator of the alleged Athenian honorary decree for Aristotle went one step further: he tried to support his apologetic concern in favour of the philosopher of Stagira by weaving a 'story' of his piece of evidence which provided an unquestionably plausible frame¹³⁰ and discredited Aristotle's opponents, the historical as well as the invented ones, at the same time.

7. Between fact and fiction: an Athenian honorary decree for Zeno of Citium

Ἐπ' Ἀρρενείδου ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος πέμπτης
 πρυτανείας, Μαιμακτηριῶνος δεκάτῃ ὑστέρα, τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ
 τῆς πρυτανείας, ἐκκλησία κυρία, τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν
 Ἴππων Κρατιστόλεω Ξυπεταίων καὶ οἱ συμπρόεδροι· Θράσων
 Θράσωνος Ἄ (p.97) νακαιεύς εἶπεν· Ἐπειδὴ Ζήνων Μνασέου
 Κιτιεύς ἔτη πολλὰ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν ἐν τῇ πόλει γενόμενος ἔν τε
 τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὧν διετέλεσε καὶ τοὺς εἰς σύστασιν
 αὐτῷ τῶν νέων πορευομένους παρακαλῶν ἐπ' ἀρετὴν καὶ
 σωφροσύνην παρῶρμα πρὸς τὰ βέλτιστα, παράδειγμα τὸν ἴδιον
 βίον ἐκθεὶς ἅπασιν ἀκόλουθον ὄντα τοῖς λόγοις οἷς διελέγετο,
 (11) τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ ἐπαινέσαι μὲν Ζήνονα
 Μνασέου Κιτιέα καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον
 ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ σωφροσύνης, οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τάφον
 ἐπὶ τοῦ Κεραμικοῦ δημοσίᾳ. Τῆς δὲ ποιήσεως τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ
 τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ τάφου χειροτονῆσαι τὸν δῆμον ἤδη τοὺς
 ἐπιμελησομένους πέντε ἄνδρας ἐξ Ἀθηναίων. Ἐγγράψαι δὲ τὸ
 ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ δήμου ἐν στήλαις δύο καὶ ἐξεῖναι
 αὐτῶν θεῖναι τὴν μὲν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ, τὴν δὲ ἐν Λυκείῳ. Τὸ δὲ
 ἀνάλωμα τὸ εἰς τὰς στήλας γινόμενον μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς
 διοικήσεως ὅπως ἅπαντες ἴδωσιν ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
 τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ ζῶντας τιμᾷ καὶ τελευτήσαντας. (12) Ἐπὶ δὲ
 τὴν οἰκοδομὴν κεχειροτόνηνται Θράσων Ἀνακαιεύς, Φιλοκλῆς
 Πειραιεύς, Φαῖδρος Ἀναφλύστιος, Μένων Ἀχαρνεύς, Σμίκυθος
 Συπαληττεύς {, Δίων Παιανιεύς}.

((10) In the archonship of Arrheneides, in the fifth prytany (which is that) of Acamantis, on the twenty-first day of Maemacterion, at the twenty-third day of the prytany, main assembly, the motion was put to the vote (by the chairman) of the presiding officers, Hippon, son of Cratistoleos, of Xypete, and his co-presiding officers. Thrason, son of Thrason, of Anacaea, introduced the motion. Since Zeno, son of Mnaseas, of Citium, having been involved with philosophy for many years in the city, both in other ways continued to be a good man and, by urging those young men who entered into association with him towards excellence and self-control, he stimulated them toward the very best things, having offered to all as an example his own life which was in agreement with the theories he professed; (11) with good fortune, it has been resolved by the people that it praise Zeno, son of Mnaseas, of Citium, and crown him with a golden wreath in accordance with the law for his excellence and self-control, and that it build for him a tomb in the Ceramicus at public expense. For the manufacture of the wreath and the construction of the tomb the People shall immediately select by vote five men from

the Athenians who shall be responsible. The secretary of the People shall inscribe the decree on two *stelae*, and he shall be allowed to put one of them in the Academy, the other in the Lyceum. The financial administrator shall allocate the expense incurred for these *stelae* in order that all may know that the Athenian people honours the good men both in their lifetimes and after their deaths. (12) For the construction (of the tomb) there were selected by vote Thrason of Anacaea, Philocles of Piraeus, Phaedruss of Anaphlystus, Menon of Acharnae, Smicythus of Sypalettus {, Dion of Paeania}.¹³¹ (D.L. 7. 10–12; trans. Burstein (1985) 81 no. 59, slightly modified)

This document, transmitted by Diogenes Laertius, is one of the most discussed and esteemed testimonies regarding philosophers in the Hellenistic world.¹³² the alleged Athenian honorary decree for Zeno of Citium, the founder of the Stoa is generally considered an authentic *psephisma* dating to the year 262/1.¹³³ **(p.98)** This assumption seems to be well justified since there are only ‘minor divergencies from the normal language of decrees’ that are ‘in this literary copy...less significant than the general normality of the text’.¹³⁴ Admittedly, the document follows without doubt the standard formulae of an Attic non-probouleumatic decree in a quite accurate way. Nevertheless, there are good reasons to evaluate the content of the motivation clause and the provisions for the publication of the *psephisma* as a literary invention.¹³⁵ It might suffice to refer to two aspects: first, the declaration that Zeno lived in accordance with the principles of his own philosophical doctrines, thereby setting a *paradeigma* of his own conduct of life for all to see, has no epigraphic parallel. In fact, the reasoning in respect to the conformity between a philosopher’s ethical theories and his own social acting is deeply rooted in the field of literary disputes about the moral character of philosophers,¹³⁶ but was not a concern of the Athenian assembly.¹³⁷ Second, it has to be emphasized that there is no epigraphic evidence for the case that teaching and conveying philosophy was conceptualized publicly in a *psephisma* as an honorable act by any *polis* before about the year 200.¹³⁸

Nevertheless, despite a significant number of divergences between the text of the document presented by Diogenes Laertius as an Athenian *psephisma* in **(p.99)** honour of Zeno and the general phrasing of Athenian honorary decrees from the third century, it is by no means compelling to deny the historicity of an honorary decree resolved by the Athenian assembly for the founder of the Stoa¹³⁹—not least because Pausanias attests to the presence of Zeno’s tomb in the Cerameicus.¹⁴⁰ This raises the problem of explaining the peculiarities in the document

in question. Any interpretation that refers to the mover of the decree, Thrason, son of Thrason, of Anacaea, remains at least partially unsatisfactory.¹⁴¹ Admittedly, according to Diogenes Laertius, Thrason was instructed by the Macedonian king Antigonos Gonatas to request that the Athenians honour the recently deceased Zeno with a burial in the Cerameicus.¹⁴² All this happened immediately after Athens had surrendered to the Macedonian king at the end of the Chremonidean War.¹⁴³ But even if the decree was passed by the Athenian assembly with the objective of implementing a royal concern, the themes of the *psephisma* had to reflect the norms and the values of the *polis*, since everything else would have been contrary to the social logic of an honorary decree resolved by a *polis*—although it traced back to the initiative of a king.¹⁴⁴

Against this background, it is a reasonable assumption to think of a later author who ‘revised’ an original Athenian *psephisma* and partially transformed its text. The result was the document presented by Diogenes Laertius in his *Life of Zeno* in order to prove that the founder of the Stoa was highly honoured by his contemporaries.¹⁴⁵ However, it was not Diogenes who created the text of the disputed document, but most probably the Stoic Apollonius of Tyre¹⁴⁶ who wrote, according to Strabo, a ‘tabulated account of the philosophers of the school of Zeno and of their books’ in the first century.¹⁴⁷ In at least two books Apollonius dealt to a large extent biographically with Zeno.¹⁴⁸ When the Stoic of Tyre composed his work on Zeno, the founder of the Stoa had already for a long time been the subject of harsh criticisms not only by members of other philosophical schools, but by Stoics too.¹⁴⁹ The main target of the critics was the strong Cynic influence on Zeno’s early work; his *Politeia*, ‘written on the dog’s tail’, was especially harshly **(p.100)** criticized.¹⁵⁰ This criticism implied not only a critique of this Zenonian text, but was pre-eminently tantamount to challenging the author’s moral integrity.¹⁵¹ In the context of these philosophical quarrels, Apollonius took an unequivocal stand: his aim was to defend Zeno against his critics. Due to the fragmentary transmission of Apollonius’ work, it is impossible to reconstruct his complete reasoning in favour of Zeno of Citium. In virtue of Diogenes Laertius, at least one aspect of Apollonius’ apologetic strategy is evident: he referred to a number of proofs of a different nature. According to this evidence, the founder of the Stoa was held in high honour by his contemporaries.¹⁵² However, it must remain an open question as to how Apollonius got hold of the evidence—among which was the text of the Athenian honorary decree for Zeno whose original wording can be only a matter of speculation: was the relevant evidence already collocated in a now lost work or assembled from various sources by Apollonius himself?¹⁵³

Anyway, Apollonius' argumentative figure of thought had its starting point in the idea that Zeno's public prestige in various *poleis* and his high standing with Antigonus Gonatas demonstrate the groundlessness of the moral attacks on his personal integrity. To support this reasoning, which is based upon one of the crucial assumptions in ancient philosophy, namely the congruence between *doxai* and *praxeis*, Apollonius decided to revise some crucial passages of the authentic Athenian *psephisma* and to depict the honorand Zeno as a praiseworthy man not according to the common norms of the *polis*, but correlative with principles of biographies on philosophers in the literary field. One might wonder whether there could be any better counter-argument to the polemical charges against the moral integrity of the founder of the Stoa than a document by the Athenians praising Zeno for his conduct of life and the accordance of his deeds with his own doctrine.

8. Socrates' bigamy: not illegal pleasure, but lawful duty—or: how to refute a contrived accusation by inventing an exonerating piece of evidence

The already-mentioned controversy over Socrates' relationships with two women, Myrto and Xanthippe, is best understood in the writings of three imperial authors who take up various late Classical and Hellenistic sources: in the *Life of Aristides* (p.101) by Plutarch, in the *Learned Banqueters* by Athenaeus, and in the *Life of Socrates* by Diogenes Laertius.¹⁵⁴ The most detailed account is given by Athenaeus:

ἐκ τούτων οὖν τις ὀρμώμενος μέμψαιτ' ἂν τοὺς περιτιθέντας
Σωκράτει δύο γαμετὰς γυναῖκας, Ξανθίππην καὶ τὴν Ἀριστείδου
Μυρτώ (οὐ τοῦ δικαίου καλουμένου (οἱ χρόνοι γὰρ οὐ
συγχωροῦσιν) ἀλλὰ τοῦ τρίτου ἀπ' ἐκείνου). εἰσὶ δὲ
Καλλισθένης, Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς, Σάτυρος ὁ περιπατητικός,
Ἀριστόξενος, οἷς τὸ ἐνδόσιμον Ἀριστοτέλης ἔδωκεν ἱστορῶν
τοῦτο ἐν τῷ περὶ Εὐγενείας· εἰ μὴ ἄρα συγκεχωρημένον κατὰ
ψήφισμα τοῦτο ἐγένετο τότε διὰ σπάνιν ἀνθρώπων, ὥστ' ἐξεῖναι
καὶ δύο ἔχειν γυναῖκας τὸν βουλόμενον, ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς τῆς
κωμωδίας ποιητὰς ἀποσιωπῆσαι τοῦτο, πολλάκις τοῦ Σωκράτους
μνημονεύοντας. παρέθετο δὲ περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ψήφισμα
Ἰερώνυμος ὁ Ῥόδιος, ὅπερ σοι διαπέμψομαι εὐπορήσας τοῦ
βιβλίου. ἀντεῖπε δὲ τοῖς λέγουσι περὶ τῶν Σωκράτους γυναικῶν
Παναίτιος ὁ Ῥόδιος.

(On this basis, therefore, one might criticize the authorities who assign Socrates two legitimate wives, Xanthippe and Myrto the daughter of Aristides (not the Aristides known as 'the Just', who was not Socrates' contemporary, but that man's grandson). The authors in question are Callisthenes, Demetrius of Phalerum,

Satyrus the Peripatetic, and Aristoxenus; Aristotle set the tone for them by reporting this in his *On Nobility*. The alternative explanation, of course, is that this had been agreed to in that period by means of a public decree in response to the population shortage, making it possible for anyone who wished to have two wives; that would explain why the comic poets never mentioned this fact, even though they frequently refer to Socrates. Hieronymus of Rhodes cited a decree having to do with women; I will send it to you after I acquire the book. Panaetius of Rhodes, on the other hand, argued against those who discuss Socrates' multiple wives.) (Ath. 13. 555d-6b; trans. Olson (2010))

The second passage is from Diogenes Laertius' *Life of Socrates*:

φησὶ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης δύο γυναῖκας αὐτὸν ἀγαγέσθαι· προτέραν μὲν Ξανθίππην, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι Λαμπροκλέα· δευτέραν δὲ Μυρτώ, τὴν Ἀριστείδου τοῦ δικαίου θυγατέρα, ἣν καὶ ἄπρικοιν λαβεῖν, ἐξ ἧς γενέσθαι Σωφρονίσκον καὶ Μενέξενον. οἱ δὲ προτέραν γῆμαι τὴν Μυρτώ φασιν· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρας ἔχειν ὁμοῦ, ὥν ἐστι Σάτυρός τε καὶ Ἰερώνυμος ὁ Ῥόδιος. φασὶ γὰρ βουλευθέντας Ἀθηναίους διὰ τὸ λειπανδρεῖν συναυξῆσαι τὸ πλῆθος, ψηφίσασθαι γαμεῖν μὲν ἀστὴν μίαν, παιδοποιεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρας· ὅθεν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι καὶ Σωκράτην.

(Aristotle says that he (i.e. Socrates) married two wives: his first wife was Xanthippe, by whom he had a son, Lamprocles; his second wife was Myrto, the daughter of Aristides the Just, whom he took without a dowry. By her he had Sophroniscus and Menexenus. Others make Myrto his first wife; while some writers, including Satyrus and Hieronymus of Rhodes, affirm that they were both his wives at the same time. For they say that the Athenians were short of men and, wishing to increase the population, passed a decree permitting a citizen to marry one Athenian woman and have children by another; and that Socrates accordingly did so.) (D.L. 2. 26; trans. Hicks (1925))¹⁵⁵

(p.102) At the end of his biography of Aristides 'the Just', Plutarch relates the fate of some of his offspring; in this context he writes:

Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Φαληρεὺς καὶ Ἰερώνυμος ὁ Ῥόδιος καὶ Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικὸς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης (εἰ δὴ τὸ γε Περὶ εὐγενείας βιβλίον ἐν τοῖς γνησίοις Ἀριστοτέλους θετέον) ἱστοροῦσι Μυρτῶ θυγατρίδην Ἀριστείδου Σωκράτει τῷ σοφῷ

συνοικῆσαι, γυναῖκα μὲν ἑτέραν ἔχοντι, ταύτην δ' ἀναλαμβάνοντι, χηρεύουσιν διὰ πενίαν καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεομένην. (4) πρὸς μὲν οὖν τούτους ἱκανῶς ὁ Παναίτιος ἐν τοῖς περὶ Σωκράτους ἀντίρρηκεν.

(Again, Demetrius the Phalerean, Hieronymus the Rhodian, Aristoxenus the Musician, and Aristotle (provided the book 'On Nobility of Birth' is to be ranked among the genuine works of Aristotle) relate that Myrto, the granddaughter of Aristides, lived in wedlock with Socrates the Sage. He had another woman to wife, but took this one up because her poverty kept her a widow, and she lacked the necessities of life. To these, however, Panaetius, in his work on Socrates, had made sufficient reply.) (Plu. *Arist.* 27. 3-4; trans. Perrin (1914))

Against the background of these quotations, it may be unsurprising that the remarks in Athenaeus, Plutarch, and Diogenes Laertius do not easily offer a coherent picture of Socrates' relationship with Myrto and Xanthippe. This is reflected in the contentious, still ongoing discussions among scholars regarding the historicity and the (legal) constellation of the Socratic triad; this debate is connected to a dispute about the historicity and the content of the Athenian *psephisma* first referred to by the Rhodian Peripatetic Hieronymus.¹⁵⁶ It is neither the aim of the following discussion nor is it possible in the current context to continue these considerations in all necessary aspects. Rather, the objective is restricted to suggesting a new outline of the historical conditions, the intentions of and the arguments made by the various late-Classical and Hellenistic authors who are ambiguously, contradictorily, and, to a degree, improperly mentioned by Plutarch, Athenaeus, and Diogenes Laertius. In doing so, the argumentative function of the aforementioned Athenian *psephisma* in particular is to be taken into account.

The first ancient author who wrote explicitly on Socrates, Xanthippe, and Myrto is, by all indications, Aristotle, who referred to this triad in his dialogue *On Noble Birth*.¹⁵⁷ Aristotle's explanations regarding the form of Socrates' relation to Xanthippe and Myrto respectively are a matter of controversy in modern scholarship. However that may be, it can be regarded as certain that Aristotle did not present Socrates as a bigamist who was married to two women at the same time. It is most likely that according to Aristotle, Xanthippe was Socrates' concubine and that later Myrto, supposedly a descendant of Aristides 'the Just', became **(p.103)** his wife; until his death, Socrates shared his life with his wife and his concubine.¹⁵⁸ In all likelihood, Aristotle's description of the triangular relationship should be considered as historically correct.¹⁵⁹ However, the form of Socrates' 'lifestyle' as depicted by

Aristotle was generally neither a legal problem nor a moral issue in fifth- and fourth-century Athens.¹⁶⁰ Furthermore, Aristotle was not concerned with inferring a moral offence from this constellation which was formed upon common values or philosophical ethics. Like Aristotle, his nephew Callisthenes also mentioned Socrates, Xanthippe, and Myrto;¹⁶¹ in all probability, Callisthenes repeated more or less in an unknown context without any polemical intention what his uncle had written before him. If this is true, thus, neither Aristotle nor Callisthenes was inclined to polemicize against Socrates by referring to his living together with Xanthippe and Myrto.

The mode of speaking about the Socratic triad changed fundamentally when the Peripatetic Aristoxenus of Tarentum entered the stage. He became a harsh critic and polemical opponent of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle in the course of his life.¹⁶² In order to discredit Socrates' moral integrity, he decided to emphasize his allegedly deviant sexual behavior in his *Life of Socrates*.¹⁶³ In doing so, he interpreted Socrates' *ménage à trois* as a manifestation of his uncontrolled sexual **(p.104)** lust as well as a (further) explicit indication of his supposedly notorious law-violating character, and thus reshaped Aristotle's and Callisthenes' remarks on Socrates, Xanthippe, and Myrto according to his anti-Socratic purposes:¹⁶⁴ the previously unobjectionable triad became an immoral and illegal Socratic bigamy comprising the philosopher and his two simultaneous wives. As has already been emphasized, Aristoxenus' charge of bigamy against Socrates was, even if historically wrong, of great potential significance.¹⁶⁵ As a consequence, several philo-Socratic authors felt compelled to deal with this landmark of anti-Socratic polemic.¹⁶⁶ The first who wrote against Aristoxenus' accusations was most probably Demetrius of Phalerum in his work *Socrates or Apology of Socrates*. It is certain that Demetrius dealt with Aristoxenus' accusation and that he tried to refute the charge of Socrates' alleged bigamy,¹⁶⁷ although nothing is known about his apparently unsuccessful reasoning.¹⁶⁸ This is different from the argument of the Peripatetic Hieronymus of Rhodes who also wrote a biographical account of Socrates. His account had a positive tendency, and one of his aims was to refute Aristoxenus' accusation of Socrates' bigamy and the slander of his sexual behaviour. To achieve this aim, Hieronymus did not choose to contradict Aristoxenus by reproaching him for alleging historical falsehoods so as to sully the reputation of Socrates; instead, the Rhodian Peripatetic resolved upon reverting to a strong piece of evidence: an Athenian *psephisma*.¹⁶⁹

To reconstruct the content of the document to which Hieronymus refers is a difficult undertaking. According to Athenaeus, it had something to do with women.¹⁷⁰ Diogenes Laertius relates more specifically ‘that the Athenians were short of men and, wishing to increase the population, passed a decree permitting a citizen to marry one Athenian woman and have children by another’.¹⁷¹ This statement cannot be considered correct in respect to the substance of the Athenian *psephisma* in its Hieronymian version, since it would have permitted nothing **(p.105)** that was generally forbidden in Athens;¹⁷² therefore, the content of the decree according to Diogenes Laertius could not function as an argument in favour of the bigamist Socrates. It seems more plausible to assume that the *psephisma* ‘quoted’ by Hieronymus contains the settlement mentioned by Athenaeus before he refers to the Rhodian Peripatetic. Only in this way the decree would disprove Aristoxenus’ anti-Socratic offence: thus, the decree probably allowed that it was ‘possible for anyone who wished to have two wives’¹⁷³ in order to increase the population in a time of lack of men¹⁷⁴ and general population shortage.¹⁷⁵ By referring to an Athenian document of such an alleged character, Hieronymus attempted to demonstrate that Socrates did not violate Athenian laws, but acted, law-abidingly, in accordance with that supposed *psephisma* when he was married to two women at the same time: not sexual desire, but the patriotic performance of everyone’s duty directed Socrates’ actions and led to his transgression of established Athenian norms. Even though Aristoxenus and Hieronymus alike established new elements in the dispute on Socrates’ moral integrity, the pattern of their arguments was more or less as old as the discussion on that philosopher: the model of Socrates as violator of rules and laws is confronted with the model of Socrates who obeys virtually all the rules and especially the laws.¹⁷⁶

The content ascribed above to the *psephisma* ‘quoted’ by Hieronymus should not be considered as the content of a decree resolved by the Athenians sometime during Socrates’ lifetime.¹⁷⁷ Rather, this content is to be considered as a specific **(p.106)** invention of Hieronymus himself. However, the Athenians passed several resolutions regarding the legal status of *nothoi*, either ‘children of mixed unions between citizen and non-citizen...or children of non-marital unions’,¹⁷⁸ in a time of population shortage during the Peloponnesian War.¹⁷⁹ It might be a reasonable suggestion that these *psephismata* served as models for Hieronymus’ work. Despite their essential revision by the Rhodian Peripatetic for his own purposes, part of their original content found its way into the literary tradition; even if the way of their transmission is unknown, trace elements are handed down by Athenaeus and Diogenes Laertius.¹⁸⁰ That Hieronymus was able to reshape Athenian decrees

should be hardly surprising since he spent some time during the 270s and 260s in Athens¹⁸¹ and was in all probability trained in the Peripatus to work with documentary evidence.¹⁸²

It seems to be a more than plausible suggestion that the argumentation of Hieronymus was accepted by the Peripatetic Satyrus of Callatis¹⁸³ who wrote likewise about Socrates in a positive light.¹⁸⁴ It is far from being certain which approach was adopted by the Stoic Panaetius of Rhodes so as to make a sufficient reply regarding Socrates' alleged bigamy; he probably articulated this reply in his *On Socrates and the Socratics*.¹⁸⁵ The Rhodian Stoic, who held Socrates in high esteem,¹⁸⁶ presumably chose a reasoning that differed from the arguments of his Peripatetic predecessors: according to the admittedly rather fragmentary evidence Panaetius probably attacked the historicity of the Socratic triad by questioning the Aristotelian authorship of *On Noble Birth*, and he might have pointed out, too, that the Socratic triad is completely absent from Old and Middle Comedy, in spite of the fact that the topic would have fitted in well with the mockery of philosophers found in Attic Comedy.¹⁸⁷

The case study of the *psephisma* created by Hieronymus regarding bigamy illustrates the highly argumentative though tendentious potential of decrees as **(p.107)** pieces of evidence in the reasonings of Hellenistic biographies of philosophers. It also illustrates the elaborate and subtle methods of the authors in inventing and creating charges and refutations concerning the character of a philosopher who is depicted in several correlated biographies or biographical accounts respectively.

9. Concluding remarks

Beside the four documents regarding Menedemus of Eretria, Aristotle, Zeno of Citium, and Socrates, there is an abundance of other *psephismata* to which Hellenistic biographers referred or which they quoted in their biographical writings on philosophers. Yet since the aim of the present investigation is to present not an exhaustive collection of the respective pieces of evidence,¹⁸⁸ but merely a first outline of the topic, some generalizing remarks are to be deduced from the previously discussed representative examples. Beyond that, these observations as well as the practice of referring to *psephismata* in Hellenistic biographies of philosophers will be briefly situated in the wider cultural context of handling epigraphic evidence in the Hellenistic world.

Despite their different position within the 'spectrum of authenticity',¹⁸⁹ ranging from the (partial) quotation of an authentic *psephisma* via the (partial) revision of an authentic *psephisma* to the complete invention of

a text pretending to be an authentic *psephisma*, the documents in question have one thing in common: their important argumentative function within the biographical texts. Each of the four *psephismata* was used as an apologetic argument in order to refute criticism of or even polemic against the philosopher who is the subject of a biography. Yet, in spite of this similarity, there are differences between the four documents on two levels. First, while the *psephismata* concerning Aristotle and Zeno are honorary decrees allegedly voted by the Athenians in honour of the two philosophers, the *psephisma* pertaining to Menedemus is an honorary decree moved by the philosopher himself and the *psephisma* relating to Socrates is a regulation decreed by the Athenians. Second, the four *psephismata* are used as responses to diverse charges that can be divided into the following three categories: while the *psephismata* regarding Menedemus and Aristotle are disposed as counter-arguments to reproaches that can be classified as political, the 'bigamy decree' is intended to refute Socrates' alleged ill conduct and could be subsumed under legal issues. **(p.108)** Lastly, the *psephisma* honouring Zeno disproves moral allegations in a philosophical dispute.¹⁹⁰ However, a moral dimension pertains not only to the intention of the last document, but also to the purposes of the three other documents, since their intention was to demonstrate, too, that Menedemus was no flatterer, Aristotle no traitor, and Socrates no voluptuary. Of course, this ethical content belongs to the apologetic arguments in the form of the *psephismata* as well as to the respective prior charges against the four philosophers. Having stated that, a central concern of biographies of philosophers should be taken into account once more: the (in)congruency of a philosopher's way of life with his own *doxai*.¹⁹¹ As a matter of course, the political and legal reproaches against Menedemus, Aristotle, and Socrates are part of the reservoir of polemics that were ubiquitous in political conflicts in the *poleis* of the Classical and Hellenistic periods.¹⁹² They were thus, even if historically not true, plausible accusations that were transferred by philosophers from the marketplace and the law-court to literary texts regarding primarily philosophical *querelles*. Yet by interlinking these political and legal charges to the doctrines of the accused philosophers, their scope became transformed and extended: this correlation resulted regularly in the demonstration of incongruities between the philosopher's *doxai* and his *praxeis*.¹⁹³ Thus the philosopher 'in court' became proved to be not only a bad citizen, but also a bad philosopher.

Furthermore, in addition to their apologetic function, the *psephismata* referred to in the biographies of philosophers contain on various occasions an offensive element, too: their target was not simply to

demonstrate the falseness of the charges against philosophers, but also to demonstrate that the specified philosopher was in fact a praiseworthy man.

The way authors dealt with *psephismata* in their biographies of philosophers clearly shows that they were fully aware of the high argumentative potential of decrees. This circumstance is not astonishing if one has in mind that, on the one hand, the Greeks allotted generally a high documentary value to inscriptions¹⁹⁴ and that, on the other hand, by the fourth century and certainly by the Hellenistic period at the latest, it had become a widespread literary practice to deal with *psephismata* and inscriptions.¹⁹⁵ Having in mind the fairly elaborate usage of **(p.109)** *psephismata* and other epigraphic evidence,¹⁹⁶ it is not surprising that Hellenistic biographers, too, not only utilized authentic *psephismata*, but even revised and invented such documents for their own purposes. In this context, however, it is noteworthy that the *psephismata* did not serve as a starting point for further research but functioned as (apologetic) proofs regarding the issue of character; this has been tellingly expressed by Plutarch in his *Life of Nicias*:

...τὰ διαφεύγοντα τοὺς πολλοὺς, ὅφ' ἑτέρων δ' εἰρημένα
σποράδην ἢ πρὸς ἀναθήμασιν ἢ ψηφίσμασιν εὐρημένα παλαιοῖς
πεπεῖραμαι συναγαγεῖν, οὐ τὴν ἄχρηστον ἀθροίζων ἱστορίαν,
ἀλλὰ τὴν πρὸς κατανόησιν ἥθους καὶ τρόπου παραδιδούς.

([C]ertain facts, however, which have eluded most writers altogether, or have been mentioned only haphazardly by others, or are recorded only in decrees or in ancient votive inscriptions, I have tried to collect with care. In doing this my object is not to accumulate useless detail, but to hand down whatever may serve to make my subject's character and temperament better understood.) (Plu. *Nic.* 1. 5; trans. Liddel (2008) 129)¹⁹⁷

The form as well as the disposition of the biographers' usage of *psephismata* in their writings is—at least partially—similar to one aspect of the utilization of laws and decrees in Attic forensic rhetoric of the fourth century.¹⁹⁸ This similarity is up to the circumstance that, comparable to a biography, also '(t)he courtroom speech tells a life story, a *logos biou*':¹⁹⁹ biography as well as forensic speech has the agenda to portray the subject's character, and *psephismata* played an important role in it.²⁰⁰ Yet one glimpse is sufficient to show a considerable difference between the usages of *psephismata* in Hellenistic biographies of philosophers on the one hand and in Attic oratory of the fourth century on the other quite plainly: the authors of

the former texts dealt generally in a less elaborate manner and in less detail with *psephismata* in their reasonings than writers of forensic speeches.²⁰¹ But why did the Hellenistic biographers handle *psephismata* in particular and epigraphic documents in general as they did? Why did they often use these sources as quite elaborate arguments in their texts, but never discuss them in greater detail? Even if it is not possible to answer these questions fully **(p.110)** here, two points have to be emphasized. First, the biographers were well acquainted with the structure of *psephismata*;²⁰² this is apparent if one remembers, for instance, the motivation clauses of the invented and revised decrees in honour of Aristotle and Zeno respectively.²⁰³ This is hardly surprising: after all, the biographers did not just live in a world full of inscriptions, but they also belonged generally to that social group whose members acted as the proposers of *psephismata*.²⁰⁴ The development of a specific type of *psephismata*, the honorific decree, from the fourth century onwards made them a 'natural' resource for the biographers and their concern to emphasize the ethical qualities of their subjects, since the ethical topic became lengthier and more elaborated in honorary decrees.²⁰⁵ Second, the biographer's authority as the 'person of the researcher'²⁰⁶ or—more generally—as author was not based upon his expertise in 'epigraphical research'.²⁰⁷ However, this does not indicate a lack of ability, but rather reflects a culturally conditioned practice of writing in specific literary genres.²⁰⁸

The 'baskets full of decrees'²⁰⁹ and of other types of inscriptions in Hellenistic biographies are a subject that is still to be investigated in greater detail against the cultural background of the Hellenistic period. In doing so, it is of particular importance to take into account the practices and methods of reasoning in literary texts in general as well as the modes of handling authentic, revised, and false inscriptions in literature in particular.

(p.111) Abbreviations

DPhA Goulet, R. (ed.) (1989–). *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*. 5 vols. + Suppl. (to date). Paris.

FBP Gallo, I. (1975–80). *Frammenti biografici da papiri*. 2 vols. Rome.

SSR² Giannantoni, G. (1990). *Socratis et Socraticorum Reliquae*. 2nd edn. 4 vols. Naples.

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Notes:

This chapter is a revised version of my paper given at the Manchester conference; it also includes parts of a paper entitled ‘The Uses of Epigraphical Sources in Historiographical and Biographical Writings of the Early Hellenistic Period’ that was presented at the panel ‘Inscriptions in Greek and Latin Literary Texts’ at the XIIIth *Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae* held in Oxford in September 2007. For inviting me to read a paper on both occasions, my sincere thanks go to Peter Liddel and Polly Low, who organized the conference as well as the panel in a splendid manner. I thank Stefano Magnani (Udine) for the opportunity to discuss the substance of this chapter in a research seminar at Udine in May 2011. All audiences enriched the material with valuable comments. For critical readings of the text, helpful remarks, or inspiring discussions of the topic, I am much obliged to Tiziano Dorandi (Paris), Peter Funke (Münster), Johanna Hanink (Providence, RI), Ann-Cathrin Harders (Bielefeld), Denis Knoepfler (Paris), Peter Liddel (Manchester), Polly Low (Manchester), and Nino Luraghi (Princeton) who kindly also made available to me an unpublished paper. I am grateful to Angelos Chaniotis (Princeton) for generously allowing me to read and to refer to three then unpublished articles (of which one still is). The reader may turn a blind eye to the author’s unseemly abundance of references to his own works. Hägg (ed.) (2012), Huffman (2012); Lefkowitz (2012), and Martano et al. (eds) (2012) appeared too late to be taken into account. Unless otherwise indicated, all dates are BC.

(¹) On Hieronymus, cf. Schneider (2000); Wehrli et al. (2004) 613–14. See Wehrli (1969a) 41–2 on Hieronymus’ biography of Socrates.

(²) Cf. e.g. Dover (1968) pp. xxxii, xxxii–lvii; Rossetti (1974); Döring (1979) esp. 1–17; Gigon (1979) 7–178; Long (1988); Patzer (1994). On Socrates in the Attic forensic rhetoric of the fourth century, see Haake (2007) 38–9, (2009) 122.

(³) Long (1988) 155 n. 14 called Hieronymus, alongside Callisthenes of Olynthus, Demetrius of Phalerum, and Satyrus, one ‘of the [sc.: anti-Socratic] Peripatetic scandalmongers’; but his assumption that Aristotle and the early Peripatetics were notorious anti-Socratics is not to the point; cf. Schorn (2004) 397–8; O’Sullivan (2008) 394 n. 1.

(⁴) On Aristoxenus, see Centrone (1994); Wehrli et al. (2004) 576–82. His *Life of Socrates* was so tendentiously hostile to Socrates that the homonymous church historian remarked that the account of Socrates by the Neoplatonic Porphyry of Tyre, adapted mostly from Aristoxenus, was more malevolent than the charges of Socrates’ actual prosecutors: SSR² I Socrates (= I B) Fr. 41 = Porph. Fr. 210 F Smith = Porph. *FGrH*

260 F *7 *ap. Socr. h.e.* 3. 23. 13. See G. C. Hansen (1994) on Porphyry's account of Socrates. On the polemical tendency of Aristoxenus' *Life of Socrates*, see Dihle (1970) 70, 73; P. Cox (1983) 10–11; Schorn (2007) 149. Fortenbaugh (2007) 73–4, however, has argued unconvincingly to the contrary.

⁽⁵⁾ Aristox. Frs. II 4. 15, III 2. 125 Kayser = Aristox. Frs. 57–8 Wehrli *ap. Ath.* 13. 555d–6a, *Plu. Arist.* 27. 2. See Wehrli (1967) 66 ad loc.

⁽⁶⁾ On marriage in Classical Athens, see in general e.g. Patterson (1998) 107–37; cf. also pp. 104–5. According to Clearchus of Soli, quoted by Athenaeus immediately before citing Aristoxenus' remark on Socrates' bigamy, it was already Cecrops who had introduced monogamy in Athens: Clearch. Fr. 73 Wehrli *ap. Ath.* 13. 555c–d. Cf. Wehrli (1969b) 71–2; Gourmelen (2004) 102–5.

⁽⁷⁾ Cf. Schwarzenberg (1991) 312, 317; on Socrates' sexuality, see also pp. 103–5.

⁽⁸⁾ See pp. 104–6.

⁽⁹⁾ Hieronymus Frs. 53A–B White = Hieronymus Frs. 44–5 Wehrli *ap. Ath.* 13. 555d–6b, *D.L.* 2. 26; see pp. 104–6.

⁽¹⁰⁾ See pp. 100–7.

⁽¹¹⁾ See e.g. Haake (2004) and (2006b) on Athenian honorary decrees for Zeno of Citium and Aristotle; cf. pp. 96–100 respectively.

⁽¹²⁾ But cf. Fairweather (1974) 253–4.

⁽¹³⁾ In this context, see Mansfeld (1999); Sharples (2006); cf. also Döring (1987); Mejer (2000).

⁽¹⁴⁾ See e.g. Sonnabend (2002); Gallo (2005); McGing and Mossman (2006b); Erler and Schorn (2007).

⁽¹⁵⁾ Cf. e.g. Davies (2000); Biraschi et al. (2003); Sironen (2003); Bertrand (2005); Zizza (2006); Rhodes (2007); Ní Mheallaigh (2008); Hartmann (2010) 468–92. On Lucian and his 'mock decrees', see already Householder (1940) and cf. now also Tomassi (2011).

⁽¹⁶⁾ See Frost (1961); Desideri (1992); Liddel (2008).

⁽¹⁷⁾ For two thought-provoking articles regarding the analysis of literarily transmitted 'epigraphic evidence', see Davies (1996), (2007).

⁽¹⁸⁾ The origins and the pre-Hellenistic developments of biography are anything but a resolved issue; see e.g. Homeyer (1962); Momigliano (1993) 23-64; Gallo (2005) 15-26; Fortenbaugh (2007) 45-7.

⁽¹⁹⁾ For this definition, cited also by Rhodes (2007) 56, see the respective entry in the *New Shorter OED* (s.v. document, I. 719. 3). Rhodes (2007) 56 continues that a document 'may be displayed in public or kept in storage somewhere; it may be generated by an official body at any level...or by an unofficial body...or by an individual...but it is a text which serves as a record.' See also M. H. Hansen (2001); Möller (2003); Davies (2007) 225-6.

⁽²⁰⁾ On the philosopher as a specific social type in antiquity, cf. Haake (2003) 94; on the characteristics of biographies of philosophers, see pp. 85-8.

⁽²¹⁾ On citations in texts from the Graeco-Roman world in general, cf. Darbo-Peschanski (2004).

⁽²²⁾ In this context, cf. Luraghi (2010) 248; R. G. Osborne (2011) 105-6.

⁽²³⁾ See also pp. 109-10.

⁽²⁴⁾ Testaments of the following Classical and Hellenistic philosophers are known or attested: Plato (D.L. 3. 41-3), Crantor of Soli (D.L. 4. 25), Arcesilaus of Pitane (D.L. 4. 43-4), Aristotle (D.L. 5. 11-16; cf. Arist. *priv. script. frag.*, pp. 35-42 Plezia), Theophrastus (Thphr. Fr. 1. 295-365 Fortenbaugh, Huby, and Sharples *ap.* D.L. 5. 51-7), Straton of Lampsacus (Strato Fr. 1 Sharples = Strato Fr. 10 Wehrli = Lyco Fr. 4 Stork, Fortenbaugh, Dorandi, and van Ophuijsen *ap.* D.L. 5. 61-4), Lycon of Alexandria Troas (Lyco Fr. 1 Stork, Fortenbaugh, Dorandi, and van Ophuijsen = Lyco Fr. 15 Wehrli *ap.* D.L. 5. 69-74), Epicurus (Epicur. Fr. 1. 16. 10-21. 11 Arrighetti² *ap.* D.L. 10. 16-21), Polystratus (*PHerc.* 1780, Frs. VIIc-e, i; cf. Tepedino Guerra (1980) 20-1), and Dionysius of Lamptrae (*PHerc.* 1780, Fr. VII; cf. Tepedino Guerra (1980) 18-19).

⁽²⁵⁾ One might refer to the correspondence between Zeno of Citium and Antigonos Gonatas (D.L. 7. 7-9) which is assuredly not an original piece of evidence, but a literary forgery as has been shown by Lapini (1996); however, Grilli (1963) has tried to demonstrate that the letters are authentic.

⁽²⁶⁾ On epitaphs in biographies, see exemplarily Fairweather (1974) 254. Cf. Hope (1930) 164-7 on the epigrams cited by Diogenes

Laertius; on philosophers and philosophy in Hellenistic epigrams, see generally Clayman (2007).

(²⁷) Favorin. Fr. 41 Amato = Favorin. Fr. 34 Barigazzi = Favorin. Frs. 3, 51 Mensching = *SSR*² I Socrates [= I D] Fr. 1 *ap.* D.L. 2. 39–40; cf. Pébarthe (2006) 157. Sickinger (1999) 132 has commented sceptically on the authenticity of the *kategoria* against Socrates; on the fragment, see Amato (2010) 219–24 ad loc.

(²⁸) This aspect has been firmly brought to mind by Davies (2007) 223, who refers to a then unpublished paper by A. Chaniotis; see now Chaniotis (2012). In this context, see also Klaffenbach (1960); Lalonde (1971) 26–52; Rhodes (2001*a, b*); Faraguna (2006) 205; Haensch (2009) 8.

(²⁹) It is important to bear in mind that the relation between literarily transmitted documents (on this term see n. 19 above) and the corresponding documents attested on stone is a complicated one that can be only rarely analysed; one might refer to the Athenian *psephisma* for Lycurgus of which two divergent versions are handed down: its text is transmitted literarily among three texts compiled under the heading *psephismata* which were transmitted subsequently to the *Life of Deinarchus* in the pseudo-Plutarchean *Lives of the Ten Orators* (for Demosthenes (Plu. *Mor.* 850f–1c); for Demochares (Plu. *Mor.* 851d–f); for Lycurgus (Plu. *Mor.* 851f–2e); cf. e.g. Faraguna (2003)) as well as epigraphically (*IG* II² 457; whether *IG* II² 513 is a fragment of a second published copy of the honorary decree for Lycurgus is a matter of discussion); see e.g. M. J. Osborne (1981); Prauscello (1999); Brun (2003) 498–500; Culasso Gastaldi (2003) esp. 68–72. The decreed honorary statue of Lycurgus is attested in *IG* II² 3776.

(³⁰) In this context, a literary attested *dogma* of the Boeotians comes into play, too.

(³¹) Davies (1996) 32–3 has categorized as a ‘document’, among others, ‘a report of the content (Wortlaut or paraphrase) of a public decision taken by a Greek polis or other Greek public entity...where the report is transmitted indirectly, i.e. through a literary text’. In the following contribution, the term document is used irrespective of its authenticity.

(³²) For this term, see Davies (1996) 30.

(³³) For this wording, see Davies (2000) 214.

(³⁴) See Pelling (2001); the volume under review is Ehlers (1998).

(³⁵) For the quotation, see Lee (1996) 10.

(³⁶) It is neither possible nor the aim of the current investigation to discuss 'Greek biography' in greater detail; these remarks are strictly limited to some points that are relevant to this investigation. Among the huge amount of scholarly literature on Greek (and Roman) biography one might refer next to the thought-provoking classic by Momigliano (1993) and to the already-mentioned works in n. 14 to Leo (1901); Lefkowitz (1981), (1983), (2009); Gentili and Cerri (1988) 61–85; Burridge (1992) 53–74, (1997); Arrighetti (1994); Camassa (1994); Gallo (1995); Dihle (1998); Schirren (2005) 69–211; Ebner (2009); Pelling (2009); Borghart and De Temmerman (2010); Hodgkinson (2010). For instructive, even though general remarks, see Bachtin (2008) 56–73.

(³⁷) The respective passage from Damascius' *Life of Isidorus* is known only through a quotation by Photius: Dam. *Isid.* p. 2. 11–13 Zintzen *ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* 126^a4–8 (cod. 181) (= Phot. *Bibl.* II, p. 189. 16–20 Henry); Phot. *Bibl.* 335^b10–16 (cod. 242. 8) (= Phot. *Bibl.* VI, p. 9. 10–16 Henry). Cf. Momigliano (1993) 12; Bowersock (2000) 258.

(³⁸) Cf. McGing and Mossman (2006a) p. xi.

(³⁹) One of the scarce statements by an ancient author regarding biography is Plutarch's famous assertion at the beginning of his *Life of Alexander* (Plu. *Alex.* 1. 2) that he does not write histories (ἱστορίαι), but lives (βίοι). On this much-debated passage, see e.g. Duff (1999) 14–22; Schepens (2007) 355.

(⁴⁰) Cf. e.g. Schepens (2007) 340 with further references.

(⁴¹) Cf. Fetz (2009); see also Klein (ed.) (2009).

(⁴²) Cf. Conte (1992) 106, 110. See Raible (1980) with a general approach of literary criticism on the constituents of a genre.

(⁴³) See Pelling (1996) 241; cf. also Burridge (1992) esp. 65–6; Pausch (2004) 42–7. On the concept of genre and its applicability to ancient texts in general and on biographies specifically, cf. Rossi (1971); Conte (1992); Pelling (1999) 328–30. Edwards (1997) 228–34 has not persuasively argued that one should neglect biography as a genre and explore rather 'the biographic' in different texts.

(⁴⁴) For this definition, see Momigliano (1993) 11 as well as Dihle (1987) 8–9; Swain (1997) 1–2; see also Williams (2008) 4. On the intended audiences of biographies, cf. Fortenbaugh (2007) 50–1.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Cf. e.g. Schepens (2007) 354. Engels (2005) esp. 134 has pointed out that even in the flourishing literature ‘on men of high reputation’, ‘primarily eminent scholars and authors of high reputation, but not politicians and military men’ were treated.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Schepens (2007) 354 has convincingly expounded: ‘Das Fehlen politischer Biographien liegt nicht an der Bedeutungslosigkeit der meisten hellenistischen Könige oder Herrscherfiguren, sondern findet ihre plausible Erklärung in der Tatsache, daß sie als Protagonisten des historischen Geschehens ausführlich—und oft auch “biographisch”—in der der Geschichtsschreibung behandelt wurden, sowohl in allgemeinen historischen Werken als—*a fortiori*—in den zahllosen historischen Monographien, welche die πράξεις τῶν δυναστῶν (Plb. 9. 1. 4), die Taten mächtiger Individuen—Könige und Tyrannen—, in Einzelheiten ausführten.’ See also Momigliano (1993) 63: ‘History went on being concerned with political events, even when they were guided and dominated by one man: biographical experiments turned on the personal life of the individual.’

⁽⁴⁷⁾ Cf. Averintsev (2002) 19–21; Cooper (2002) 336; Graziosi (2006) 162–3.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ That biographies are in principle eulogistic in their tendency is often stated and overemphasized; cf. e.g. Taub (2007) 17; but see appropriately Fortenbaugh (2007) 60 and Schorn (2007) 149, who have rightly underlined that the basic trend of a biography can also be polemical; cf. also Haake (2007) 5. Fortenbaugh (2007) 71–6 has propounded that ‘a biography can deal with many aspects of the subject’s life, both favorable and damning’.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ On biographies of philosophers, see Kienle (1961) 76–8; Fuhrmann (1973); Mejer (1978) 90–3; Talbert (1978) 1620–3. Joly (1956) has analysed ‘le thème philosophique des genres de vie’ in antiquity.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ On this aspect, see p. 84 above.

⁽⁵¹⁾ Cf. e.g. Magris (2001) 35–47; see also Van Hoof (2010) 32–40.

⁽⁵²⁾ This term was coined by Gigante (1986) 17–21 for Diogenes Laertius’ *Lives and Opinions of Famous Philosophers*. On the title, see Mejer (1978) 50–1 n. 111; Runia (1997) 601.

⁽⁵³⁾ But see, though not entirely conclusive, Mejer (2007) 440.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Cf. Runia (1999) 44; see e.g. Plu. *Mor.* 1033a–b.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Cf. e.g. Hadot (1984-5), (1995) 91-352.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Cf. Gotter (2003) 175; see also Gehrke (2004) 478-9; Haake (2008b) 163, (2009) 130.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ See Stadter (2007) 529; cf. also Haake (2004) 477.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ On Lycon, see Wehrli et al. (2004) 614-15; Schneider (2005); Haake (2007) 82-6.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ *CID* IV 63 = *FD* III 3. 167 = *Syll.*³ 461 (240/39 or 239/8); cf. Haake (2007) 240-1.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ *Agora* XVI 213, col. I. 71 = *IG* II² 791, Fr. d, col. I. 29 (248/7); see Haake (2007) 86-9. Neither the Delphic nor the Athenian inscription entered the literary traditions on Lycon.

⁽⁶¹⁾ On Antigonus of Carystus, see Dorandi (1994a), (2002) pp. xi-cxxiii.

⁽⁶²⁾ Antig. Fr. 23 Dorandi = Lyco Fr. 8 Stork, Fortenbaugh, Dorandi, and van Ophuijsen = Lyco Fr. 7 Wehrli *ap. Ath.* 12. 547d-8b; Antig. Fr. 24 Dorandi = Lyco Fr. 1 Stork, Fortenbaugh, Dorandi, and van Ophuijsen = Lyco Fr. 8 Wehrli *ap. D.L.* 5. 67. Cf. Mejer (2004) 279 on Antigonus' negative attitude towards Lycon. Another early detractor of Lycon is Hermippus of Smyrna who probably depends already on Antigonus: Hermipp. Hist. *FGrH* 1026 F 74 = Hermipp. Hist. Fr. 57 Wehrli = Lyco Fr. 8 Wehrli *ap. D.L.* 5. 67. See Bollansée in *FGrH* IV A 3, p. 523 in respect of Hermippus' dependence on Antigonus; cf. Bollansée (1999) 1-18 on Hermippus.

⁽⁶³⁾ On Ariston, see Caujolle-Zaslowsky and Goulet (1994); Wehrli et al. (2004) 616-18; Hahm (2006). On Ariston as father of the positive tradition on Lycon, see arguably Gigante (1996) 18-19; rather sceptical on this point is Hahm (2006) 186-91.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ Aristo Stoic. Fr. 6 Stork, Dorandi, Fortenbaugh, and van Ophuijsen = Aristo Stoic. Fr. 4 Wehrli *ap. Them. Or.* 21. 255b-c.

⁽⁶⁵⁾ On the question of the authorship of the *Life of Philonides*, cf. Haake (2007) 148 n. 607.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ The incongruity of the courtly life with a philosophical lifestyle is emphatically expressed in a short passage in Philodemus' *History of the Stoics*; see Phld. *hist. Stoic.* col. 13. 4-7 Dorandi. On this passage, cf. Dorandi (1994c) 146 ad loc.; Scholz (1998) 323 n. 23; Bollansée (2000) esp. 24.

(⁶⁷) *FBP* II, vit. Philonid. Fr. 27. 1-10 = *PHerc.* 1044, Fr. 27. 1-10; cf. Haake (2007) 148-9; de Sanctis (2009) 110-11. For a discussion of Philonides' biography, see Haake (2007) 154-7. On this Epicurean philosopher, cf. now also Koch Piettre (2010) who, however, holds different views; see furthermore Muccioli (2010 (2011)) 190-2.

(⁶⁸) *I.Eleusis* 221 = *IG* II² 1236 (between 185 and 175); cf. Haake (2007) 149-54, who has argued that the honorand Philonides of Laodicea, father of Philonides and Dicaearchus, is identical with the homonymous Epicurean and not the likewise honoured Philonides 'the son' who is attested together with his brother as *theorodokos* of his *patris* at Delphi (*SGDI* 2580, Fr. B, col. III. 105-7 = Plassart (1921) 24, col. IV. 78-80); see Haake (2007) 158-9 n. 651, and cf., among others, also Habicht (1994) 241. Otherwise, however, see Gera (1999) 77; Haake (2006a) 531-2. For a full bibliography, cf. Haake (2007) 157 n. 645; see also Primo (2009) 41 n. 90.

(⁶⁹) Cf. Hägg and Rousseau (2000b) 4, who, however, concentrate on positive types.

(⁷⁰) On plausibility as the central item in the construct of ancient biographies (of philosophers), see Trampedach (1994) 17-18.

(⁷¹) Graziosi (2002) has demonstrated how profitable it is to analyse the process of 'inventing Homer'; on the *Lives of Homer*, cf. also Beecroft (2010) 62-102. See Hanink (2008) with respect to Euripides and his *Life*. It would be a worthwhile undertaking to analyse with Graziosi's approach the various ancient *Lives* that present manifold different constructed ways of life regarding the lives of philosophers such as Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle.

(⁷²) The exceedingly detailed depiction of trustworthy elements of Philonides' life makes it possible to preclude in all likelihood the possibility of a lack of knowledge regarding Philonides' involvement in the everyday life of a courtier.

(⁷³) Epicur. p. 94, IX Fr. 6* Usener *ap.* Plu. *Mor.* 1127a; cf. moreover Epicur. p. 94, IX Fr. 5 Usener = Epicur. Fr. 9 Arrighetti² *ap.* Plu. *Mor.* 1095c. On these two passages, cf. Haake (2003) 89 with 119-21 n. 80; against this view, see Murray (1996) 20-1, (2007) 18-19; Erskine (2011a) 177-8.

(⁷⁴) For the quotation, see Trapp (2007) 9.

(⁷⁵) See Usener (1901). Since the author of the *Life of Philonides* made use of material from the numerous writings of Philonides, it is not unlikely that he included 'Philonidean' apologetic arguments into the *Life*. Elsewhere I have suggested that such apologetic material might have been interwoven in Philonides' work on contemporary Seleucid history; cf. Haake (2007) 158 n. 648.

(⁷⁶) These quarrels originate in the highly competitive character of Greek philosophy; on this aspect, cf. Gehrke (2004) 478–9; Azoulay (2009) 305–10. See also more generally Collins (2002) 80–109.

(⁷⁷) On philosophical invective, see Owen (1983); cf. also Brunschwig (2003); Sabater Beltrá (2010).

(⁷⁸) See Haake (2007) 85 and cf. also p. 86.

(⁷⁹) The reasoning of Lycon's critics has been analysed by Haake (2007) 83–5.

(⁸⁰) On the historical context, see Strobel (1994) 72.

(⁸¹) For εἴπαν, see Knoepfler (1991) 198 *app. prior*: 215; Knoepfler, *Décrets érétriens*, 390–1.

(⁸²) Cf. convincingly Knoepfler, *Décrets érétriens*, 390–1; see now also Dorandi (2005 (2009)) 119–20 (Antig. Fr. *novum* 1 Dorandi) and cf. already Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1881) 101. Dorandi (2002) pp. lxxviii–iii has argued against the allocation of the *psephisma* to Antigonus of Carystus. On various occasions, the passage had been falsely allocated to Hermippus of Smyrna; see e.g. Hermipp. Hist. *FHG* III F 36. That the passage under consideration (D.L. 1. 140–2) cannot originate from Hermippus is also reasonably argued by Bollansée in *FGrH* IV A 3, pp. 540–2. On the difficult question of Diogenes Laertius' access to Antigonus of Carystus and possible intermediaries, especially Sotion and Heracleides Lembus, cf. e.g. Mejer (1978) 40–2; Wehrli (1978) 15–19, 41–2; Bollansée in *FGrH* IV A 3, p. 538; Dorandi (2002) p. lxxvii.

(⁸³) See Knoepfler (1991) 199 n. 78; Knoepfler, *Décrets érétriens*, 391. On the original text and the possible content of the *psephisma* against the background of the Eretrian epigraphic practice in the early Hellenistic period, cf. Knoepfler, *Décrets érétriens*, 390–2. See Knoepfler, *Décrets érétriens*, 390–7 with in-depth explanations on the decree for Antigonus in Diogenes' *Life of Menedemus*.

(⁸⁴) Knoepfler, *Décrets érétriens*, 391; see also Knoepfler (1991) 199 n. 80 on the historical context.

⁽⁸⁵⁾ In the course of discussing this topic, as a further alternative source for Antigonos of Carystus D. Knoepfler has put into play the possibility of a private copy of the decree which could have been in possession either of one of Menedemos' three daughters, who are attested by Heracleides Lembus (Heraclid. Lemb. *FHG* III F 15 = Sotion Fr. 12 Wehrli *ap.* D.L. 1. 138), or of one of his disciples (written message by e-mail; 6 January 2011).

⁽⁸⁶⁾ Antig. Fr. *novum* 1 Dorandi = *SSR*² I Menedemos Eretrius [= III F] Fr. 16 *ap.* D.L. 2. 141.

⁽⁸⁷⁾ On Menedemos' biography, his philosophical background and his political activities, see Döring (1998) 241–5; Goulet (2005); Haake (2007) 177–81, 242–6. On Menedemos' birth and death dates, see Knoepfler (1991) 16–18, 203 n. 92.

⁽⁸⁸⁾ He originated from the noble, but allegedly impoverished *genos* (?) of the Theopatriidai; see *SSR*² I Menedemos Eretrius [= III F] Fr. 1 *ap.* D.L. 2. 125 with Knoepfler (1991) 171 n. 3. Menedemos is attested in an Eretrian citizen list from the 280s or 270s: *IG* XII 9. 246 A66; cf. Knoepfler (1997) 369 with 425 n. 142; Haake (2007) 178 n. 10.

⁽⁸⁹⁾ Alexinus Fr. 85 Döring = *SSR*² I Menedemos Eretrius [= III F] Fr. 1 *ap.* D.L. 2. 125; on this rarely treated passage, see Scholz (1998) 48 n. 131; Haake (2007) 179 n. 21. It must remain an open question whether the criticism (if historical) was expressed after Menedemos moved the decree in honour of Antigonos Gonatas or in the context of another procedure.

⁽⁹⁰⁾ So Menedemos was *proboulos* (Antig. Fr. 27 Dorandi = Heraclid. Lemb. *FHG* III F 15 = *SSR*² I Menedemos Eretrius [= III F] Fr. 16 *ap.* D.L. 2. 143) and perhaps *strategos* in Eretria (cf. Knoepfler, *Décrets érétriens*, 392–3); he was also *hieromnemon* of his *patris* in the Amphictionic council at Delphi (*CID* II 124.4; *CID* IV 20.5 (274/3); see Haake (2007) 180, 242–3, 245). Probably in 269/8 Menedemos is mentioned in the context of a legal affair that cannot be reconstructed with certainty due to the bad state of preservation of the relevant inscription; Menedemos was involved in that affair because he had been *hieromnemon* before (*CID* II 129B; see Haake (2007) 242). Menedemos was sent repeatedly as envoy to the kings Demetrius Poliorcetes, Ptolemy II, and Lysimachus by his *patris* Eretria (D.L. 2. 141–2); see Knoepfler (1991) 197 nn. 69–71, 74–5; Haake (2007) 178–9. A statue of Menedemos was set up in the ancient stadium of Eretria; see Antig. Fr. 28* Dorandi = *SSR*² I Menedemos Eretrius [= III F] Fr. 8

ap. D.L. 2. 132. On Antigonus' description of that statue, see Knoepfler (1991) 183 n. 35; Dorandi (2002) 51 n. 140. Cf. also von den Hoff (2004) 393 n. 138.

⁽⁹¹⁾ These accusations were made by some of Menedemus' fellow citizens who were anti-Macedonian partisans; such accusations—whether true or not—formed a generic element in the political conflicts within the early Hellenistic *poleis*. Cf. Bollansée in *FGrH* IV A 3, pp. 539–40.

⁽⁹²⁾ *SSR*² I Menedemus Eretrius [= III F] Fr. 16 *ap.* D.L. 2. 140–1; Diogenes' source for this statement is unknown. One of his detractors, a certain Aeschylus, is probably identical to Aeschylus, son of Antandrides, a leading politician of Eretria in the early Hellenistic period; see Knoepfler (1991) 197 n. 73; Knoepfler, *Décrets érétriens*, 257–8. Diogenes Laertius quotes in this context the beginning of a letter admittedly written by Menedemus in which he defended himself against that charge. If one is not willing to assume that the letter might not be authentic: whoever the letter-writer might have been, his product was used as an authentic source by Diogenes Laertius, and it is obvious that the author was a pro-Menedemian. It is therefore at least tempting to think of Antigonus of Carystus.

⁽⁹³⁾ For the whole story, presented in the following, see Hermipp. Hist. *FGrH* 1026 F 79 = Hermipp. Hist. Fr. 38 Wehrli = *SSR*² I Menedemus Eretrius [= III F] Fr. 16 *ap.* D.L. 2. 142. See Bollansée in *FGrH* IV A 3, pp. 536–42.

⁽⁹⁴⁾ On Hermippus, whose *floruit* can be reasonably placed in the second half of the third century, see Bollansée (1999).

⁽⁹⁵⁾ On the close relationship between the Macedonian king and Menedemus, see D.L. 2. 141.

⁽⁹⁶⁾ It might be instructive to analyse Menedemus' refuge in the Amphiaraeum in correspondence to his alleged conservation with the Macedonian commander of the Piraeus, Hierocles, in the same sanctuary; see *SSR*² I Menedemus Eretrius [= III F] Fr. 5 *ap.* D.L. 2. 127.

⁽⁹⁷⁾ It is pointless to speculate on the origins of Hermippus' knowledge of the Boeotian *dogma*.

⁽⁹⁸⁾ On the topos of stolen vessels in sanctuaries, see Wiechers (1961) 31 n. 1; Knoepfler (1991) 199 n. 82; Bollansée in *FGrH* IV A 3, pp. 536–

8. It might be instructive to refer exemplarily to an inventory list from the Amphiareum in Oropus where the absence of a mask of a Silenus is recorded (*I.Oropos* 325. 20–1; early 2nd cent.).

(⁹⁹) Antig. Fr. 27 Dorandi = Heraclid. Lemb. *FHG* III F 15 = Hermipp. Hist. *FGrH* 1026 F 79 = *SSR*² I Menedemus Eretrius [= III F] Fr. 16 *ap.* D.L. 2. 143. Death and the manners of death of philosophers were a central point in all kinds of literary accounts on philosophers; see Chitwood (2007); Huttner (2009).

(¹⁰⁰) See Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1881) 86–95; Bollansée in *FGrH* IV A 3, p. 538.

(¹⁰¹) Cf. Dorandi (1994*d*) 10–11.

(¹⁰²) See Bollansée in *FGrH* IV A 3, pp. 538–9.

(¹⁰³) Cf. Haake (2007) 181. A detailed analysis of the respective passage traditions has been presented by Bollansée in *FGrH* IV A 3, pp. 536–42. It has been rightly underlined ‘that the origin of this double tradition might lie primarily not in different facts, but in a different interpretation of the same facts’; see Bollansée in *FGrH* IV A 3, p. 537 and cf. also Knoepfler (1991) 201 n. 85.

(¹⁰⁴) Antig. Fr. *novum* 1 Dorandi *ap.* D.L. 2. 141; trans. Hicks (1925): ἀπλοῦν τε καὶ ἀκόλακον. On this phrase, see Bollansée in *FGrH* IV A 3, p. 541.

(¹⁰⁵) On the content of the entire text, cf. Knoepfler, *Décrets érétriens*, 391–3.

(¹⁰⁶) It must remain an open question whether Diogenes Laertius was the first to shorten the document or whether, as seems more likely, the Carystian’s document had already been abbreviated by an intermediate author. On the transmission of Antigonos’ work up to Diogenes Laertius, see p. 89 n. 82.

(¹⁰⁷) It has been reasonably argued that Diogenes Laertius consulted Hermippus’ *Life of Menedemus* directly; see Mejer (1978) 32–4; Bollansée in *FGrH* IV A 3, p. 541.

(¹⁰⁸) The following remarks on an alleged Athenian honorary decree for Aristotle represent a concise outline of Haake (2006*b*) and (2007) 55–60.

(¹⁰⁹) On Aristotle’s social background, cf. Goulet (1994*c*) 418–22; for his social position, see Trampedach (1994) 49–52.

⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Favorin. Fr. 73 Amato = Favorin. Fr. 68 Barrigazzi = Favorin. Fr. 36 Mensching *ap.* D.L. 5. 5–6; Hermipp. Hist. *FGrH* 1026 F 30 = Hermipp. Hist. Fr. 48 Wehrli *ap.* Ath. 15. 696a–697b. On Aristotle's flight, caused allegedly by a charge of *asebeia*, and the historical context, see Chroust (1966); Haake (2006b) 344–6 and (2008a) 100; cf. also Habicht (2006) 57 with 416 nn. 3–4. Whether this charge of impiety is historically true or a literary invention, its historicity was sufficiently plausible in early Hellenistic times to lead to the composition of an *Apology* by an unknown philo-Aristotelian author that circulated under Aristotle's name, but was already classed among the Aristotelian *Pseudepigrapha* in antiquity: *vita Hesychii (vita Menagiana)* no. 189 (Arist. III, p. 28 Gigon = Arist. *fragm.*, p. 18 R³ = Düring (1957) 88); cf. Bollansée (2001) esp. 69–83, who also expresses doubts of the historicity of a charge of *asebeia*. On Aristotle's (alleged) impiety, see also Bodéüs (2002).

⁽¹¹¹⁾ Aristotle and his nephew Callisthenes were honoured at Delphi sometime between 337 and 327/6 since they compiled a list of the victors in the Pythian Games; see *CID* IV 10 = *FD* III 1. 400 = Rhodes/Osborne, *GHI* 80 = Choix d'inscriptions de Delphes 49. On this decree, cf. e.g. Bousquet (1984); Chanotis (1988) 293–6 E 3; Haake (2007) 237–40. According to a passage in Aelian's *Miscellany* (Arist. Fr. 414 Appendix B Gigon = Arist. Fr. 666 R³ *ap.* Ael. *VH* 14. 1), Aristotle mentioned, with equanimity, the deprivation of his honours at Delphi in a letter to Antipatrus. Whether this letter is authentic or a later fabrication by an anonymous author is hard to know and not relevant for the current concern. On the whole problem, see Haake (2006a) 532, (2007) 237–40.

⁽¹¹²⁾ Regarding the controversy about Aristotle, crucial importance belongs—from the late fourth century onwards—to Aristotle's *Song for Hermias*: Page, *PMG* 842; the text of the poem is transmitted with its surrounding incidents by Did. *in D.* col. 6. 18–50 Harding (= *P.Berol.* inv. 9780 col. 6. 18–50); Ath. 15. 696a–7b; D.L. 5. 6–8. See the short remarks by Haake (2006b) 344–6; Ford (2011) is seminal. See also LeVen (this volume, Ch. 12).

⁽¹¹³⁾ Generally, it is important to emphasize that the historical Aristotle never attempted or intended to realize philosophical theorems in the world of politics; his social actions were never guided by his philosophical ideas. See Trampedach (1994) 49–52; cf. also p. 86 with n. 64.

(¹¹⁴) Cf. e.g. Trampedach (1994) 53–7; Haake (2006b) 329–31, (2007) 37–8, 55–6. On Aristotle as arch-villain in the ancient literary tradition, see moreover Düring (1957) 373–84; cf. also Chroust (1964) 67–8 on the image of the Stagirite as a global benefactor in ancient sources.

(¹¹⁵) Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, who lived in the 13th century, wrote a biographical compilation entitled *Sources of Information about the Generations of Physicians* (*Kitāb ‘Uyūn al-anbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-a ṭibbā’*); this compilation also contains a biography of Aristotle. On Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, see Vernet (1971); cf. Endress (1987) 431 on the character of the mentioned work. Gutas (1986) is fundamental for the Arabic biographies of Aristotle.

(¹¹⁶) = Arist. III, p. 37 §§ 17–19 Gigon; further translations are mentioned by Haake (2006b) 331 n. 15. The Arabic text can be found in F. A. Müller (1884) 55. 10–24.

(¹¹⁷) On these correspondences, see Drerup (1898) 370–6; Wilhelm (1942) 17; Gigon (1958) 162–5; cf. also Haake (2006b) 340–1. On Athenian decrees honouring foreigners with proxeny between 352/1 and 322/1, see Lambert (2006) 115–19 and esp. 127–43.

(¹¹⁸) Cf. in detail and with further references Haake (2006b) 332–6, 348–50; see also Whitehead (1975) 96; Adak (2003) 172. However, among others, Drerup (1898) 370–6; Chroust (1973); Marek (1984) 161, and Sonnabend (1996) 137–43 have held the untenable opinion that the cited text is based on an authentic Athenian *psephisma* honouring Aristotle with proxeny. Based on this assumption, Drerup (1898), 377–8 has tried to reconstruct the original Greek text: ‘– – εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Ἀριστοτέλης Νικομάχου Σταγειρίτης ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστιν περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ποιεῖ ὅτι δύναται ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐπιμελεῖται Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἀφικνουμένων ὡς Φίλιππον πράττων ἀγαθὸν ὅτι δύναται Ἀθηναίοις παρὰ Φιλίππου, δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ, ἐπαινέσαι Ἀριστοτέλην Νικομάχου Σταγειρίτην ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας καὶ εἶναι αὐτὸν πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέτην τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκγόνους, ὅπως ἂν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἅπαντες φιλοτιμῶνται εἰδότες, ὅτι ὁ δῆμος χάριτας ἀποδίδωσιν τοῖς εἰς ἑαυτὸν φιλοτιμουμένοις. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα κτλ.’ Cf. Haake (2006b) 331 n. 16 on Drerup’s text.

(¹¹⁹) In the Arabic tradition, this Ptolemy is called al-Ġarīb, i.e. ‘the Stranger’ or ‘the Unknown’; see Baumstark (1900) 13. Cf. Haake (2006b) 337–8 on various attempts to identify Ptolemy with known homonymous namebearers; however, it can be regarded as certain only that the Ptolemy in question was an author in Roman imperial times.

The recipient of Ptolemy's work, Gallus, must also remain unidentified; cf. Haake (2006b) 338–9 n. 53. On the content of Ptolemy's work on Aristotle, consisting of a dedicatory letter and introduction, a biography, the will, and a catalogue of works, see Gutas (1986) 23; for the content of the biography, cf. Gutas (1986) 25–7.

(¹²⁰) The Istanbul manuscript in question (cod. Aya Sofya 4833, fos. 10^a–18^a) is to a great extent still unpublished, but its content is known for several decades; cf. Düring (1971); Plezia (1985); Gutas (1986) 23 with 34–5 nn. 30–4; Aouad (1994); see for the already published parts Hein (1985) 416–39 (Arabic text with German trans.). That Andronicus' 'biobibliographical' work on Aristotle was utilized by Ptolemy is proved by his dedicatory letter and 'introduction', which are completely known only by the Istanbul manuscript; see Haake (2006b) 338. The relevant passage is translated by Düring (1971) 266 into English. However, this translation is criticized by Gutas (1986) 35 n. 32; therefore, one should make recourse to the Arabic text and its German translation by Hein (1985) 416–9; this is the one quoted by Haake (2006b) 338–9. For a Latin summary, cf. Plezia (1985) 4–6. On the transmission of Ptolemy's work from Roman imperial times up to its Arabian translator, who can potentially be dated in the ninth century AD, see Gutas (1986) 23, 29; Barnes (1997) 25; Haake (2006b) 337 n. 42.

(¹²¹) On the structure and the content of Andronicus' Aristotelian *pinax*, cf. Moraux (1973) 58–94; Hein (1985) 389–413. For a general overview on Andronicus, see Goulet (1994a); Barnes (1997) 20–44.

(¹²²) Cf. Haake (2006b) 336–40, (2007) 58–9.

(¹²³) Regarding the Istanbul manuscript, cf. Plezia (1985) 5 §§ 17–21: 'Propter plurima eius merita Athenienses titulum honorificum Aristoteli in arce sua posuerunt, cuius tituli verba ipsa afferuntur atque destructionis restitutionisque historia narratur.'

(¹²⁴) = Arist. III, p. 37 §§ 20–1 Gigon; it has been slightly modified with reference to the German translations by Steinschneider (1869) 197–8 §§ 7–8, and Baumstark (1900) 48: (1) 'Acropolis' for 'Summit'; (2) 'cursed' instead of 'exiled'. It is generally accepted that at the end of § 20 the manuscript's 'Antinous' should be read 'Antipater'; see Haake (2006b) 343. Himeraeus has been identified with the brother of Demetrius of Phalerum; unlike his brother, Himeraeus held a strong anti-Macedonian point of view. Cf. Haake (2006b) 342. The Athenian Stephanus, however, cannot be identified with any otherwise known historical person; see Haake (2007) 59 n. 201.

(¹²⁵) Cf. the extensive analysis by Haake (2006b) 340–8.

(¹²⁶) See Haake (2006b) 348–9; on the anti- as well as the philo-Aristotelian texts, cf. Düring (1957) 373–95 and (1968) esp. 163 respectively.

(¹²⁷) Cf. Haake (2006b) 349; see e.g. Gottschalk (1987) 1083–97 on the ‘Aristotelian renaissance’.

(¹²⁸) Demochares’ apology was depicted later on by the Peripatetic Aristocles of Messene as an accusation against all philosophers; see Aristocl. Fr. 2.6 Chiesara = Democh. Fr. 2 Marasco *ap. Eus. PE* 15. 2. 6. On Demochares’ apology, especially its content and context, cf. at length Haake (2007) 16–43, (2008a). For an overview of Aristocles and his work, see Chiesara (2001) pp. xiv–xxxviii.

(¹²⁹) Aristocl. Fr. 2. 6 Chiesara = Democh. Fr. 2 Marasco *ap. Eus. PE* 15. 2. 6; see Marasco (1984) 171–5 *ad loc.*; Chiesara (2001) 72 *ad loc.*; Haake (2007) 37–8.

(¹³⁰) In this context, one might refer to the Athenian honorary decree for Euphron of Sicyon (*IG II²* 448); on this inscription, cf. Culasso Gastaldi (2003) 66–8; Oliver (2003). See more generally Haake (2006b) 328 n. 3; Bolmarcich (2007).

(¹³¹) The Greek text follows mostly the edition by M. Marcovich; it is also given by Haake (2004) 470–1, (2007) 122–3. Except for one instance, all variances from Marcovich’s edition are discussed by Haake (2004) 470–1 nn. 2–3, 5, 7–8, (2007) 118 n. 461, 122–3 nn. 477–80. In the text printed here, the one difference from Marcovich’s edition is at the end of D.L. 7. 11: following the edition by H. S. Long, the ‘hortatory intention’ ὅπως ἅπαντες ἴδωσιν...is not printed as a separate sentence. Dion of Paeania, the sixth man among the five men responsible for the construction of Zeno’s tomb, is ordinarily athetized; cf.—with further references—Haake (2004) 473 n. 18, (2007) 123 n. 481. On the contrary, see Tracy (2003) 17–18; Paschidis (2008) 173.

(¹³²) The following remarks are an updated extract of Haake (2004) and (2007) 118–29.

(¹³³) Cf. Habicht (1994) 242; Zanker (1995) 93–7; Korhonen (1997) 83–5; Scholz (1998) 320–2. The dating of the archon Arrheneides to the year 262/1 or 261/0 is a long-standing controversy; for the earlier date, see most recently M. J. Osborne (2009) 90; cf. also Haake (2004) 471–2 n. 12, (2007) 118–19 n. 461 with further references.

(¹³⁴) See Rhodes with Lewis (1997) 49 n. 96.

(¹³⁵) Cf. in detail Haake (2004), (2007) 118–29; for the applied methodological approach, see now also Canevaro (2010) 344 in respect of the quoted decrees and laws in the speeches of the Attic orators, as well as esp. Chaniotis (forthcoming) with general considerations. On the conclusions of Haake, cf. sceptically Habicht (2006) 448 n. 5 with reference to Antig. Fr. 32 Dorandi *ap. D.L.* 7. 12: according to Antigonos of Carystus, Zeno contributed to the restoration of baths in Athens in the course of an *epidosis* which was recommended on a *stele*. Zeno was mentioned as ‘the philosopher’ in the list of contributors, and he requested the addition ‘of Citium’; for a detailed analysis of this in many respects exceptional story and further references, see Haake (2007) 120–1. However, even if at least the nucleus of this story, which is generally accepted as historic (see e.g. Migeotte (1992) 25–6 no. 14), is authentic, the authenticity of this document does not verify necessarily or compellingly the authenticity of the text of the Athenian *psephisma* presented first by Apollonius of Tyre and handed down by Diogenes Laertius.

(¹³⁶) On this aspect, see pp. 85–8.

(¹³⁷) Cf. Haake (2004) esp. 477, 479. The usage of the term *paradeigma* in the alleged Athenian honorary decree for Zeno is also noteworthy: the relevant phrase has no parallel in the language of honorary decrees dating to the first half of the third century—neither in the corpus of contemporary Athenian inscriptions nor in the corpora of coeval Greek inscriptions from elsewhere; see Haake (2004) 477–8, who also refers to the closest, yet different comparable epigraphic documents which are dating to the later Hellenistic times. However, it should be mentioned that the allusion of the phrase containing the word *paradeigma* in D.L. 7. 10 to the definition of the term *paradeigma* attributed to Zeno’s *Rhetoric* (*SVF* I Zeno Citieus Fr. 84 *ap. Anonym. technē rhetorikē* 156 *ap. Spengel Rhetores Graeci* I, p. 380. 8–10) does exist, but is less close than argued for in Haake (2004) 478, resting upon a partially misleading paraphrase of the Zenonian definition of *paradeigma*. Nevertheless, the great importance of examples in the Stoic teaching on ethics is to be stressed; see Nussbaum (1994) 339–40.

(¹³⁸) Cf. Haake (2004) 476, (2007) 279–81, (2009 (2010)) 54–7. The earliest respective testimonies are a Samian honorary decree for a Peripatetic philosopher by the name of Epicrates of Heraclea (*IG* XII 6.1 128 (c. 200); cf. Scholz (2004) 331–9; Haake (2007) 185–90) and a fragmentary *psephisma* in honour of a Macedonian philosopher from

Haliartus (*IG VII 2849* (early second century); see Haake (2007) 171–4).

A recently published honorary decree from Larisa for the otherwise unknown philosopher Alexander, son of Alexander, from Athens, is a further testimony for a philosopher honoured by a *polis* for his philosophical teachings; see Tziafalias and Helly (2007 (2009)) 423–5 (= *SEG* 57. 510; c.130) and cf. Haake (2010).

⁽¹³⁹⁾ Cf. Haake (2004) 481–2, (2007) 125–7.

⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ Paus. 1. 29. 5; see Haake (2007) 125–6 n. 501. Cf. also *Phld. hist. Stoic.* col. 6. 7–9 Dorandi.

⁽¹⁴¹⁾ Yet cf. in this sense Habicht (1988) 173. On Thrason, see Paschidis (2008) 172–3 A58: Thrason son of Thrason of Anakaia.

⁽¹⁴²⁾ D.L. 7. 15; see Haake (2007) 128.

⁽¹⁴³⁾ On Athens' situation after the Chremonidean War, cf. e.g. Habicht (2006) 169–76.

⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ See Gauthier (1985) 77–89, 124–8; Kralli (1999–2000) 138–9; Ma (2002) 206–11; Haake (2007) 125.

⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ The question for a philosopher's social reputation and for his public honours are a major element in Diogenes' *Lives*; cf. Hope (1930) 99. This aspect is generally fitting for a huge amount of biographical accounts on philosophers. Regarding the biographical tradition on Zeno, see p. 100.

⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ See Habicht (1988) 173; Hahm (1992) esp. 4118. On Apollonius, see Goulet (1994*b*); Steinmetz (1994) 712.

⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ Str. 16. 2. 24; trans. Jones (1930): Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ τὸν πίνακα ἐκθεὶς τῶν ἀπὸ Ζήνωνος φιλοσόφων καὶ τῶν βιβλίων. Strabo was heavily influenced by Stoic philosophy and generally of a philo-Stoic attitude; cf. Aujac (1983); Dueck (2000) 62–9.

⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ According to Mejer (1978) 75 n. 33, it must remain an open question whether Apollonius' *On Zeno* was part of the 'Tabulated account of the philosophers of the school of Zeno and of their books' or vice versa; yet Steinmetz (1994) 712 assumes the former option.

⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ Cf. Haake (2004) 482, (2007) 127.

⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ For the quotation, see D.L. 7. 4. On Zeno's *Politeia*, cf. e.g. Baldry (1959); Schofield (1999) 22–56; Rowe (2002); Goulet-Cazé (2003) esp.

38–51; Sabater Beltrá (2010) 124–7; Erskine (2011*b*) 9–42; Bees (2011) is fundamental. On this text, its negative reception by ancient philosophers and apologetic approaches, see Murray (2005) esp. 204–6.

(¹⁵¹) Cf. Haake (2004) 482 and (2007) 127–8.

(¹⁵²) See D.L. 7. 6–12; cf. Haake (2007) 119. On Apollonius as Diogenes' source, see Hahm (1992) 4118. To pick up one alleged testimony referred to by Diogenes: the narrative in D.L. 7. 6 that the Athenians entrusted Zeno with the keys of their city walls is definitely a literary invention; cf. already Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1881) 344; Haake (2007) 119 n. 463. For a better understanding of the meaning of this story, one might refer to a passage in a decree from Cyme regarding the protection of democracy; see Hamon (2008) 94 Fr. A. 19–21 (c.270).

(¹⁵³) Cf. Haake (2004) 482–3.

(¹⁵⁴) Further less important passages in the works of various ancient authors are mentioned by Schorn (2004) 393 n. 1077; all relevant sources are collocated by Labarbe (1998) 6–11.

(¹⁵⁵) Cf. also Suid., s.v. λειπανδρεῖν (λ 377 Adler; trans. Whitehead (2001)):· βουλευθέντας Ἀθηναίους διὰ τὸ λειπανδρεῖν αὐξῆσαι τὸ πλῆθος, ψηφίσασθαι γαμεῖν μὲν ἄστην μίαν, παιδοποιεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρας. ὅθεν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι καὶ Σωκράτην (to be short of men: [They say that] when the Athenians wanted to enlarge the population because they were short of men, they decreed that [it would be permissible for a citizen] to marry one woman and procreate (sc. legitimately) by another—which Socrates duly did.).

(¹⁵⁶) Cf. e.g. Zeller (1922) 54–7 n. 2; Wolff (1944) 85–95; Lacey (1968) 112–13; Fitton (1970); Davies (1971) 51–2; Woodbury (1973); Bicknell (1974); MacDowell (1978) 90; Rhodes (1978); Cromey (1980); Sealey (1984) esp. 129–31; Just (1989) 53–4; Ogden (1996) 72–5, 189–91; Labarbe (1998); Nails (2002) 208–10 (Myrto of Athens), 299–300 (Xanthippe of Athens); Schorn (2004) 392–8; Döring (2007) 258–60; Lape (2010) 262–4. The considerations presented below have deeply profited from the quoted works, but are not in complete conformity with any of them.

(¹⁵⁷) Arist. Frs. 71. 1–2 Gigon *ap. Plu. Arist.* 27. 2–4, Ath. 13. 555c–6b; Arist. *peri eugeneias* Frs. 3. 1–3 Pépin *ap. D.L.* 2. 26, *Plu. Arist.* 27. 3, Ath. 13. 555d–6a; Arist. *peri eugeneias* Frs. 4a–c Laurenti *ap. D.L.* 2. 26, *Plu. Arist.* 27. 3–4, Ath. 13. 555d–6a. On this Aristotelian dialogue, cf. Aubonnet (1968); Pépin (1968); Gigon (1973–4) 199; Laurenti (1987)

767–81; Flashar (2004a) 267; Schorn (2004) 394. Yet, in the Platonic dialogue *Phaedo* two unnamed women are already mentioned as belonging to Socrates' *oikos*: Pl. *Phd.* 60a, 116b.

(¹⁵⁸) See Labarbe (1998) esp. 27–31; Schorn (2004) 394–8; in this context, Arist. *Rh.* 1390^b19–31 is of some importance.

(¹⁵⁹) Cf. e.g. Schorn (2004) 394; Döring (2007) 259. In any case, Aristotle's primary interest in *On Noble Birth* was not focused on Socrates' relationship with two women, but on the fate and the character of Myrto who was an offspring of Aristides 'the Just' according to Aristotle: Myrto proved to be an attractive case study in his dialogue dealing with nobility, virtue of the ancestors, and inherited wealth since she was of noble birth, but lived in poverty. On Aristides' offspring and pertinent, but fabricated *psephismata* (D. 20. 115 with Plu. *Arist.* 27. 2; Aeschin. 3. 258 with Plu. *Arist.* 27. 2; Nep. *Ar.* 3. 3), see the quite sceptical view by Davies (1971) 51–2, 596. It is noteworthy that the topic of Aristides' poverty might be an invention by the Socratic Aeschines of Sphettus in his dialogue *Callias* (SSR² Aeschines [= VI A] Fr. 73 = Aeschin. *Socr.* Fr. 36 Dittmar *ap.* Plu. *Arist.* 25. 4–9). This item became a widespread theme from the 4th century onwards; see Dittmar (1912) 206–7. On the literary portraits of Aristides and their respective functions, see Calabi Limentani (1960); Oudot-Lutz (1997).

(¹⁶⁰) See in this context [D.] 40. 9–10, 59. 21–2. Cf. e.g. Harrison (1968) 13–17; MacDowell (1978) 89; Ogden (1996) 74; C. A. Cox (2011) 233. For the wider context, cf. Vernant (1973) 51–63; esp. Davidson (1999) 73–136 with 326–39.

(¹⁶¹) Callisth. *FGrH* 124 F 43, 48 *ap.* Ath. 13. 555d, Plu. *Arist.* 27. 2; see Prandi (1985) 62–6 *ad loc.*

(¹⁶²) Cf. Wehrli et al. (2004) 578.

⁽¹⁶³⁾ Aristox. Frs. V 2. 50, 65 Kayser = Aristox. Frs. 54a-b Wehrli = Porph. *FGrH* 260 F 10, 11c/d = Porph. *frg. Hist.* 211F, 215F Smith *ap.* Cyril. *Adv. Iul.* 6. 185-6, Theodor. *Graec. Affect. Cur.* 12. 61. Aristoxenus' treatment of this topic is anything but surprising; in fact, the examination of Socrates' dealing with his paederastic desire as well as his lust for women is a topos in ancient texts in order to question the philosopher's character. According to an anonymous *Life of Isocrates* (SSR² I Socrates [= I A] Fr. 20 *ap.* Vit. Isocr., p. XXXIV. 54-6 Mathieu and Brémond = Vit. Isocr., p. 212 Mandilaras) there were comic authors who seized on Socrates' notorious addiction to boys; cf. Patzer (1994) 77-8. Cicero, relying presumably on Phaedo of Elis's dialogue *Zopyrus*, reports that the physiognomist Zopyrus assessed Socrates' character from his physical appearance as being addicted to women: SSR² Socrates [= I C] Fr. 49 = Zopyr. *Physiog.* Frs. 6-7 Rossetti *ap.* Cic. *Tusc.* 4. 80, Cic. *Fat.* 5. 10. On Zopyrus' Socrates, see Henkelman (1999); cf. Rossetti (1980) 183-98 on Phaedo's *Zopyrus*; in general, see Vogt (1999) 114-16. On the topic 'Socrates and physiognomy' in general, see McLean (2007). Much discussed is Socrates' *eros*, a central aspect in the Platonic oeuvre and in the Xenophontic writings regarding Socrates; cf. Thomsen (2001); Böhme (2002) 58-71; Most (2005). On the attitudes of Greek philosophers to sexuality, which oscillate between asceticism and indulgence, see Dover (1973) 70-1; Scholz (1998) 32-3; Nussbaum (2002).

⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ Aristox. Frs. II 4. 15, III 2. 125 Kayser = Aristox. Frs. 57-8 Wehrli *ap.* Ath. 13. 555d-6a, Plu. *Arist.* 27. 2.

⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ See pp. 106-7. above. In the pseudo-Platonic dialogue *Halcyon*, sometimes also ascribed improperly to the Lucianic oeuvre, 'Socrates' speaks of his two wives, Xanthippe and Myrto ([Pl.] *Halc.* 8 = [Lucianus] *Halc.* 8); it is clear from the text that the two women are Socrates' wives at the same time. On the *Halycon*, cf. Labarbe (1998) 17 n. 23; C. W. Müller (2005) 155-6, 164-70.

⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ There is no reason to question why Theophrastus did not deal with Socrates' alleged bigamy in his work *On the Election of Magistrates* as Keaney and Szegedy-Maszak (1976) 236 n. 7 did. Even if the Peripatetic from Eresus mentioned Aristides 'the Just' in this writing (Thphr. *Append.* 7. 1-9 Fortenbaugh, Huby, Sharples, and Gutas *ap.* Cod. Vat. Gr. 2306, fo. B^r, col. I. 3-36; cf. Keaney and Szegedy-Maszag (1976) 236-7 ad loc.), it was not his concern to discuss Aristides' posterity, but the fact that even this honest man would have been prevented from political leadership if property were to have been one of the crucial criteria for political influence.

(¹⁶⁷) Demetr. Frs. 104–5 Stork, van Ophuijsen, and Dorandi *ap. Plu. Arist.* 27. 2, Ath. 13. 555d–6a; Demetr. *FGrH* 228 F 45a+b *ap. Plu. Arist.* 27. 1–5, Ath. 13. 555d–6a; Demetr. Frs. 94, 96 Wehrli *ap. Ath.* 13. 555d, *Plu. Arist.* 27. 3–5. Cf. Wehrli (1968) 64–5 *ad loc.*; Momigliano (1993) 77; Banfi (2001) 341–5; Haake (2007) 80 n. 289; O’Sullivan (2008) 401–3.

(¹⁶⁸) Referring to Schorn (2004) 397, one might take into consideration that Demetrius emphasized the social aspect of Socrates’ marriage to Myrto, who was destitute. However, this would not rebut Aristoxenus’ reproach of Socrates’ bigamy.

(¹⁶⁹) Hieronymus Frs. 53A–B White = Hieronymus Frs. 44–5 Wehrli *ap. Ath.* 13. 555d–6b, D.L. 2. 26.

(¹⁷⁰) Ath. 13. 556a.

(¹⁷¹) D.L. 2. 26; trans. Hicks (1925).

(¹⁷²) Cf. partially Schorn (2004) 397, whose interpretation is as a whole, however, not convincing.

(¹⁷³) Ath. 13. 556a; trans. Olson (2010).

(¹⁷⁴) D.L. 2. 26.

(¹⁷⁵) Ath. 13. 556a.

(¹⁷⁶) The sophist Polycrates blamed Socrates in a fictive *kategoria* already in the late 390s or early 380s for disobeying the laws (cf. X. *Mem.* 1. 2. 9), and the Platonic Socrates, in the prosopopoeia of the Laws in Plato’s dialogue *Crito*, acts as a person who obeys the laws and whose submission to the laws is tantamount to death (Pl. *Cri.* 50a–4d); on the entire argument in this Platonic passage, see e.g. Weiss (1998) 84–133. On Polycrates and his *kategoria* that he foisted on Meletus, one of Socrates’ historical accusers, see Humbert (1930); Gebhardt (1957) 9–41; Livingstone (2001) 32–9; Funke (2005); Haake (2009) 122 n. 38. On Plato’s apologetic *Crito* and the dialogue’s argument, see Erler (2007) 116–20, 589–91. Whether Plato’s *Crito* is a reply to Polycrates’ *kategoria* must remain an open question; but see Thesleff (1989) 20–1.

⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ There is a further instance which should be mentioned in this context. In his *Attic Nights*, Aulus Gellius reports on the tragedian Euripides (Gel. 15. 20. 6; trans. Rolfe (1927)): 'Mulieres fere omnes in maiorem modum exosus fuisse dicitur, sive quod natura abhorruit a mulierum coetu sive quod duas simul uxores habuerat, cum id decreto ab Atheniensibus facto iussesset, quarum matrimonii pertaedeat.' (He is said to have had an exceeding antipathy towards almost all women, either because he had a natural disinclination to their society, or because he had had two wives at the same time since that was permitted by a decree passed by the Athenians and they had made wedlock hateful to him.) This report by Gellius, who is the only ancient author accounting for Euripides' bigamy, is generally accepted by modern scholars; see e.g. Ogden (1996) 72-3; Belfiore (2000) 88-9; cf. differently, however, Walters (1983) 323. Schorn (2004) 306 has argued that Gellius' information does not trace back to Satyrus' *Life of Euripides*, as e.g. Woodbury (1973) 24 has suggested, since he did not mention Euripides' bigamy (cf. Satyr. *Vit. Eur.* F 6 Fr. 39 col. XII. 21-col. XIII. 22 Schorn *ap. POxy.* 1176 Fr. 39 col. XII. 21-col. XIII. 22). Yet one might wonder whether the singular source of Gellius should not be understood as a later construct inspired by the supposed bigamy of Socrates (according to Gel. 15. 20. 4 Euripides' teacher in ethics) and resulting from the biographical tradition on Euripides' alleged misogyny, which was thematized as early as in his lifetime, and on the confused pieces of information regarding the poet's marriage(s); cf. likewise Holford-Strevens (2003) 265. This argument might be strengthened by referring to Hanink (2010) esp. 559-60, who emphasized a partial assimilation of Euripides' life in the biographical tradition to the Socratic tradition. On Euripides and the reproach of his misogyny, see e.g. March (1990); cf. Lefkowitz (1981) 88-104, on the biographical tradition on Euripides; on the biographical tradition concerning the poet and women, cf. Schorn (2004) 285-90. Occasionally, a further case is brought up for discussion regarding the 'decree of bigamy': it is about Callias (III), son of Hipponicus, of Alopeke who made his wife's mother his mistress (And. 1. 124; see MacDowell (1962) 151-2 *ad loc.*); see Davies (1971) 263-8; Walters (1983) 323; Harvey (1984); Ogden (1996) 74-5.

⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ For this definition, see Todd (1993) 387.

⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ On the diversifications of the Periclean Citizenship Law of 451/0 during the Peloponnesian War, cf. e.g. Patterson (1981) 140-50, (2005) 283-5; Rhodes (1992) 331-5; Carawan (2008).

⁽¹⁸⁰⁾ Ath. 13. 556a; D.L. 2. 26.

(¹⁸¹) On Hieronymus in Athens, see Matelli (2004) 296–301.

(¹⁸²) On Peripatetics working with documentary evidence, cf., regarding Aristotle and his pupils, e.g. Camassa (1993); Higbie (1999) 65–80; Biraschi (2007); Rhodes (2007) 63–4.

(¹⁸³) On Satyrus, cf. Schorn (2004) 5–62.

(¹⁸⁴) Satyr. Frs. 17a+b Schorn *ap. Ath.* 13. 555d–6b, D.L. 2. 26; see Schorn (2004) 392–8 *ad loc.*

(¹⁸⁵) Panaet. Frs. 132–3 Van Straaten = Panaet. T 142–3 Alesse *ap. Plu. Arist.* 27. 3–4, *Ath.* 13. 555d–6b. See Van Straaten (1946) 215 *ad loc.*; Alesse (1997) 276–8 *ad loc.*

(¹⁸⁶) On Panaetius' positive attitude towards Socrates, cf. Long (1988) 154–5, 160.

(¹⁸⁷) See Cromeey (1980) 63–5, who also speculates on further aspects of Panaetius' *On Socrates and the Socratics*. On Socrates in Attic Comedy, see Patzer (1994); for philosophers and their comic depiction in Attic Comedy, see Weiher (1913). Cf. in general Imperio (1998) on 'intellectuals' in Attic Comedy.

(¹⁸⁸) This approach entails excluding from the current investigation those *psephismata* regarding philosophers which were not attested as a part of a Hellenistic biography of a philosopher; in this context one might refer e.g. to two documents pertaining to Diagoras of Melos, called the Atheist (Melanth. Hist. *FGrH* 326 F 3a–b *ap. Sch. Ar. Av.* 1073a–c; Crater. Frs. 16a–b BNJ = Crater. Frs. 16a–b Erdas = Crater. *FGrH* 342 F 16a–b *ap. Sch. Ar. Ra.* 320 Holwerda, *Sch. Ar. Av.* 1073b Holwerda; cf. Woodbury (1965); Erdas (2002) 197–207 *ad loc.*; Strothmann (2003) 183–4), and Xenophon (Ister Fr. 32 Berti = Istros *FGrH* 334 F 32 *ap. D.L.* 2. 59; cf. Dreher (2003); Badian (2004) 35–6; Berti (2009) 193–5 *ad loc.*) respectively. Also excluded from the current investigation are documents regarding other types of *hommes de lettres*; for an incomplete compilation of respective examples, see Haake (2004) 483 n. 74, (2006b) 349–50 n. 114.

(¹⁸⁹) For this term, see Davies (1996) 30.

(¹⁹⁰) It might be worth investigating whether and to what extent the noted differences correlate with general developments of philosophy and its social setting in the Hellenistic period; for the latter aspect, see Haake (2007) 274–85.

(¹⁹¹) See pp. 85–6.

(¹⁹²) Cf. in this context Haake (2007) 32–40, (2008a) 102.

(¹⁹³) The discussion regarding the congruencies and discrepancies between a philosopher's *doxai* and his *praxeis* can be grasped in a developed form in respect of the public life in the first six chapters of Plutarch's highly polemical treatise *On Stoic Self-Contradictions* (Plu. *Mor.* 1033a–4c); on this work, see e.g. Babut (1998); Kidd (1998). One might also refer to Colotes' tract *On the Point that Conformity to the Doctrines of Other Philosophers Actually Makes it Impossible to Live* which is mainly known by Plutarch's *Reply to Colotes in Defence of the Other Philosophers* (Plu. *Mor.* 1107d–27e); on the tract of the Epicurean Colotes, see Westman (1955) 40–107; Kechagia (2011) 47–132. On Plutarch's *Against Colotes*, cf. Westman (1955) 108–310; Dorandi (1983) 681–2; Kechagia (2011) 19–45, 135–294. See Dorandi (1994b) on Colotes.

(¹⁹⁴) See e.g. Luraghi (2010) 247–8.

(¹⁹⁵) Cf. e.g. Rhodes (2007) esp. 64.

(¹⁹⁶) In this context, for example, one might refer to the 'false documents from the period of the Persian wars', on which see the pathbreaking elucidations by Habicht (1961); see also Chaniotis (1988) 239–43 D 10–17, 19. Chaniotis (forthcoming) deals with this aspect more broadly.

(¹⁹⁷) Cf. Higbie (1999) 43–4; Liddel (2008) 129–30.

(¹⁹⁸) Regarding the question of authenticity of the laws and decrees in the speeches of the Attic orators, see paradigmatically Canevaro (2010).

(¹⁹⁹) For the quotation, see Wohl (2010) 155; in general, cf. Wohl (2010) 155–97.

⁽²⁰⁰⁾ In this context, see e.g. Todd (1990); De Brauw (2001–2); Mossé (2004); Cooper (2007) 210–14; cf. also Russell (1990). It seems worth emphasizing that biography and rhetoric have this aspect in common with various passages of Hellenistic historiography, which can be described as *bios*-concentrated; one might refer e.g. to the Polybian necrology on the Rhodian navarch Theophiliscus (Plb. 10. 9. 1–5; see Wiemer (2001) 69–70), to the depiction of the posthumously decreed honours for Philopoemen by Diodorus, who depends on Polybius, whose account is, however, like that of Diodorus, one that is only fragmentarily passed down in Byzantine sources (D.S. 29. 18; Plb. 23. 12. 1–9; see Walbank (1979) 235–42 ad loc.; cf. further Plu. *Phil.* 21. 5–9; Paus. 8. 51. 8–52. 6; Liv. 39. 50. 10; Iust. 32. 1. 9; *Syll.*³ 624 = *IG V* 2. 432; see Errington (1969) 193–4, 274; Kató (2006)) or to Diodorus' account regarding the year 337/6 in which he quotes part of a posthumous decree of the Syracusans in honour of Timoleon (D.S. 16. 90. 1; cf. also Plu. *Tim.* 39. 2–3; see Hammond (1938) esp. 147; Smarczyk (2003) 104–8; Candau Morón (2009) 260–2).

⁽²⁰¹⁾ On the latter aspect, cf. e.g. Harris (1994) 141–8; Clarke (2007) 292–3.

⁽²⁰²⁾ On *psephismata* and their structure, see Klaffenbach (1960) 67–83.

⁽²⁰³⁾ The *narrationes*, the justifications of the proposals, are investigated by Chaniotis (2013) esp. 201, 213–16. His results elucidate also their specific value for the intentions of Hellenistic biographers to convince their readerships.

⁽²⁰⁴⁾ This aspect has been pointed out by Luraghi (2010) 259 in respect of historians.

⁽²⁰⁵⁾ In this context, Rosen (1987) and Errington (2005) are fundamental; see also Luraghi (2010) as well as Wörrle (1995); Gehrke (2003).

⁽²⁰⁶⁾ For this phrasing, see Schepens (1975) 273.

(²⁰⁷) One of the rare statements regarding the acquisition of knowledge originates from the beginning of the inscribed biographical account of the poet Archilochus by the Parian Mnesiepes (Kontoleon (1952) 40 E₁ II. 20-2; cf. *SEG* 15. 517 A col. II. 20-2; see also Chaniotis (1988) 24 T 3, col. II. 20-2; Clay (2004) 106 E₁ II. 20-2; trans. Bing (1993) 619):
περὶ δὲ ὧν ἡβουλήθημεν ἀναγράψαι, τάδε παρα-|δέδοταί τε ἡμῖν ὑπὸ
τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ αὐτοὶ πεπρα-|γματεύμεθα. (But as regards the things
we wished to inscribe and set up publicly, some were handed down to
us from the ancients, some were labored at ourselves.) On the
Mnesiepes inscription, cf. Chaniotis (1988) 23-32 T 3; Clay (2004) 10-
24, 104-10. The aspects of Archilochus' life and deeds on Paros and
Thasos which Mnesiepes has figured out (Kontoleon (1952) 43-5 E₂ I;
see *SEG* 15. 517, B col. I) were gathered partly from Archilochus'
poems; see Momigliano (1993) 88; Chaniotis (1988) 154-6. If this is
true, then Mnesiepes applied in some respect the 'method of
Chamaeleon'; on this exegetic method that is characteristic for the bulk
of ancient biography, see Schorn (2008).

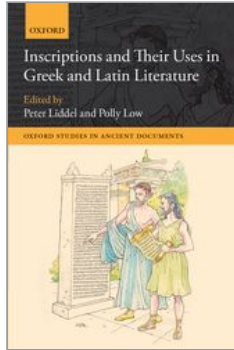
(²⁰⁸) These short remarks have profited greatly from an unpublished
paper by N. Luraghi titled 'Documenting the past. Primary sources in
fourth-century historiography'.

(²⁰⁹) For this wording, taken from a fragment of the Aristophanic play
The Banqueters, see *PCG* III 2 Fr. 226.1 *ap.* Ath. 4d; trans. Olson (2006).



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From Inscriptions to Literature (and Sometimes Back Again): Some Uses of the Epigraphic Sources in the Ancient Literary Traditions on Delphi

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Abstract and Keywords

Inscriptions were an essential part of the ancient landscape of Delphi, exerting a strong influence over the narratives devoted to the sanctuary by historians and other writers. Inscriptions offered a guide to the reconstruction of the past and an exciting way to narrate it. A great deal of information and many reflections on Delphic history and myths, on amphictionic institutions, and on the most remarkable monuments of the site were therefore suggested to the ancient authors by their own skill in reading and interpreting written documents available on the site itself, and by their confidence in the genuineness of such texts. On latter point, there is particular interest in both the polemic between Aeschines and Demosthenes on the possibility of knowing and 'teaching' the most ancient history of the sanctuary, and the research carried out by Aristotle and Callisthenes in Delphic archives. Delphi was therefore, in the classical period, simultaneously a place to visit and to go to on a pilgrimage, the focus of many historians' interest, and their 'library' and 'epigraphic museum'. The chapters devoted to Delphi

in the works by Herodotus, Strabo, or Plutarch (not to mention Pausanias) were directly inspired by the observation of monuments, buildings, and votive offerings and by the reading of written documents on permanent media. This chapter discusses some of the most interesting examples of this research work taking place in (and concerning) Delphi and demonstrates the extent of intellectual activity excited by the availability of one of the widest 'epigraphic collections' of the ancient world.

Keywords: Delphi, monuments and monumentality, dedications, historiography, authenticity, Aeschines, Demosthenes, Herodotus, Pausanias

1. From visible to invisible: Delphic monuments and inscriptions as 'a prompt or cue for larger stories'¹

Delphi represents an exceptionally interesting and difficult research topic for any modern scholar interested in the history, institutions, and historical role of an ancient Greek cult place, combining as it does a complex and puzzling archaeological site, hundreds of inscriptions of many different kinds, and an immense amount of information from literary sources from all ages. This complicated and fascinating picture is the direct result of the history of the sanctuary itself and of the role it played in many periods of ancient Greek history. As the seat of the most important oracle of the ancient Mediterranean world, Delphi was the crossroads of several cultures and the place where a great deal of more or less reliable geographical information and cultural experiences were gathered and shared. As the seat of important monumental dedications, Delphi was the place where the Greeks celebrated through collective offerings events such as their victories in the Persian Wars, the end of the Phokian occupation of the sanctuary in 346 BC, the rebuilding of the temple of Apollo, or the averted threat of the Celtic invasion in 278 BC.² Here, more than anywhere else, the Greek states left monumental and written traces of their military successes (in most cases won over other Greeks, as deplored by Plu., *De Pyth. Or.* 15 (*Mor.* 401c-d) or, more particularly, of their economic flourishing, and solemnly marked their being a part of the *Hellenikon* through the participation in the Pythian Games and the consecration of *thesauroi*.³

(p.126) Delphi also played an exceptional role as, among other things, an 'epigraphic museum' *ante litteram*, as the frequent references by ancient literary sources to Delphic inscriptions suggest and the concrete results of modern archaeological excavations have confirmed. In the ancient descriptions of the site, inscriptions are often used (although not always explicitly quoted) as historical proof, or at least as precious clues about even the most remote past.⁴ More particularly, at least in some periods, some categories of epigraphic texts well attested in Delphi (such as the dedicatory inscriptions of monuments, the accounts, or the amphictionic lists) did actually influence the authors who were dealing with the sanctuary and its history. The influence of Delphic 'archives'⁵ on the literary accounts of the sanctuary, although often taken for granted, is more difficult to investigate. It is of course very probable, or even almost certain, that Delphi did actually have 'archives' keeping copies of the texts that were displayed in the sanctuary and of other documents of historical and/or administrative interest, but we do not know how such archives were organized and managed. In only a few cases, such as that of Aristotle's and Callisthenes' work on the *Pythionikai* (see sect. 2), can we make at least some safe guess as to the relationship between the archives' contents

and the literary accounts of Delphic history and institutions. We must definitely regret the loss of this work, whose epigraphic implications are further enriched by the fact that the list was engraved and displayed in the sanctuary as a monumental inscription.⁶ It is a particularly meaningful example of an entire literary genre (local historiography, and, more particularly, local historiography concerning Delphi) of which almost nothing has survived. As a matter of fact, local historiography and periegetic works were usually inclined, much more than was 'great' historiography, to employ epigraphic and archaeological materials and to seek archival documents when available.⁷ Possibly, or even probably, the list of the winners of the *Pythia* by Aristotle and Callisthenes, as also the one previously compiled at Olympia by Hippias of Elis, was based on records kept in the sanctuary, but we are ignorant of the exact nature, the chronology and reliability of such records, at least as far as the most ancient periods are concerned.⁸ The same can be said of the *hypomnemata* available 'at Delphi' that Plutarch allegedly **(p.127)** used to state more precisely the role of Solon and of the Athenians in the first 'Sacred War'. In this case too it is impossible to say whether he is referring to 'archival' material, to written records already in the form of literary works, or even to epigraphic texts displayed in the sanctuary.⁹

When we consider, along with the inscriptions, the monuments,¹⁰ the literary tradition suggests that the sanctuary's landscape, probably more than any other place in ancient Greece, was able to stimulate a mental journey which was always congenial to the Greek mentality, the one leading, so to say, 'from visible to invisible'. Such a mental journey is the basis of any Greek author's aetiological approach to the archaeological or epigraphic remains.¹¹ A monument or an inscription allows the amplification of the narrative beyond the limits of what is visible, or the evaluation of the distance between a glorious past and its physical remains. When Delphic monuments suggested the narration of a story (as they often did), such stories often went beyond the mere physical, temporal events from which they originated and became wide historical digressions, detailed explanations of things now obscure, or ventures into archaeology and myth.¹²

An illuminating example of such an attitude is the way in which Herodotus uses the concrete traces of Croesus' 'special relationship' with Delphi, in the Lydian section of the first book of the *Histories*. Here the objects and (more implicitly) the inscriptions do not have a merely narrative function, but are explicitly seen as historical proofs, or at least as clues. The whole narrative of Croesus' acquaintance with the Greek world in the *Histories* follows the traces it left in Greek sanctuaries, and especially in Delphi. Herodotus' arguments are

strengthened by the fact that Croesus' famous offerings were at least partly still *visible*; those in Delphi, more particularly, were a concrete part of most of his readers' personal experience.¹³ **(p.128)** Herodotus' attention is mainly concentrated on the objects' physical appearance and value, while his references to the inscriptions are superficial and in most cases only implicit, but all the same revealing.¹⁴

This way of talking about the past and its physical relics, among many other things, is a significant part of the Herodotean legacy in Pausanias.¹⁵ The 'exemplary' case of the Siphnian reversal of fortune provides us with a good example, as both authors dealt with it.¹⁶ For both of them the starting point is the Siphnian treasury in Delphi, something that anybody could have seen but almost nobody could still explain, as the Siphnian wealth that had led to the dedication was already *aphanes* ('invisible, disappeared') in Herodotus' time. It was therefore necessary to describe the origins and the end of that wealth, and the best available *semeia* were the inner contents of the monument itself, namely, its material structure, its value, and possibly its inscriptions.¹⁷ If something was, to use Pausanias' recurrent phrase, 'worthy to be seen' (and this was definitely the case with the Siphnian treasury in Delphi), the historian's task was to explain why.

In other cases the mental journey 'from visible to invisible' does not go beyond the boundaries of the sanctuary itself, but functions to enlighten the physical changes that it had suffered through several traumatic events over many centuries. One more time it is Herodotus who leads the way, when drawing our attention to the precious objects that survived the fire in 548 BC and were later removed from the temple of Apollo and its immediate surroundings to other Delphic monuments.¹⁸ From the fourth century onwards the decisive boundary line and the shocking event par excellence in the history of Delphi is identified as its sacrilegious pillage by the Phokians during the third 'Sacred War'. The Phokian thefts were often recalled by Strabo, Pausanias, and Plutarch, among others, when describing the Delphic landscape in Roman times.¹⁹ In these cases too, the **(p.129)** surviving and visible objects or monuments directed the writer's attention towards something that was now *aphanes*, and the reconstruction of something that had by now 'disappeared' was made possible, even if only tentatively, by documents still available in the sanctuary itself (in most cases, dedicatory inscriptions). It is mainly the epigraphic material, therefore, that allows Strabo to reflect generally on Delphi's past wealth and later impoverishment, and on the main causes of the building activity displayed in the sanctuary in past centuries.²⁰ Pausanias, in his turn, inferred both from the inscriptions and from observation of the monuments themselves that the treasuries were

meant to celebrate 'victories', or 'to display wealth' (ἐς ἐπίδειξιν εὐδαιμονίας), or, at least in the case of the treasury of the Potidaeians, as a permanent mark of the donors' 'piety'.²¹ In some cases Pausanias compared what the inscriptions declared with the actual contents of the monuments, establishing once more a connection between things that could still be seen and proved, and things that were by now invisible and whose history had to be reconstructed, or denied.²² Similarly, Polybius and Plutarch, when making their remarks on the bizarre fate of the pillar built in Delphi by the Macedonian king Perseus and later 'stolen' and rededicated by the Roman general Aemilius Paullus after his victory at Pydna, probably started from direct observation of the monument itself, and definitely relied on their readers' acquaintance with it, as, a long time before, Herodotus had done in the case of Croesus' offerings.²³ Again Plutarch, when describing the 'purge' of the Delphic amphictiony, which the Spartans attempted after the Persian wars and which Themistocles averted, alludes to a meaningful figure (the 'thirty-one' cities of the anti-Persian alliance), implicitly quoting the dedicatory inscription of the tripod offered by the Greeks in Delphi after the victory at Plataea.²⁴ If a simple hint is sufficient, it is because the inscription and the serpent column bearing it were among the most illustrious monuments of the sanctuary and because most Greeks—at least among Plutarch's readers—did actually visit Delphi. The same inscription is elsewhere employed by Plutarch to criticize Herodotus (although, interestingly, both authors appreciated its importance as a historical source on the participants in the Greek alliance of **(p.130)** 480–479).²⁵ Plutarch, moreover, as Thucydides had already done, told the famous story of the monument's 'double' dedication, which was an important part of the general Pausanias' unhappy fate after the victory at Plataea.²⁶

2. Fourth-century literature about Delphi: a new way to use epigraphic documents?

For our knowledge of the Delphic sanctuary and its history, the literary production of the mid-fourth century represents a true boundary line. The convergence in the literature of these decades of scholarly interests towards the past and present of the sanctuary, the amphictiony, the oracle, the Pythian Games, the monuments and the lost wealth of the sanctuary, was unprecedented. The Phokian pillages and the disappearance of so many precious objects from the sanctuary during the Third Sacred War became the topic of a literary genre in itself. Entire books, only a few fragments of which have come down to us, were devoted to this subject in the fourth century and in the Hellenistic period, and in their turn deeply influenced many

descriptions of the sanctuary written long after, such as those by Strabo, Plutarch, and Pausanias, as we have seen.²⁷

Fourth-century writers were also interested in the past history of the amphictiony, in the origins of the local institutions and administrative system and, therefore, in important episodes of the history of the sanctuary such as the Sacred Wars. Ample room was given to digressions on the sanctuary's past, therefore, in the speeches of the Athenian orators, and Demosthenes, Aeschines, and Hyperides, were all directly involved in the Delphic events that took place from the 340s to the 320s.²⁸ Such a concentration of literary references to Delphi was mainly due to the level of importance—itself unparalleled in Greek history—reached by the **(p.131)** sanctuary and the amphictiony at the time of the Phokian takeover of the site, of Philip's amphictionic membership, and of the Third and Fourth Sacred Wars. It is an illuminating example of the Greek habit of making *archaiologia* out of present events.²⁹

The historian Theopompus contributed to all the above mentioned streams of scholarly interest and research about Delphi in an important way, which we are only partly able to appreciate. He dealt with the contemporary events affecting the sanctuary (that is, the Sacred Wars of the fourth century and the new order imposed by the Macedonian kings on the amphictiony) and, as a consequence, with the past history of the sanctuary, its institutions, and its lost treasures, and with the history of the oracle as well.³⁰ The combination of different ways to approach the history of Delphi is also revealing in the case of Aristotle and Callisthenes, who worked in these same years on the list of the *Pythionikai* mentioned above. The list probably included a historical introduction on the origins of the games and, therefore, the past history of the sanctuary; on the other hand, Delphic contemporary events played an important part in Callisthenes' historical works, while Aristotle and his pupils included the city of Delphi in their monumental collection of Greek *Politeiai*.³¹

(p.132) If the fourth century marks as it does a deep change in the ancient scholarship about Delphi, this is mainly due to the 'international' range of the historical events affecting the sanctuary, to the latter's new (or more explicit) political role, and to a growing interest in its history and institutions that is the direct consequence of contemporary politics. As some of the authors who dealt with Delphic matters combined their scholarly interests with a direct involvement in the actual political scene, a good deal of biased reconstruction—not always recognizable as such—affected the *whole* body of literary information on Delphi and its history which has come down to us (that

is, the fourth-century literature itself and later authors who depended on it as well).³² On the other hand, fourth-century authors' growing interest in Delphic history and institutions also affected the mental approach and the method itself of the historians and other intellectuals dealing with it, as it determined a sharper sensitivity towards 'documents' and a stronger confidence in the possibilities offered by written (mainly epigraphic) records.

Such a methodological change was also partly determined by specific circumstances. Generally speaking, during the fourth century the number of epigraphic texts which was produced and displayed in public space within the Greek cities grew remarkably as a consequence of a more widespread employment of written records in different fields of public life.³³ Such a general evolution involved Delphi among other places, but here it was also, or mainly, an effect of the important historical events that affected the sanctuary and its administration, and, as such, it started some decades earlier than the parallel 'explosion' of the literary tradition on Delphi, for which, as we have seen, the decisive boundary line is represented by the Third Sacred War and by its 'international' consequences. In epigraphic terms, the evolution apparently covered a longer period and was not determined by a unique event. Thus, the first preserved amphictionic law dates to about 380 BC (*CID* I 10 = *CID* IV 1),³⁴ and the production and publication of amphictionic laws, decrees, and regulations apparently grew in the following decades; after the destruction of the temple of Apollo (probably in 373) the accounts of the technical commission of the *naopoioi* working on its rebuilding began to be regularly published; after the Third Sacred War and the reform of the amphictiony (in 346), Delphic accounting was enriched by new tools, administrative boards and related documents, and the first lists of *hieromnemes* (representatives of the peoples participating in the amphictionic council) date to these same years.³⁵ **(p.133)** Although it is improbable that records of any of the above-mentioned kinds³⁶ had never been made before, it is nevertheless safe to infer that the growing tensions around the sanctuary and the amphictiony's later recovery of its own prerogatives demanded a greater administrative openness and the regular publication of documents that were earlier confined, probably, to the administrative boards of the sanctuary and the *polis*.³⁷ In other words, if Delphi was affected by a general evolution taking place in late fifth- and fourth-century Greece in the ways written texts were recorded and used in public space and in the types of public communication, here such an evolution took specific forms (and can be

best explained) as a result of contemporary local events and practical needs.³⁸

The relationship between the growing attention to recording and displaying written documents of public interest, on the one hand, and the contemporary historians' and intellectuals' interest in searching for (or even forging) such documents and in employing them in their works, on the other, has been widely studied, especially in the context of fourth-century Athens.³⁹ Of course, such a relationship did exist also in the case of Delphi. Several of the above-mentioned fourth-century authors who dealt with the history of the sanctuary (Aeschines, Theopompus, Aristotle and his pupils) show a remarkable, far from obvious, and **(p.134)** not strictly 'Delphic', interest in searching for and analysing 'documents' and, more particularly, epigraphic texts.⁴⁰ It is difficult to say whether such 'document-minded'⁴¹ behaviour was actually suggested to all (or to any) of them by their falling in with the Delphic epigraphic and archival patrimony, or if it was the consequence of a more general, contemporary evolution in the Greek way of looking at written records, at inscriptions displayed in public, and at their reliability and authoritativeness as historical and forensic sources. The latter hypothesis is certainly preferable, especially if we consider that all the above-mentioned authors were also, and primarily, familiar with the equally imposing epigraphic patrimony of Athens. It is nevertheless certain, however, to say the least, that all of them found in Delphi—as in Athens itself—an ideal research field, as here more than anywhere else in Greece (except, again, Athens) a 'document-minded' researcher easily verified how fruitful his own peculiar approach to the research of useful *semeia* could be. Moreover, and chiefly, such an approach proved itself useful not only in an 'aetiological' (and therefore relatively traditional) way of reconstructing the past (the *archaiologia* in the ancient Greek meaning of the word), but also when dealing with recent or contemporary history.⁴² In this field too Delphi offered a wide range of precious documents, as, for example, those dealing with the amphictiony's composition and competences, the extent of the Phokian pillages, or the fines and other punishments imposed on them as a consequence. Admittedly, contemporary or later literary sources inform us on all these topics much less than we would hope for, but the very fact that they have kept at least *some* information is remarkable. As such we never need to regard as obvious either the tendency, on the part of any Greek author, to use epigraphic sources at all when dealing with contemporary history, or any 'technical' interest in administrative, financial, and accounting matters.

(p.135) 3. Different literary genres for different uses (and abuses) of Delphic 'documents'

In concrete terms, which kinds of 'documents' were available to the historians, the orators, and the other intellectuals who dealt with Delphi, especially from the mid-fourth century BC onwards? How did they actually use them? Again, the situation at Delphi can help to clarify a more general evolution in Greek habits in studying the past. I am using unspecific terms on purpose, as such an evolution did not affect historiography alone. Historians and orators (primarily, but not exclusively, authors of judicial speeches) shared the need to support their arguments through accurate and possibly verifiable arguments and proofs, and to put their sources to the test. The declared aim of both was discovering truth about some past events, and they reached their goal in the same way, that is, by making an enquiry and by comparing and verifying proofs and witnesses. As a consequence, they describe their aims, methods, and practices using—not always properly—a very similar technical language, which developed in full during the fourth century.⁴³ By this period, historians and orators often used to (try to) persuade their audience by using, to support their arguments, techniques that they had learned at the same schools. Clear examples are provided by the rhetorician Isocrates and his pupils (such as the historians Ephorus and Theopompus and the Attidographer Androtion), by the multiform culture of Aristotle, a deep connoisseur of the history and institutions of the Greek world and author of a handbook on rhetorical art, by his pupil Callisthenes of Olynthus, and by Anaximenes of Lampsacus, who was in his turn both a rhetorician and a historian.

What is particularly interesting for our topic is the fact that most of those intellectuals, as we have already partly seen, were interested from different points of view in Delphi and its history.⁴⁴ The concrete results of their extremely different approaches, unfortunately, are only in a very small part verifiable. As I have already stated, for example, we know almost nothing of the archival features and the documentary bases of Aristotle's and Callisthenes' *Pythionikai*. Although the temple of Apollo at Delphi had been at the time violently destroyed (and the sanctuary as a whole somewhat damaged) at least twice, we may suppose (and in some cases safely maintain) that a good deal of relatively raw and unmanipulated written records had been preserved in its 'archives' or displayed in public within the sanctuary itself.⁴⁵ I am here referring to documents and inscriptions related to (or partial lists of) the winners of the games, catalogues of offerings, administrative documents from and about the amphictiony, and so on. However, it is **(p.136)** impossible to say whether it was this kind of relatively reliable material or already manipulated literary sources that provided the two scholars with their historical-narrative material concerning the First

Sacred War and the amphictiony, employed in the *Pythionikôn anagraphé* and by Callisthenes alone in his work on the Third Sacred War and maybe in his *Greek History (Helleniká)*.⁴⁶ Probably we have to admit that the sources available to the two scholars were *ab origine* mixed and of very uneven character and quality. In any case, it is safe to make clear distinctions not only among such sources, but also when examining the concrete results reached at Delphi by Aristotle and Callisthenes (whether working together or not), which included at least three different scholarly activities: 1. the arranging of pre-existing material and the definition of an accurate chronological board as main features of the *Pythionikôn anagraphé*; 2. the reconstruction, as a part of the same work, of a historical framework strictly linked to the history of the games and perhaps based both on the 'documents' kept in the sanctuary and on literary sources (also Athenian) dealing with the First Sacred War and its consequences; 3. the reshaping, or manipulation, of this same evidence in Callisthenes' work, which included, to give just one example, a parallel between the Crisaeian and the Trojan wars.⁴⁷ If Callisthenes sometimes dangerously ventured to mix archaic history and myth as in the case just mentioned, and if he abused the archival material that he and Aristotle had found in Delphi to that purpose, we are not authorized to conclude that such manipulations were the unique and distinctive mark of the two scholars' Delphic works as a whole.⁴⁸

On the other hand, manipulations and forgeries were definitely an important part of other contemporary works whose openly declared aim was to support Philip's policy at Delphi. For example, in his *Letter to Philip*, the Academic Speusippus draws the king's attention to the historian Antipater of Magnesia, whom he praises for defending the legitimacy of the Delphic 'new deal' after 346 BC. What Speusippus particularly commends is Antipater's ability in seeking a legal precedent to such a revolutionary reform in the past (or even mythical) history of the sanctuary.⁴⁹ In such a case it is virtually impossible to evaluate the quality of the sources on which Antipater's (forged) reconstruction was based, and, as we do not even know if his pamphlet was ever published, it is consequently impossible to say whether it actually employed and quoted 'documents' at all.

(p.137) As for Theopompus, it is a relatively safe guess that, especially when writing about the goods stolen from Delphi (Περὶ τῶν συληθέντων ἐκ Δελφῶν χρημάτων),⁵⁰ he made direct or indirect use of the results of the accounting of the sanctuary, whose officers had to reckon the costs of the Phokian takeover of Delphi. An important section of those accounts is preserved for us in the inscriptions recording the instalments of the fine paid by the Phokians to the amphictiony after 346,⁵¹ and some figures directly or indirectly based

on the same documents possibly circulated through contemporary historiography. While almost nothing survives from the specific works of Theopompus, Polemon of Ilium, and Anaxandridas of Delphi that dealt with the Delphic 'lost treasures', we can still read two interesting passages of Diodorus that possibly derive from this tradition. Diodorus (16. 56. 6-7) puts the total amount of the Phokian thefts at over 10,000 talents (a figure whose reliability has been disputed among modern scholars much more than its possible sources) and indicates in detail, among Croesus' famous offerings to the sanctuary, those that had been melted down by the Phokians; Diodorus (16. 60. 1-2) maintains that the Phokians were condemned to pay sixty talents per year 'until they should have paid back the sums entered in the registers at the time of the pillaging of the sanctuary' (μέχρις ἂν ἐκτίσωσι τὰ ἀπογραφέντα χρήματα κατὰ τὴν ἱεροσυλίαν).⁵²

The interest here shown by Diodorus' source in the accounting, in official administrative records (cf. the reference, in the latter passage, to 'the sums entered in the registers', τὰ ἀπογραφέντα χρήματα) and in the legal consequences of the Phokian occupation of Delphi as a whole⁵³ is quite uncommon in an ancient historian. A revealing comparison, for example, is the way in which Plutarch quotes a piece of information transmitted by Anaxandridas of Delphi about the money left on deposit by the Spartan general Lysander in the treasury of the Akanthians and of Brasidas in Delphi (*Lys.* 18. 2-3 = *FGrH* 404 F 2). The accurate indication of the figure (παρακαταθήκην...τάλαντον ἀργυρίου καὶ μυᾶς πεντήκοντα δύο καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἔνδεκα στατῆρας; 'a deposit...of a talent of silver coins and fifty-two minas, and, in addition, eleven staters') may suggest that **(p.138)** Anaxandridas looked it up in some official record or an inscription.⁵⁴ Interestingly, in any case, this piece of information looks more convincing to the modern scholars than to the ancient author dealing directly with it. While we know from other sources that the great sanctuaries were often employed as deposit banks and usually believe, as a consequence, that a cult place whose wealth was entrusted to an 'international' board of administrators felt the need quite early for transparent accounting records,⁵⁵ Plutarch is not persuaded at all by the 'neutral' character of the document positively employed by Anaxandridas, and he still considers the whole of the literary tradition insisting on Lysander's 'sobriety' as sufficient to deny the existence itself of the money deposit. Plutarch elsewhere considers the inscriptions (and mainly the Delphic ones) as useful historical sources, and he is definitely aware of the fact that ancient *thesauroi* were primarily employed as safes to hold precious objects and money. His view in the passage of the *Life of Lysander* (discussed earlier) is, therefore, all the more meaningful, as it

reveals a persisting scepticism towards an epigraphic text or an archival record—that is, something that *we* consider an ‘objective’ and primary source.⁵⁶

Such an attitude did not ever completely disappear from the Greek historians, who were inclined to recognize the historical value of the inscriptions only in some specific cases—that is, when other sources (such as oral memories or authoritative literary narratives) were unavailable or not completely convincing; or in order to dispute well-established opinions and to suggest a new and heterodox version of a historical fact; or, finally, in order to plead a local, partial, or even biased reconstruction of an event (Plutarch himself is one of the clearest examples of such a methodological, not wholly consistent, approach).⁵⁷ Delphi (**p.139**) offers illuminating examples of all these ways of employing epigraphic texts, all of which, more particularly, can be found in the digressions on Delphic history by the Athenian fourth-century orators. In this specific field, the meaning of the references to past history was rather different from that usually attributed by the Attic orators to their (sometimes careless) historical digressions.⁵⁸ Delphic history was a particularly delicate field, as in this case enquiry about *origins* (of the games, the amphictiony, the sacred properties) partly determined the solution of contemporary legal and political issues such as the membership of the amphictiony, the formal accuracy of its decisions, the rules presiding over the organization of the games, or the exact status of the sacred lands.

We can verify the distance between Aeschines’ and Demosthenes’ positions in this field in many specific cases, the best known being their opposite versions of the circumstances leading up to the Fourth Sacred War (Aeschin. 3. 106–31; D. 18. 140–59). In this case the information provided by other sources (mainly epigraphic) about amphictionic laws and rules helps us to appreciate Aeschines’ wider competence and to draw a good amount of reliable details from his narrative, at least as far as procedures and legal issues are concerned.⁵⁹ His arguments and the means by which he supported them seem (and often are) solid, and deny Demosthenes’ charge against him of deceiving an inexperienced audience through ‘a plausible narrative based on myths’ (λόγοι εὐπρόσωποι καὶ μῦθοι).⁶⁰ Aeschines supports his version in a sharp and carefully constructed way, combining typical rhetorical argumentative techniques with a remarkable teaching ability and basing both on an accurate exposition of proof and (allegedly) reliable sources. Unlike Demosthenes in his parallel reconstruction of the events, Aeschines is clearly making an effort to show the wide competence on Delphic matters that he had acquired as an official representative of the Athenians in the sanctuary (he was *pylagoros* at the time of the dispute

that led to the Fourth Sacred War and again at Delphi, as an 'advocate' (*syndikos*) of his fellow-citizens, he had previously defended the Athenian rights against the Delians before the amphictionic court).⁶¹

(p.140) We are confronted here not only with a dispute on some points of detail or with two conflicting interpretations of the same series of events, but, more generally, with a different habit by the two orators (and political enemies) in getting and using 'documents' to reconstruct the past and the legal basis of the present. At Athens, as at Delphi, Aeschines took bureaucratic tasks which heightened his ability and interest in 'archival' research. Interestingly, this element of his personality (among several others) became the target of Demosthenes' mockery. Even if every orator—including Demosthenes himself—knew the usefulness of directly quoting and discussing documents of political interest such as laws, *psephismata*, treaties of peace or alliance, royal letters, and so on,⁶² Aeschines' sharp attention to (and careful search for) documents, epigraphic texts, and written records as a whole was apparently perceived as something special. Such an attitude, a quite obvious one from a professional modern historian's point of view, was far from obvious, even among intellectuals, in his own time and even later. Revealing clues are, for example, the nickname given to the antiquarian-'epigraphist' Polemon of Ilium (στηλοκόπας, 'glutton for *stelai*'), or Polybius' criticism of Timaeus' fondness for documents and inscriptions. Polybius *did* himself use 'documents', material and epigraphic evidence, when dealing with controversial issues, but he thought it was all the same possible to ridicule some 'excesses' in Timaeus' bookish (and, again, 'document-minded') approach to history.⁶³

The way Aeschines, Theopompus, or Callisthenes actually used their knowledge of Delphic institutions and history is, of course, a completely different matter, as is the historical value of their digressions about the sanctuary and the amphictiony in the archaic period. What matters here is that when referring to 'documents', in his Delphic digressions, Aeschines used them, technically, just like proof or *martyria* before a court. It is not surprising, therefore, that in order to emphasize their historical value he sometimes stresses the fact that such documents were easy for anyone *to find and read*, as they were *displayed* in the sanctuary itself.⁶⁴ To charge him with lying about that—as some modern scholars **(p.141)** have done—seems excessively critical. At least on this specific issue, that is, the fact that a given 'document' existed and was easily accessible, it would have been difficult and embarrassing to forge something *ex nihilo*.⁶⁵ Instead, Aeschines is able to take advantage of the peculiar conditions of the Delphic sanctuary,

especially in that period, that is, of the fact that a huge number of written documents were available and often *visible* there. He provides us with one of the earliest lists of the members of the amphictiony that have come down to us from literary sources, and the chronological proximity of such a list (and of those provided by Theopompus and Anaximenes as well) to the first epigraphic lists of *hieromnemes* known from Delphi is probably significant.⁶⁶ On the other hand, Aeschines' famous digression on the First Sacred War quotes 'documents' that were quite similar to those probably seen and studied in the same years by Aristotle and Callisthenes—that is, the epigraphic records of the oracle ordering the destruction of Krisa/Kirra and the consecration of its land, and of the oath and the curse pronounced by the amphictions on that occasion.⁶⁷

There is no need to say that a *stèle* that any visitor of Delphi might have seen did not necessarily include interesting, reliable, or truly historical information, as Herodotus had already stressed.⁶⁸ There is no doubt that in his Delphic digressions Aeschines used 'documents' of a very uneven quality, and his good faith cannot always be taken for granted. As a seminal article by Ch. Habicht clearly showed a long time ago, in this same period (the central decades of the fourth century BC) the concrete context of the Athenian political debate prompted the reshaping or even creation *ex nihilo* of 'documents' meant to play a role in that debate.⁶⁹ Sometimes forged documents that had been created (or reconstructed) in such a climate were engraved on *stelai* just to *look* more reliable and authoritative. Aeschines was well aware of this, and he was certainly able—as Demosthenes in his turn understood—not only to use his *real* competence in amphictionic matters and traditions, but also to take advantage of his audience's inexperience in that field.⁷⁰ The ability in using documents *might* sometimes turn into bad faith, **(p. 142)** but it is a further step (and not an advisable one, in my view) to attribute such a bad faith to *every* quotation of 'documents' by our fourth-century sources.⁷¹

Definitely a huge number of documents, of quite uneven quality, origin, and aims, were circulating at Delphi in the middle decades of the fourth century, and in some cases even earlier. Most of them were written texts that anybody could see, whether they referred *lato sensu* to the past history of the sanctuary (as those mentioned by Aeschines⁷² and the list of the Pythian victors compiled by Aristotle and Callisthenes),⁷³ or were associated with monuments and dedicated objects (sometimes much later than their original consecration), or were meant to exhibit the correct administration of Apollo's goods and treasures. The aims of the authors who actually used such documents in some way were equally uneven, and sometimes inconsistencies can be traced even in

the work of one and the same author. A first, basic distinction is therefore necessary among the three different kinds of written sources from and/or about Delphi that have come down to us, that is: 1. the epigraphic texts that actually survive (and that sometimes are *also* known through literary sources, such as the inscription on the serpent column); 2. the epigraphic texts or 'archive' documents that are quoted (or alluded to) by literary sources in a more or less explicit way, and are known to us only in that way; 3. the literary sources that deal with Delphic history without quoting *any* source or document. The last attitude is, unfortunately, particularly frequent among the ancient historians (not only, of course, as far as Delphi was concerned), as ancient historians, unlike us, aimed at hiding the huge amount of data and pieces of information on which they based their reconstructions under the surface of a text that was always seen, first of all, as a literary work. In some lucky cases, however, a good number of which have been discussed in this chapter, we are relatively sure that the authors we can still read (or their sources) drew their information on Delphi from inscriptions they had seen in the sanctuary itself. A careful reading of the relevant passages can also reveal, at least sometimes, how reliable any author in his quotations is, or even whether he actually read and studied the text, or simply saw it, or knew it by hearsay.⁷⁴

Within the three categories of written texts distinguished above, moreover, a further, 'transversal' distinction is necessary. In terms of general reliability and of value as historical documents concerning the history and institutions of Delphi, we are not of course authorized to address the records of the winners of the games, the dedicatory inscriptions, the sacred laws, the amphictionic lists, laws, and **(p.143)** decrees, the records of the weight or value of dedicated objects, the accounting documents in the same way as the oracular responses, the accounts of city foundations, the amphictionic oaths and curses, and similar texts of supposed archaic origins. The latter group of texts, even when they say (as they often do) something important about the role of Delphi in manipulating and spreading historical traditions (local as well as Panhellenic) throughout the Greek world, are almost irrelevant to our topic. On the other hand, the documents of the former group, when available, and in spite of the specific problems raised by each of them, call our attention as historians first of all, to the practical and different needs that an international sanctuary such as Delphi had to manage from quite early on; to the complexity of its administration; and to the actual (and sometimes remarkable) influence of the sanctuary's rich epigraphic patrimony on the literary tradition. There is no need to add that we cannot consider *all* the documents of that category

(dedications, lists of victors or eponymous priests, accounting and administrative records), whatever their source may be, to be necessarily genuine and equally faithful to the original records. Sometimes a lucky epigraphic find gives us a precise answer and helps to evaluate the general reliability of an author's quotations—for example, in the case of dedicatory inscriptions⁷⁵—but in most cases we are not allowed to push our conclusions too far. In some cases it is the results of the archaeological exploration that help to evaluate the actual reliability of literary sources, even when they *seem* to be based on reliable 'primary' or 'archival' evidence (good examples are some statements made by Pausanias about the history and chronology of the treasuries in Delphi, and in Olympia as well).⁷⁶ In other cases it is again the archaeological work that has strengthened historical traditions that otherwise appeared scarcely reliable. Archaeology has revealed, for example, the significant building activity that took place at Delphi after c.580 BC and has thus thrown a new and unexpected light on the period in which literary sources put the First Sacred War, at least confirming that some major (and possibly traumatic) change did affect the sanctuary, and possibly the relationship between the amphictiony and the city of Delphi, in the first half of the sixth century.⁷⁷

That a good historian has to employ *every* available piece of evidence, and possibly to combine different kinds of evidence (trying to understand the specific language of each), is not, of course, a discovery of modern scholars, let alone of modern scholars dealing with Delphi. Certainly, however, Delphi is still for us, as it was already for Herodotus and some centuries later for his devoted admirer Pausanias, a fascinating and puzzling melting-pot of material evidence, oral narratives, written texts of all kinds, a crossroads of memories—maybe, *the* memory itself of ancient Greece.

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Notes:

(¹) I am here paraphrasing Steiner (1993) 174.

(²) On the monuments consecrated at Delphi in those specific circumstances, see Gauer (1968); Jacquemin (1999) 47, 84–5, 176, 250–6; Mari (2002) 127–31, 180–2.

(³) On monumental dedications at Delphi, see Jacquemin (1999); on *thesauroi*, see Marconi (2006); Mari (2006a).

(⁴) A couple of meaningful examples were known to Phanias Fr. 11 Wehrli, quoted by Ath. 6. 232c–d: cf. Davies (2007a) 231. More or less legendary oracles were also sometimes recorded on stone and displayed in the sanctuary: cf. nn. 67 and 72 for a reference in Aeschin. 3. 108–13; for a reference to an oracle given to Agamemnon in a Delphic inscription, see Amandry (1950) 165.

(⁵) That is, of the different kinds of written document that were kept (and not necessarily displayed on stone inscriptions) at Delphi: see sect. 3.

(⁶) See n. 31. A list of Olympic victors found in Athens (*IG II²* 2326) has been in its turn interpreted as a 'monumentalization' of Aristotle's list of the *Olympionikai* (on which, see again n. 31): cf. Christesen (2007) 35, 170–1.

(⁷) See Schepens (2003) 335, 338; Hartmann, this volume, Ch. 2; on 'documents' in the works of local historiography known through inscriptions, see Chaniotis (1988) 150ff., 170, 205 ff.

⁽⁸⁾ Hippias probably combined oral memories, information taken from dedicatory and honorary inscriptions, and partial lists of victors: see Christesen (2005) 323–4, 326–32, 343 and (2007) 23, 46–50, 73–145, 157. Modern scholars have often challenged, on different grounds, the reliability of the earlier section of Hippias' (and his followers') lists of Olympic victors: see the useful overviews by Bilik (2000) and Christesen (2007) 74–6, 475–81. Similar remarks can definitely be (and have often been) made in the case of Aristotle's and Callisthenes' *Pythionikai*, although the later date of the first edition of the Pythian Games has sometimes suggested a greater confidence: see n. 31.

⁽⁹⁾ Plu. *Sol.* 11. 1 (ἐν τε τοῖς τῶν Δελφῶν ὑπομνήμασιν), on which see the hypercritical view of Robertson (1978) 54–60, the useful remarks by Càssola (1980) 421–2, and Chanotis (1988) 206. The word *hypomnema* is, of course, unspecific and polysemic in itself (see, on its use by Diodorus, Ambaglio (2003)); in Plutarch's passage, however, such 'records' are apparently distinguished from the literary sources previously quoted. Cf. also Paus. 6. 13. 8, who calls *hypomnemata* the written records of the winners in the Isthmian and Nemean games.

⁽¹⁰⁾ This would be a quite meaningless distinction according to any ancient observer, as inscriptions were primarily perceived as 'monuments' (Thomas (1989) 49–52); on the different meaning of monuments of purely 'visual' effectiveness and of inscribed *stelai*, see, however, Rhodes (2001) 141–2.

⁽¹¹⁾ Cf. again Hartmann, this volume, Ch. 2.

⁽¹²⁾ On the historical interest of visiting Delphi, still in Pausanias' time, but also on the limits of such a 'historical' approach, see Jacquemin (1999) 267–73. As Musti (1982) p. lii observes, in Pausanias' description, which is in general strictly selective, wide room is left to the monumental offerings of Delphi and Olympia (and more particularly to the *thesauroi*), just because they fit his own 'inclinazione al racconto' in the best way. On Pausanias' use of inscriptions, see Zizza (2006) 399–436. Cf. also, on Pindar's 'metaphoric monuments' and their relationship with the 'memorializing' function of true monuments and inscriptions, Steiner (1993) 172–8.

⁽¹³⁾ Hdt. 1. 50–9, 92. 2, 8. 35. 2, 122; cf. also, on the Phrygian kings' offerings at Delphi, the detailed list in 1. 14. 1–3. The most explicit reference to a dedicatory inscription, curiously enough, is to a Spartan dedication which Herodotus considers a forgery (1. 51. 3–4; cf. West (1985) 280, 290–1); but the very precise references to the objects' weight or dimensions were also possibly taken from inscriptions or

other records kept at Delphi (Fabiani (2003) 16–8; Mari (2006a) 46–7; Kosmetatou, this volume, Ch. 3). The list of the privileges awarded to Croesus and the Lydians as a reward for the king's offerings (1. 54. 2) comes also, possibly, from an honorary decree. On the importance of Croesus' strict relationship with the sanctuary within the Lydian section of the first book of the *Histories*, and on the possibly Delphic origin of much of Herodotus' information, see Parke (1984) 209ff.; Asheri (1988) 271–2, 292–6. Many of Croesus' offerings that were later stolen or melted down during the Phokian occupation of the sanctuary (Davies (2007c) 89–90, with the relevant sources) were still visible in Herodotus' time, and that is an important element of understanding his description (Nenci (1993) 319–20, 325–6).

(¹⁴) This is part of Herodotus' general attitude towards inscriptions (West (1985); Rhodes (2001) 143; Fabiani (2003)). West (1985) sees references to Delphic inscriptions only in two explicit passages of the *Histories* (Hdt. 1. 51. 3–4 and 8. 82. 1, on the serpent column (cf. nn. 13 and 25)), but, as in other cases, also when dealing with Delphi Herodotus probably drew a good amount of information from inscriptions without explicitly quoting them (cf. again n. 13).

(¹⁵) On the different aspects of Pausanias' imitation of Herodotus, see Musti (1982) pp. xviii–xxi, xxiii–xxiv, xxvi, xxix, xliv.

(¹⁶) Hdt. 3. 57–8; Paus. 10. 11. 2.

(¹⁷) It is not impossible that Herodotus' reference to the origins of the dedication is inferred from an inscription on the monument itself (3. 57: ...ὥστε ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης τῶν γινομένων αὐτόθεν [i.e. from Siphnian mines] χρημάτων θησαυρὸς ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀνάκειται ὅμοια τοῖσι πλουσιωτάτοις). This would be a further example of his frequent habit of using inscriptions without explicitly quoting them. For a more detailed comparison between Herodotus' and Pausanias' narratives of Siphnian reversal of fortune and for the paradigmatic value of the Siphnian case, see Mari (2005).

(¹⁸) Cf. e.g. Hdt. 1. 50. 3, 51. 2–3. Such a function is usually stressed by Herodotus in the case of the *thesauroi* (Mari (2006a) 46–7 and n. 25). Unlike Herodotus, Thucydides' approach to the history of Panhellenic sanctuaries usually does not envisage either the detailed description of monuments and of their precious contents, nor precise references to their fate during the ages (Mari (2006b) 243–4).

(¹⁹) References in Mari (2002) 86ff.; Mari (2006a) 50 n. 33.

(²⁰) See Str. 9. 3. 8 (421C). (ἀποκεῖσθαι γὰρ ἐν θησαυροῖς ἀπὸ λαφύρων ἀνατεθέντα, ἐπιγραφὰς σώζοντα, ἐν αἷς καὶ οἱ ἀναθέντες· Γύγου γὰρ καὶ Κροίσου καὶ Συβαριτῶν καὶ Σπινητῶν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀδρίαν, καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων) and, more implicitly, 9. 3. 4 (419C) (ὠλιγώρηται δ' ἱκανῶς καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν, πρότερον δ' ὑπερβαλλόντως ἐτιμᾶτο)· δηλοῦσι δ' οἳ τε θησαυροί, οὓς καὶ δῆμοι καὶ δυνάσται κατεσκεύασαν, εἰς οὓς καὶ χρήματα ἀνετίθεντο καθιερωμένα καὶ ἔργα τῶν ἀρίστων δημιουργῶν.)

(²¹) Paus. 10. 11. 5. In many other cases, when referring to the *thesauroi* or to other monuments dedicated in Delphi (or in Olympia) and to the historical circumstances of their building, Pausanias makes more or less explicit use of the dedicatory inscriptions of the monuments themselves.

(²²) Cf. Paus. 6. 19. 15, about the Geloean treasury in Olympia and its contents: on this passage and on the general problem, see Mari (2006a) 43–9; on Pausanias' detailed descriptions of the monuments, such as the *thesauroi*, which best fit his flair for storytelling, see n. 12 above. An interesting example of how the actual inscriptions could be misleading is that relating to the shields dedicated by the Athenians after the battle of Plataea ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ Θηβαίων: while Aeschines (3. 116) and his contemporaries well knew the original dedication with its reference to Theban medism, Paus. 10. 19. 4 wrongly connected it to the victory of Marathon, apparently because he saw a later and 'censored' version of the dedicatory inscription, from which mention of the Thebans had disappeared (Bommelaer and Bommelaer (1983) 30 n. 23).

(²³) Plb. 30. 10. 1–2; Plu. *Aem.* 28. 4.

(²⁴) Plu. *Them.* 20. 3–4.

(²⁵) Plu. *De Her. mal.* 39 (*Mor.* 870d); Hdt. 8. 82. 1 (one of Herodotus' very rare explicit references to Delphic inscriptions: but cf. nn. 13 and 14); cf. also Th. 3. 57. 2. After discussing Herodotus' references to the serpent column (Hdt. 8. 82. 1, 9. 81. 1) and his silences on the same monument, West (1985) 280–1 concludes that the historian, although almost certainly seeing the famous monument, did not actually study it with the attention it deserved, and did not draw all the conclusions he could from the inscribed list (as Plutarch already remarked).

(²⁶) The first dedication was made only in his name (Plu. *De Her. mal.* 42 (*Mor.* 873c-d); Th. 1. 132. 2-3; for other sources on the episode, see Mari (2006b) 232 n. 3; cf. also Smarczyk (2006) 503). On the inscription, the fate of the monument and the relevant bibliography, cf. Meiggs and Lewis (1988) 57-60; Laroche (1989); Bommelaer (1991) 165-7; Jacquemin (1999) 250-1, 336: the base of the monument is still in Delphi, while the column was brought to the Hippodrome of Constantinople by Constantine and can still be seen there.

(²⁷) Some fragments are still available of the works by Theopompus (see n. 30), Anaxandridas of Delphi and Alketas (*FGrH* 404 and 405), Polemon of Ilium (Frs. 27-9 Preller); for the strict relationship between this specific literary stream and the periegetic literature, from Polemon onwards, see Jacquemin (1999) 264-7; cf. also Jacoby (1955a) 214-15. A high concentration of quotations from authors who dealt, from different points of view, with the precious objects dedicated in Delphi and (possibly) with the Phokian capture of the sanctuary can be found, surprisingly enough, in a long section of Athenaeus' Book 6 (see Davies (2007c) 81-3).

(²⁸) On such events (the Third and Fourth Sacred Wars, the Lamian War) and the related sources, cf. Mari (2002) 83-93, 99-126, 142-52, 263-75. All three orators acted as Athenian *pylagoroi* in the amphictiony: cf. n. 61.

(²⁹) Similar considerations help to explain the lack of interest on the part of the fifth-century 'great' historiography in the amphictionic institutions, the Sacred Wars, and, more generally, most aspects of the history of Delphi, on which, see Mari (2006b). A similar interpretation of the scopes of Hippias' Ὀλυμπιονίκων ἀναγραφή, as focused on Eleian contemporary politics, is suggested by Christesen (2005) 319-20, 324, 332-6, and (2007) 51-7, 71-2, who rightly recalls in such a case the concept of 'intentional history' (on which, see Gehrke (2001); for the more specific branch that we can conveniently call 'sacred history', see Dillery (2005)).

(³⁰) See e.g. *FGrH* 115 F 63 (dealing with the origins of the amphictiony and containing one of the most ancient literary lists of the members of the association which have come down to us, from the *Philippika*); 156 (on the Sacred War fought during the fifth century, the 'second' according to the modern numbering); 193 (on some famous offerings); 247-9 (fragments from the work Περὶ τῶν συληθέντων ἐκ Δελφῶν χρημάτων, which some modern scholars consider a section of the *Philippika* (Pownall (2008) 123-4)); 336 (on the form of the oracular responses, see Fontenrose (1978) 235-6 and Luraghi (forthcoming)); cf.

also Frs. 80, 280, 312, 344. Also the digression on the 'wonders' (*thaumasia*, Frs. 64–76) has been interpreted as linked to Delphi and to Philip's political use of the theme of the *eusebeia* (Pownall (2008) 123–4), but its explicit connections to Delphi are indeed quite loose (Shrimpton (1991) 19–20). On Theopompus' contribution to the tradition on Delphi and the (earlier) Sacred Wars, cf. Sánchez (2001) 102; Mari (2006*b*) 246 n. 39.

⁽³¹⁾ On Aristotle's and Callisthenes' Delphic activities, see Chaniotis (1988) 195–6, 207, 214–17, 293–6; Spoerri (1988); Pritchett (1996) 28–33; Mari (2002) 165–9, 215–18, 269–70, 292–3, 295–6, 305–6; Christesen (2007) 179–202; on the Δελφῶν πολιτεία, see Musielak (1993); Polito (2010). Useful information can be found in the literary references (Plu. *Sol.* 11. 1–2; D.L. 5. 26; Arist., Fr. 487 Rose; *hyp.* Pind., *Pyth.*) and in a famous honorary decree from Delphi, probably enacted by the amphictiony, which praises both the scholars for completing a 'board' (*pinax*) to be displayed within the sanctuary (*CID* IV 10, with a detailed commentary by Lefèvre (2002)); further inscriptions confirm that the 'board' contained the text of the work also known to Plutarch, that is, the register of the Pythian Games (Πυθιονικῶν ἀναγραφή: cf. *CID* II 97, ll. 42–3; 98B, l. 5; 99A, ll. 9–10; 102, I, ll. 44–5). One of Aristotle's correspondents, Philoxenus, known to Diogenes Laertius, should probably be identified with a hieromnemon of Alexander at Delphi, suggesting that the philosopher was probably helped by personal acquaintances when obtaining access to the 'archives' of the sanctuary (Mari (2002) 168 n. 4, 292–3), where previous, maybe partial, records of the winners in the games were probably kept (it is improbable, however, that *complete* records had been kept from the early sixth century onwards: see Jacoby (1955*a*) 215; Christesen (2007) 179–202). Aristotle made a similar work on the *Olympionikai*, but in that case at least one previous 'edition' of the catalogue, that of Hippias of Elis, did definitely exist (see n. 8, and, on Aristotle's work, Christesen (2007) 161–5, 170–3).

⁽³²⁾ On the history of the amphictiony and the related literary tradition, see Lefèvre (1998); Sánchez (2001), and, more particularly on the traditions on the first two Sacred Wars, Càssola (1980); Davies (1994); Skoczylas Pownall (1998); Mari (2006*b*); Davies (2007*b*).

⁽³³⁾ Thomas (1989) 35 ff., 60ff., 83 ff.; more generally on the public use of writing and written records in Greece, cf. Musti (1986) and the essays collected by Detienne (1988*a*).

(³⁴) The date of the Athenian copy that is preserved is 380 BC, but the original document could be a little earlier (see Lefèvre (2002) 33–49). The law, among other things, defines the practical tasks of the amphictiony in the organization of the Pythian Games.

(³⁵) The accounts of the *naopoioi*, the records of the payments of the fine imposed on the Phokians after the Third Sacred War, and the accounts of the *tamiai* (a financial commission first instituted in 337/6) were collected in *CID* II (Bousquet (1989)). After this important work some corrections in the chronology of the documents were suggested by Marchetti (1998) and followed by Lefèvre (1998) 266–8. So the first list of *hieromnemes* in a Delphic account (given only in an abridged form, which mentions the Thessalian envoys ‘Kottiphos and Kolosimmos and their colleagues’ (*CID* II 34, I, 26–7)) is to be dated to the autumn of 346 and not 345 as by Bousquet; the first complete list, only partly preserved on the stone, is *CID* II 36, I, 1–11, to be dated to the autumn of 344 and not 343 as by Bousquet. Cf. the useful table in Lefèvre (1998) 283–4. On the Delphic financial documents and their historical value (sometimes overestimated in the past) for our knowledge of the history of the sanctuary (and of Greece as a whole) in the fourth century, see also Mari (2002) 106–18, 127–31, 152–7, 218–30, with further bibliography. On the high concentration of documents in periods when the amphictiony was in some way under the control of an hegemonic power (such as that of Macedonia in the second half of the fourth century, or that of the Etolian *koinon* in most of the third and until the beginning of the second), see Lefèvre (1998) 122–3, 136–9; Mari (2002) 275–86; cf. also the statistics that can be drawn by the tables in Lefèvre (1998) 223–6, 278–88.

⁽³⁶⁾ Not surprisingly, a contrasting chronological distribution appears in the case of the *leges sacrae*: among those collected in *CID I*, the most ancient ones go back to the late sixth and early fifth century, and none is later than the mid-fourth century BC. On the possibility that inventory lists were also made at Delphi as early as after the fire of 548 BC, or even earlier, and on Herodotus' possible use of such inventories, see Kosmetatou, this volume, Ch. 3. Last but not least, the oracles are apparently a totally different matter. It is true that in this case too a good number of epigraphic records go back to the fourth century (see, after Amandry (1950) 150–65, the catalogue in Fontenrose (1978)), but in quantitative terms the entire production is rather limited (fewer than fifty inscriptions in the entire history of the oracle: see Crahay (1956) 6–11; Fontenrose (1978) esp. 165; Amandry (2000) 20; Luraghi (forthcoming)). More importantly, the publication of oracular responses on stone, even at Delphi itself, is always an initiative taken by the communities receiving the responses (Crahay (1956) 7; it is scarcely surprising that a huge number of epigraphic references to Delphic oracles come from Athens: see, after the catalogues in Amandry and Fontenrose, Habicht (2000)); it says almost nothing, therefore, about the evolution of the sanctuary's epigraphic habit and communication strategies. Also the hypothesis according to which 'archival' records or collections of Delphic responses did exist at least in some periods is usually admitted for the local communities that addressed the oracle rather than for the sanctuary itself (see Jacoby (1955a) 215; Crahay (1956) 6–13; Fontenrose (1978) 164–5; Luraghi (forthcoming)). At Delphi, unlike at Dodona, documents from 'archives' of that kind have not been discovered so far.

⁽³⁷⁾ On the possible conflicts of jurisdiction between the amphictionic authorities and the magistrates of the city of Delphi on administrative matters, see Bousquet (1989) 53; Davies (1998).

⁽³⁸⁾ On the role of the sanctuaries in the evolution of the forms of communication in Greece, see Detienne (1988b) 41–4.

⁽³⁹⁾ See, for different perspectives, Habicht (1961); Thomas (1989) 35ff., 60ff., 83ff.; Davies (1996); Higbie (1999) 50–5.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ On fourth-century authors' growing attention to 'documents' and, in general, on the ancient historians' approach to 'archival' materials, see Desideri (1996). On Aeschines and his peculiarly 'document-minded' approach, cf. Thomas (1989) 69–71, rightly stressing the importance of the orator's experiences as *hypogrammateus* and then *grammateus*, which, interestingly, are the target of Demosthenes' irony (19. 70, 237, 249): 'Aeschines' peculiar style of using the public records

was indeed noticed at the time'; cf. also Rhodes (2001) 142. So his acting as an Athenian representative in the amphictiony in an official role (n. 60) is maybe of some importance for evaluating Aeschines' competence on Delphic matters and institutions. On Theopompus' discussions of epigraphic texts and possible forgeries, such as the Oath of Plataea or the 'Peace of Callias' (*FGrH* 115 FF 153, 154), see Higbie (1999) 62-4; Rhodes (2001) 150 n. 46; Pownall (2008); Hartmann, this volume, Ch. 2; cf. also Habicht (1961) 12, 17. On the role of Aristotle and of his school in the development of a new way of collecting and studying 'documents' (mainly epigraphic) as a part of the historical research, see Higbie (1999) 54-5, 65-6, 71-6; Rhodes (2001) 143; on their activities at Delphi, more particularly, see n. 31. The famous collector of inscriptions Craterus, author of a *Συναγωγή ψηφισμάτων* focused on fifth-century Athenian decrees, was possibly a peripatetic himself (Keil (1895); Habicht (1961) 28-9; Higbie (1999); 46ff.; Erdas (2002) 34-46).

⁽⁴¹⁾ The effective definition is Thomas (1989): e.g. 71 (on Aeschines). See n. 40.

⁽⁴²⁾ On the Greek historians' inclination to use epigraphic (and archaeological) data mainly when dealing with problems of *archaiologia*, see Hartmann, this volume, Ch. 2. Thucydides is a particularly revealing example, although his *archaiologia stricto sensu* (the opening chapters of the first book of the *Histories*) 'is remarkable for its total neglect of epigraphical evidence' (Smarczyk (2006) 512-14 (at 512); cf. also Bearzot (2003)), and Fantasia (forthcoming) on Thucydides' possible use of a Delphic inscription as a source for contemporary history. On Herodotus, see West (1985); Fabiani (2003).

⁽⁴³⁾ Butti de Lima (1996) 21-5, 30-6; Rhodes (2004); Ferrucci (2010) 155-61. More particularly on the similarities between Thucydides' methods of enquiry and related language and the terminology employed by Athenian forensic orators, see Siewert (1985); Ferrucci (2006). On the not merely formal relationship between fourth-century historiography and rhetoric, see the brilliant considerations of Mazzarino (1965-6) I, 391ff.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ On Theopompus, Aristotle and Callisthenes, and their interests in Delphic history, cf. nn. 30, 31, 48; on Anaximenes and, more generally, on the connections between rhetors' and historians' craft, especially during the fourth century, see Ferrucci (2010), with further bibliography. On Androtion, see n. 66.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ For a more sceptical view of the quality of such records, see Chaniotis (1988) 205ff. (but cf. also 217); more particularly on the victor lists, see the bibliography quoted in nn. 8 and 31.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Cf. n. 31; on the specific contents of Callisthenes' *Περὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πολέμου* and on his *Hellenica*, which ended with the Phokian takeover of the sanctuary of Delphi in 356, cf. Mari (2002) 168–9, (2006b) 256 n. 63.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ *FGrH* 124 F 1: cf. Mari (2002) 168–9, with bibliography.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ According to the hypercritical thesis of Robertson (1978), Callisthenes (and Aristotle as well) highly contributed to the tradition on the First Sacred War, which he interprets as a fourth-century forgery deprived of any historical basis and created in order to provide a 'moral paradigm of the Third Sacred War' (Robertson (1978) 66). Robertson rightly draws our attention to a real problem (the use and abuse of 'documents' in the ancient literary tradition on the archaic period: cf. Davies (1994)), but on the specific topic his premises are wrong, as references to the 'Crisean war' can be found in the literary tradition also before the age of Philip (Càssola (1980) 420–1; Lehmann (1980); a brilliant discussion of both the literary tradition and some recent archaeological data on archaic Delphi is in Davies (2007b) and in Luce (2008) I, 72–7, 82–3, 95–115; cf. also Morgan (2003) 122–3). Robertson's thesis is revived, though in a more cautious form, by Christesen (2005) 350, (2007) 188–90.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ *FGrH* 69 F 2, §§ 8–9, on which, see Mari (2002) 116–18, 163–9; Natoli (2004) 73–7, 135ff.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Cf. n. 30.

⁽⁵¹⁾ *CID* II 36 and ff. nos.; 32, ll. 50ff.: the first payment was actually made only in autumn 344 (cf. Mari (2002) 128–9). A fragmentary inscription (now in *CID* IV 385–7) had been interpreted by Reinach (1928) as part of the detailed accountings of the damages suffered by Delphic monuments and votive offerings during the Phokian occupation. Although it is impossible to draw any steady conclusion from such a fragmentary text, I agree with Davies (2007c) 75–7 on the fact that accountings of that kind did actually exist.

⁽⁵²⁾ I am quoting the translation of Sherman (1952). On the first passage and the reliability of the figure, cf. Parke (1933) 139–40; Bousquet (1989) 76. Davies (2007c) thinks of 4,000 to 5,000 talents as a more realistic figure and suggests that the 10,000 talents given by Diodorus or his source could actually be the amount of the fine imposed on the Phokians by doubling the value of the losses (75–9). The derivation of most of Diodorus 16 from Ephorus-Demophilus is sometimes taken for granted (Sordi (1969) pp. xii–xiv, xxii–xxx, 98; Nenci (1993) 321 and n. 7), while the contribution of Theopompus (or of other authors dealing with the disappearance of Delphic wealth) is usually underestimated or even denied completely.

⁽⁵³⁾ The whole phrasing of D.S. 16. 60. 1–2, or of its immediate source, could derive from an amphictionic decree: cf. Chaniotis (1996) 73; Lefèvre (1998) 32 n. 129, 51 n. 206, 99, 154 n. 28, 166; Mari (2002) 105–6, 110, 127, 129.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ On the possibility of identifying Anaxandridas with one of the officials bearing that name who are known to us from Delphic inscriptions, see Jacoby (1955a) 217, (1955b) 141–2; Bouvier (1985) 119, 130.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ On the banking function of the great sanctuaries, see Bogaert (1968) 99, 107, 282; Musti (1981) 35–6, 80–1; Mari (2006a) 50–5. Sources other than Anaxandridas confirm that records of the money deposited in the sanctuary and of the weight and value of the precious objects (*agalmata*) which were kept inside its buildings (especially the *thesauroi*), did actually exist in Delphi, as in Olympia. See e.g. Herodotus' precise indications on the weight and value of some objects dedicated in Delphi, as quoted at n. 13, or Pausanias' remarks on the Sikyonian and 'Carthaginian' (that is, Syracusan) treasuries in Olympia (6. 19. 3–4, 7: cf. Mari (2006a) 47 and n. 26, 56 n. 46; for Pausanias' possible derivation from the inventories of the sanctuary, cf., more particularly, Casevitz et al. (2002) 239).

⁽⁵⁶⁾ On the absence of a clear distinction between 'primary' and 'secondary' sources in ancient historiography, see Hartmann, this volume, Ch. 2.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ On Thucydides and his different evaluation of the weight of the epigraphic (and archaeological) evidence when dealing with *archaiologia* and with recent or contemporary history, cf. the studies quoted in n. 42; on his (and other historians') lack of interest in financial procedures, bureaucratic details, and in the use of technical and legal terms when describing political processes, see Smarczyk

(2006) 516, 520–1. Plutarch's different approaches to the epigraphic and 'archival' material are meaningful: while on one side he is very sceptical in the case of the Delphic records quoted by Anaxandridas, or in that of the list of Olympic victors published by Hippias of Elis (*Num.* 1. 4), on the other he appreciates the contribution of inscriptions in illuminating the character of historical figures (*Nic.* 1. 5: cf. Higbie (1999) 43–8, 63 n. 54), he draws important historical information from the list of the donors on the serpent column at Delphi (see n. 25), and largely uses the inscriptions collected by Craterus as historical sources (Frost (1961), 184–5, 192–4; Erdas (2002) 29–33, 303–4). He also claims to have personally collected documents from local archives (*Ages.* 19. 9–10, on Spartan *anagraphai*; *Sol.* 11. 1, on Delphic *hypomnemata*). In the case of Lysander's deposit Plutarch's scepticism could have derived from the fact that he knew about the 'primary' data only through a literary source (Anaxandridas); in any case, in his view the general picture of Lysander's character drawn by the literary tradition was clearly enough to contradict the charge of embezzling and concealing money that was implicit in the information given by Anaxandridas.

(⁵⁸) Such digressions were mostly based on a well-tested collection of *topoi* which included the mythical and historical merits of the Athenians towards the other Greeks, the idealization of the Persian Wars and of important figures of the past, from Theseus onwards, and even the merits of the fifth-century empire. See Nouhaud (1982); Nicolai (1992).

(⁵⁹) On the reliability of Aeschines' version as far as amphictionic procedures are concerned, cf. Lefèvre (1998) 138, 210; Mari (2002) 142–52. Demosthenes describes the whole sequence of events as a 'conspiracy' which made possible a new, decisive intervention by Philip II in central Greece: against such a reconstruction, which has long been accepted by modern scholars (e.g. Sordi (1958) 369–77), see Londey (1990); Harris (1995) 126–30; Sánchez (2001) 227–43; Mari (2002) 142–52.

(⁶⁰) D. 18. 149, who is here alluding to the amphictionic delegates 'deceived' by Aeschines, acting as one of the Athenian *pylagoroi* at the time of the exchange of charges between the representatives of Athens and Amphissa (*Aeschin.* 3. 115, on which, see Lefèvre (1998) 65, 206–14, 267–8; Mari (2002) 121 n. 4, 143–6).

(⁶¹) On Aeschines as *pylagoros* at Delphi, cf. n. 60; on the amphictionic arbitration between Athenians and Delians, possibly in 344/3, on the disputed right to administrate the Delian sanctuaries and the official role played by Aeschines and later by Hyperides before the

amphictionic court, cf. D. 18. 134–6; [Plu.] *Vit. X orat.*, *Aesch.* 840e; *Hyper.* 850a; *Hyper. Fr.* 76 Blass-Jensen³ (see Mari (2002) 132ff.). The fact that Demosthenes was also an Athenian *pylagoros* (*Aeschin.* 3. 114: cf. Lefèvre (1998) 65, 205–14, 248, 267–8) confirms how important Delphic affairs were in Athenian political debate at the time.

(⁶²) To quote only some ‘Delphic’ examples, cf. Demosthenes’ discussion of the ‘Peace of Philokrates’ (19. 47–50); that of the truce concluded ‘by Philip and the Phokians’ (that is, with no mention of the amphictiony) in summer 346 at the end of the Third Sacred War (19. 62–3); that of the δόγματα Ἀμφικτυόνων which followed (19. 63–4); or his public reading of two δόγματα Ἀμφικτυόνων and of a letter by Philip to his allies in his discussion of the causes and early phases of the Fourth Sacred War (18. 154–8). On Demosthenes’ quotation of (or reference to) historical documents allegedly of the fifth century, cf. the discussion by Habicht (1961) esp. 17–19, who considers most of them later forgeries.

(⁶³) On Polemon as στηλοκόπας, see *Ath.* 6. 234d; for his interest in inscriptions from several cities, cf. *Fr.* 80 Preller; he also wrote περὶ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς θησαυρῶν (n. 27, and cf. Chaniotis (1988) 149, 306; Frateantonio (2009) 145ff.). Polybius criticizes Timaeus, when discussing the origins of the colony at Locri Epizephyrii, for his unusual vagueness in quoting his sources; at the same time he mocks Timaeus’ methods of collecting ‘primary sources’ (12. 9. 3–6, 10. 3–11. 3), although elsewhere he seems well aware of their potential value (Vattuone (1991) 50–3; Desideri (1996) 174–5). Polemon himself wrote at least twelve books of Ἀντιγραφαὶ πρὸς Τίμαιον, but we do not know the methodological contents (if any) of the controversy (Schepens (2003) 338–9). On Demosthenes’ irony towards Aeschines’ acquaintance with documents, cf. n. 40.

(⁶⁴) *Aeschin.* 3. 110, 113, and, less explicitly, 2. 115–16. On Aeschines’ and other orators’ references to ‘documents’ as displayed in public in Athens, or as universally known, see Thomas (1989) 45ff., 60ff., 83ff., who wisely remarks, however, that such allusions do not testify in themselves to the fact that the displayed texts were also largely read or really known in detail.

(⁶⁵) On the amphictionic oath quoted by *Aeschin.* 2. 115 as a fourth-century (or even specifically Aeschines’) forgery, see the opposite views by Sánchez (1997) 165–8, (2001) 48–50; Giovannini (2007) 98 n. 71, 371, on the one hand; Lefèvre (1998) 14–15, 148 n. 6; Mari (2002) 163–9, on the other.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ Cf., respectively, Aeschin. 2. 116; Theopomp., *FGrH* 115 F 63; Anax., *FGrH* 72 F 2; and *CID* II 36, of the autumn of 344 (see n. 35); among the historians of the same period, at least Antipater of Magnesia (quoted earlier) and Androtion (*FGrH* 324 F 58), and possibly Ephorus-Demophilus, dealt with the past history of the amphictiony and probably included in their discussion a list of the members of the association.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ Aeschin. 3. 108–13. On the relatively low number of inscriptions (from Delphi or anywhere else) recording or making references to Delphic oracles which actually survived, see n. 36.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ Cf. n. 13 on Hdt. 1. 51. 3–4.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ Habicht (1961).

⁽⁷⁰⁾ Most Athenians knew little or nothing even of the inscriptions displayed in their own city and of their actual contents (Thomas (1989), quoted in n. 64). ‘Ignorance’ of amphictionic history and procedures is attributed by D. 18. 149 to the very representatives of the different peoples and cities in the amphictionic council, while Aeschines himself, when narrating his own ‘lesson’ in amphictionic history to Philip II (2. 114–17), suggests that the Macedonian king, even long after his involvement in Delphic affairs, did not know very much of the sanctuary’s history and institutions. Both passages may imply an exaggeration, but the didactic tone especially of Aeschines’ Delphic digressions suggests that his Athenian audience was really uneducated on such topics.

⁽⁷¹⁾ On the hypercritical views of Robertson (1978) and Sánchez (1997), cf. nn. 48 and 65.

⁽⁷²⁾ Cf. Aeschin. 3. 113: ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῶν ὅρκων καὶ τῆς μαντείας ἀναγεγραμμένων ἔτι καὶ νῦν κτλ.

⁽⁷³⁾ On the epigraphic evidence on the display of Aristotle’s and Callisthenes’ Πυθιονικῶν ἀναγραφὴ at Delphi, see n. 31; on its possible effects on the correction of other inscriptions in the sanctuary, see Christesen (2007) 122–4, 183–4 (after Miller (1978)), about the famous monument dedicated in the sanctuary by Daochos of Pharsalos, probably in the 330s, and one of the inscriptions commemorating his ancestors’ agonistic successes; see also the more cautious views expressed by Moretti (1953) 69–70.

(⁷⁴) Cf. in particular, as far as Delphic inscriptions are concerned, West (1985) 280–1, 290–1 and Fabiani (2003) 166–72 on Herodotus, and Zizza (2006) 379–96 on Pausanias.

(⁷⁵) For a detailed analysis of Pausanias' epigraphic quotations and of the categories both of inscriptions and of monuments bearing inscriptions that are mentioned and/or described in the *Periegesis*, see again Zizza (2006) 52–79. For the interesting case of the shields dedicated by the Athenians after Plataea and rededicated after the destruction of the temple of Apollo in the fourth century, possibly with a 'censored' inscription which misled Pausanias, see n. 22.

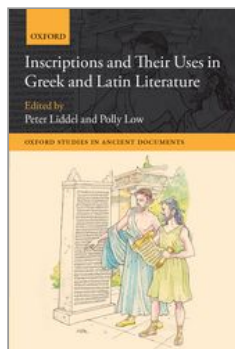
(⁷⁶) Mari (2006a), with references and bibliography.

(⁷⁷) See n. 48 for references.



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Inscriptions as Literature in Pausanias' Exegesis of Hellas

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Abstract and Keywords

Inscriptions are written on every imaginable kind of material except papyrus, and like various objects are attached to a place, a particular, locative context, within which they are seen, read, and interpreted. Pausanias' *Hellenika* contain a great number of epigraphical quotations or references, especially in his narrative of Elis and Olympia (books 5 and 6), where he also presents the methodological principles employed in composing this section of his narrative, what he calls the *exegesis* of the dedications. Two examples from book 6 demonstrate admirably Pausanias' attitude towards inscriptions and his compositional technique: the Cretan politician and athlete Ergoteles from Cnossos and later from Himera, and the sophist Gorgias from Leontinoi. Their *anathemata* and their inscriptions were more than enough cause, as is the case with numerous other dedications which receive only brief mention, to trigger a 'memorable story', i.e., an *exegetic* narrative for Ergoteles and Gorgias which Pausanias most probably enhanced with narratives from other sources. These two examples (which can be multiplied) illustrate a new, nascent genre which, after Pausanias, came to be known as periegetic literature.

Keywords: Pausanias, periegetic literature, Olympia, composition, narrative, dedications

For Christian Habicht.

Inscriptions are engraved on every kind of material, except papyrus, in order to serve every need imaginable. Unlike manuscripts and texts on papyrus, epigraphical texts are attached to the object on which they are engraved, and, in turn, both object and accompanying text are attached to the purpose that prompted their creation. This fundamental methodological principle in the study of inscriptions constitutes a specific 'locative' context, within which first and foremost inscriptions are to be seen, read, and interpreted. When, however, epigraphical documents are incorporated verbatim or abridged in literary works, they are removed from their original 'locative' context and acquire a new 'broader' one, an area of research that has not received the attention it deserves, as the present collection certainly documents.¹ Undeniably, the work that has utilized the most epigraphical texts, quoted verbatim or referred to, and has survived in ten books, is Pausanias' *Hellados periêgêsis*. This work is not the first literary text that comes to mind, especially in relation to the Second Sophistic, where it is mentioned reluctantly, if at all.²

In what follows, Pausanias' epigraphical habit and his methodological principles in composing his extensive ten-book narrative are examined first, and then **(p.150)** two epigraphical examples are chosen from book 6 (Ἡλειακῶν B), in order to illuminate Pausanias' attitude towards inscriptions and his compositional technique, what he calls the *logos* and *suggraphê* comprising the *exêgêsis* of statues and dedications.

A number of observations that Pausanias offers throughout his text in relation to inscriptions—about their metre, dialect, state of preservation in his time, direction and method of inscribing, and the reinscribing of monuments—fall clearly within the scope of the epigraphist (*stêlokopas*).³ Yet these observations per se do not prove an epigraphical zeal on Pausanias' part. The inscriptions are connected rather with the tradition or practice of the periegetic genre, or so it seems, and they are employed in order to support or reject an argument or story in which Pausanias is interested. This raises the most important question about Pausanias, his work, and his use of inscriptions, which also touches upon his methodology in composing his work, namely what value he saw in epigraphical texts that was significant enough for him to incorporate them in his work.

The single surviving work in ten books betrays a polymath and erudite author with multifaceted and diverse interests, whence his many characterizations: Pausanias the traveller, the tour guide/Baedeker, the (literary) scholar, the copyist/plagiarist, the philologist, the archaeologist, the art historian, the topographer/geographer, the flora and fauna ecologist, the antiquarian, the *stêlokopas*/epigraphist, the historiographer/historian in the broader sense of Herodotus or the more limited of Thucydides, the historian of religion,⁴ the pilgrim.⁵ All these **(p.151)** epithets attest that Pausanias' work defies categorization, but if, as Mario Torelli has suggested,⁶ all these areas of study are brought together, they constitute what is known as Classical Studies or *Altertumswissenschaft*. In this sense, the work of Pausanias is innovative both in conception and in style: 1) it does not fit any of the known literary genres of antiquity; hence the reluctance to include the work in discussions and studies of the Second Sophistic;⁷ 2) the work has a definitive impact on, if it does not create anew, the travel genre and the writing of travel memoirs and later tour guides, the seeds of which were already sown in the *Odyssey*, although Pausanias' work itself is *not* a tour guide; and 3) the ten-book prose narrative, whose idiosyncratic style oscillates primarily but not exclusively between the standards of Herodotus' *historie*, *logoi*, and *opsis/theoria*, and those of Thucydides' *suggraphê*,⁸ is the first, if you will, Handbook of or Companion to Antiquity and Classical Studies.

More specifically, Pausanias' work appears to follow the tradition, well established by his time, of a periegete, whose function at a major site in Greece would not have been much different from his modern equivalent, the tour guide or Baedeker.⁹ Plutarch paints a vivid portrait of a Delphic periegete in his treatise, *De Pythiae Oraculis* (395c):¹⁰ 'The periegetes were going through their prearranged program, paying no heed to us who begged that they would cut short their harangues (τὰς ῥήσεις) and their expounding of most of the inscriptions (καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων)' (trans. Babbitt (1936), modified). Though Plutarch's derogatory remark may still find a sympathetic audience, the most significant detail is the extensive use of inscriptions. No doubt, the periegete read aloud such texts in order to substantiate his oral presentation (τὰς ῥήσεις) which, one may assume, was carefully outlined ahead of time.

The problem, however, that this Plutarchean periegetic portrait creates is that Pausanias does not use any of the terms *periêgeomai*, *periêgêtês*, *periêgêsis* in the extensive ten-book narrative,¹¹ most probably because of the periegetes' disreputable reputation and activity, a sentiment he may have shared by experience. In fact, the only place where the word *periêgêsis* does occur is the work's title *Hellados*

periêgêsis, which most likely is not Pausanias' own and certainly does not do him (p.152) justice.¹² For it is indeed awkward—to say the least, given the examples of Herodotus and Thucydides to mention just two authors whom Pausanias admired—that the word appearing in the title of a work as its 'seal' is nowhere to be found within the narrative of the text, because its author has consistently and intentionally avoided using it. Instead, Pausanias prefers the word *exêgêtês*,¹³ a fact that has caused much debate. Thus, Wilhelm Gurlitt ((1890) 34) had proposed as a title of Pausanias' work Ἐξηγησις Ἑλλάδος, whereas Adolf Trendelenburg (1911) had lectured on Pausanias' Ἑλληνικά. Felix Jacoby has shown convincingly that the function of the *exêgêtai* in Athens is not related to, and cannot be interpreted using, the testimony of Pausanias.¹⁴ Jacoby argues for a very limited and specific meaning of the word *exêgêtês*, that is, 'expounder of sacred rites or customs, modes of burial, expiation, etc.',¹⁵ as his purpose is to dissociate the *exegetai* in Athens from the genesis of the Atthidographers. The primary meaning of the word, however, is 'one who leads, adviser' and in Pausanias' text the word has been understood as 'guide, cicerone, to temples, etc.'.¹⁶ At Olympia there have been found inscriptions recording the official cult personnel, whom Pausanias mentions (5. 13. 2, 14. 4, 15. 10–11), perhaps after consulting the catalogues and/or the local exegetes, and among whom are listed an *exêgêtês* (twenty times)¹⁷ and a *periêgêtês* (p.153) (four times).¹⁸ Although very few of these inscriptions are completely preserved, they seem to show that at least in the sanctuary of Olympia the periegete and the exegete are not different offices, since the two officials never occur together on the same catalogue and are ranked after the *manteis*.

Even so, Pausanias apparently rejects the use of the word *periêgêtês* in his work as its semantics are misleading and denigrating, and instead he prefers the terms *exêgêtês*, *exêgêsis*, *exêgeomai* (see n. 13). This preference for the term *exêgêtês* is perfectly understandable given the derogatory remark in Plutarch about the *periêgêtês*, because in Plutarch the periegete rattles off many stories which he corroborates with epigrams with no attempt at explanation. The main difference between these two words, as Pausanias implicitly defines them, is that the periegete's knowledge is superficial and therefore he simply 'describes' something without any attempt at explanation; whereas the exegete 'knows' his subject and 'explains' what he is reporting. The repeated use of the word *exêgêtês*, with which Pausanias implicitly but definitely associates himself, certainly distinguishes and elevates Pausanias' work from that of earlier periegetes, whose works are so fragmentary that no helpful picture can be sketched about this genre.¹⁹

The absence from the text of the word *periêgêêtês* cannot but be related to how Pausanias understands his activity and the methodology he is devising for the composition of 'all matters Hellenic' (1. 26. 4: πάντα ὁμοίως ἐπεξιόντα τὰ Ἑλληνικά). Time and again, Pausanias states emphatically that he was confronted with a mass of material, and, as it was not feasible to include everything in his narrative, he was forced to devise the following criteria for selection: 'the most well known of *logoi* and *theôrêmata*' (γνωριμώτατα ἔν τε λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασιν), and 'those pertaining to the *suggraphê*' (τὰ ἐς συγγραφὴν ἀνήκοντα) (1. 39. 3);²⁰ 'the most worthy of *mnêmê*' ((τὰ δὲ) μάλιστα ἄξια μνήμης), 'the most worthy of *logos* traditions from out of the mass of stories unworthy of a narrative' (λόγος ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ οὐκ ἄξιων ἀφηγήσεως... ἀποκρῖναι τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα) (3. 11. 1). These programmatic statements are representative for understanding Pausanias' method of composition and hold true for all ten books.²¹ Indeed they conform to **(p.154)** the broad 'periegetic' principles which within a topographical canvas involve storytelling substantiated by a commentary on and interpretation of places, monuments, inscriptions, local exegetes, or literary sources.

Reaching Elis and Olympia Pausanias extends his narrative in two books (Ἑλειακῶν A and B or 5 and 6),²² because upon entering the Altis the sheer number of what still remained for inclusion in the narrative, each piece with its own story to be told, presented a challenge and a daunting task, for which Pausanias had to devise more specific methodological principles:

I will now proceed to present an *exêgêsis* of the statues and the votive offerings (τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μοι πρόεισιν ὁ λόγος ἔς τε τῶν ἀνδριάντων καὶ ἐς τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἐξήγησιν)...first I will narrate the *logos* of the dedicatory offerings and go over the most worthy of a *logos* (ἐς δὲ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἡμῖν τραπήσεται πρότερα ὁ λόγος, τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα αὐτῶν ἐπερχομένοις). (Paus. 5. 21. 1)

By wavering between the Herodotean catch-word *logos* and the Thucydidean one *suggraphê* as apt terms for his own work (see n. 8), Pausanias stresses more than once that his main objective is to include in his narrative what he deems worthy of a *mnêmê* and therefore worthy of *logos*,²³ either because of the fame of the dedicant, or because of the artistic quality of the dedication; or even as a mnemotechnique for his readers, since Pausanias 'overtly combines motion through imagined *loci* and stories that encapsulates the myths and history of classical Greece', as Konstan (forthcoming) argues cogently. The Altis with all that it contained in the middle of the second

century AD presented the need for a more sophisticated narrative technique that would not completely overturn the topographical one.

If the narrative of the Altis, the *Altis-logos*, is the large narrative unit of Books 5 and 6, its synthesis in turn comprises smaller narrative units, smaller *logoi*, which focus on the *exêgêsis* of each object, be it an *anathêma*, *agalma*, *eikôn*, structure, building, local mythistory, literature, etc., grouped according to their type. Thus, Pausanias' unique and awkward expression 'exêgêsis of the statues and votive offerings' in Book 5 must have been an intentional choice.²⁴ The semantics of the word and its cognates, as previously noted (see nn. 13–18), present a wide range: 'be leader of, govern, show the way, lead the way to a place, explain, expound, interpret, tell at length, relate in full'. All these meanings may arguably apply both literally and metaphorically to Pausanias' compositional technique for his short or long narrative units about a place or an object attached to that place.

Pausanias, therefore, may be better understood as an author who, within the broad framework of an *exêgêsis* of *panta ta Hellênika*, is following principles (**p.155**) similar to the periegete, but with a completely different and new(?) purpose in mind. He is purveying various stories (λόγοι) that survived to his time about, *inter alia*, the history, archaeology, religion and mythology, geography, and topography of a particular place or monument (θεωρήματα).²⁵ In that sense, Pausanias' *logos* and *suggraphê* of Greece is developed in a way similar to Herodotus' *logoi* for the territories surrounding Greece (see n. 8). By integrating, however, stories (λόγοι) from inscriptions, literary works, or the local exegetes, and by resolving, if possible, conflicting evidence about these *logoi*, he is advocating a new literary goal aimed at the exegesis of the sites and monuments and their stories—that is, a prose narrative comprising explanation and interpretation of the sites, monuments, and stories within their particular 'locative' context, the sum of which in ten books amounts to *panta ta Hellênika*.

For the smaller *logoi*/stories the most trustworthy evidence when available is that of the inscriptions, the standing monuments, and the local exegetes. Inscriptions, as Pausanias uses them, are the very story of a monument.²⁶ Most importantly, they are the only primary and contemporary evidence that Pausanias has in relation to these monuments and therefore an integral part of understanding them. Moreover, because what they communicate is in a written form, the inscriptions acquire a more authoritative aura than hearsay, and consequently Pausanias treats them as one of his most reliable sources. Indeed he seldom questions an inscription and is occasionally led astray

by them.²⁷ For him inscriptions appear to have constituted for the most part objective and therefore trustworthy information that preserves and enlivens the history and customs of the past.

Of course Pausanias is not interested in everything inscribed, but only in those inscriptions instrumental for his *exêgêsis* of a monument, a story, a place that is the *most worthy of a logos and of mnêmê* according to his criteria. For example, the dedications to divinities by athletes, other individuals, and cities, and the signatures of artists, far outnumber any other type of inscription, be it a public decree, a catalogue, a (sacred or not) law, an honorary text, an epitaph, or a boundary marker,²⁸ which Pausanias must have seen travelling from city to city. Pausanias utilizes inscriptions in his narrative not because of their intrinsic value, or his epigraphical zeal, although he is the only author from antiquity who is sensitive to technical epigraphical matters on more than one occasion; when noted, these technical observations form the basis for arguments on chronology, on correcting his sources, on expanding previous knowledge, on setting the record straight.²⁹ For Pausanias the text inscribed on a monument, its caption as it were, is the very *exêgêsis* of that monument, its explanation and interpretation, a goal he strives to achieve in his narrative of 'all matters Hellenic'.

(p.156) The two examples that follow, which thanks to the German Archaeological Institute's excavations in Olympia can be multiplied, will clarify and illuminate both Pausanias' compositional technique and the way inscriptions on objects, some of which Pausanias himself read, trigger stories and tales that constitute what Pausanias calls the *exêgêsis* of statues and dedications.

The first example is the athletic statue of Ergoteles:³⁰

Ἐργοτέλης δὲ ὁ Φιλάνορος δολίχου δύο ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ νίκας,
 τοσαύτας δὲ ἄλλας Πυθοῖ καὶ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ τε καὶ Νεμείῳ
 ἀνηρημένος, οὐχ Ἱμεραῖος εἶναι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καθάπερ γε τὸ
ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ φησι, Κρής δὲ εἶναι λέγεται Κνωσσιος·
 ἐκπεσὼν δὲ ὑπὸ στασιωτῶν ἐκ Κνωσσοῦ καὶ ἐς Ἱμέραν
 ἀφικόμενος πολιτείας τ' ἔτυχε καὶ πολλὰ εὔρετο ἄλλα ἐς τιμὴν.
 ἔμελλεν οὖν ὥς τὸ εἰκὸς Ἱμεραῖος ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν
 ἀναγορευθῆσθαι.

(Ergoteles, son of Philanor, won two victories in the long foot-race at Olympia, and as many more at Pytho, the Isthmus, and Nemea: he is said not to have been a Himeraean originally, as the epigram inscribed on the statue base states, but a Cretan from Cnossus; but being expelled by a faction from Cnossus he went to Himera,

where he received the citizenship and many other honours. It was natural, then, that he should be proclaimed a Himeraean at the games.) (Paus. 6. 4. 11; trans. Frazer (1898) modified)

Pausanias in his narrative unit composed for the athletic dedication of Ergoteles seeks to set the record straight in one detail. If someone were to visit Olympia, stand in front of the statue, and read the epigram on the statue's base, he would go away misinformed, or partly informed, because the epigram states that Ergoteles' city was Himera in Sicily, even though, as Pausanias concludes, this is natural, since the athletes could not enter the games with two city-ethnics.

The left part of a bronze tablet (Olympia inv. no. B2488; Fig. 6.1a, 6.1b) with a hole, an indication that it was affixed on the statue's base, has been unearthed during the systematic excavations by the German Archaeological Institute in 1937–8 and was rediscovered after the Second World War, in 1953, when it was published.³¹ It preserves the left part of the epigram that Pausanias read and that triggered what he calls the *exêgêsis* of statues and dedications (CEG 1. 393, dated post 464 BC since Ergoteles won the victories between 478 and 464 BC):

Ἐργοτέλης μ' ἀνέθηκε[ε υ — υυ — υυ — —],
Ἕλληνας νικῶν Πύθι[α — υυ —]
καὶ δὺ' Ὀλυμπιάδας δ[υυ — υυ — υυ — —],
ἱμέραι ἀθάνατον μν[ᾱμ υυ — υυ —].

(Ergoteles dedicated me...| Defeating the Hellenes at the Pythia...| and in two Olympiads...| to Himera immortal memory...)(CEG 1. 393; trans. Bowie (2010) 352)

Apparently, the epigram did record all the victories of Ergoteles in the *dolichos dromos*, but it gave no hint as to Ergoteles' previous career. It is this information that Pausanias supplies with the verb λέγεται, but without disclosing his sources, one of which may have been Pindar's *Olympian* 12.³² This epinician ode in one **(p.157)**



Fig. 6.1a. Inscription on the statue base of Ergoteles.

triad, although included in the Olympic victory odes of Pindar, was composed, just as the Olympic epigram, for the entire athletic career of Ergoteles, who also won victories in the Isthmian, Nemean, and Pythian Games (Pindar, *Olympian* 12. 19-20; *CEG* 1. 393,

ll. 2-3), perhaps at a time when Himera's freedom by Hieron was recent and the city's and Ergoteles' fortunes turned for the better.

Leaving aside the complicated issue of Ergoteles' victories and the ambiguities the three texts pose on the subject, the case of Ergoteles' dedication illuminates Pausanias' methodology and attitude towards epigraphical texts. The statue of Ergoteles is worthy to be remembered and therefore worthy of a *logos*, and it requires *exêgêsis*, a kind of commentary. According to the sources (perhaps Pindar and an Olympic victors' list), the full story (λόγος) goes like this: a citizen of Cnossus, Ergoteles was involved in a political *stasis*, on account of which, after his party failed to gain political power, he was forced into exile to Himera (Pindar, *Olympian* 12. 1-2, 15-18). In his new city he turned his interest into athletic competition and excelled in long-distance running, a skill characteristic of Cretans and Spartans,³³ winning victories in all four Panhellenic Games between 478 and 464 BC. What the epigram affixed on Ergoteles' statue base relates, albeit naturally (*eikos*) according to Pausanias, is not the whole story/*logos* of this politician and athlete from Cnossus and Himera, and Pausanias is at pains to present in his narrative the entire *logos* of Ergoteles and his dedication inside the Altis, which includes an *exêgêsis*, for the benefit of his reader/'visitor'.

(p.158) The same is true in the second example, the statue of the sophist Gorgias standing in the Altis and dedicated by his grandson Eumolpos:³⁴

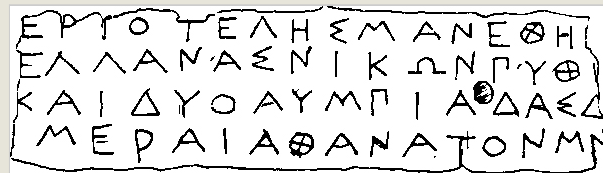


Fig. 6.1b. Drawing of the inscription on the statue base of Ergoteles (after Kunze 1953).

ἀνδριάντας δὲ ἀναμειγμένους οὐκ ἐπιφα(νέ)σιν ἄγαν
 ἀναθήμασιν..., καὶ τὸν Λεοντῖνον Γοργίαν ἰδεῖν ἔστιν· ἀναθεῖναι
 δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν φησὶν Εὐμόλπος ἀπόγονος τρίτος
 Δηικράτους συνοικήσαντος ἀδελφῇ τῇ Γοργίου. (8) οὗτος ὁ
 Γοργίας πατρὸς μὲν ἦν Χαρμαντίδου, λέγεται δὲ ἀνασώσασθαι
 μελέτην λόγων πρῶτος ἡμελημένην τε ἐς ἅπαν καὶ ἐς λήθην
 ὀλίγου δεῖν ἤκουσαν ἀνθρώποις· εὐδοκιμῆσαι δὲ Γοργίαν λόγων
 νεκρᾷ ἔν τε πανηγύρει τῇ Ὀλυμπικῇ φασὶ καὶ ἀφικόμενον κατὰ
 πρεσβείαν ὁμοῦ Τισίᾳ παρ' Ἀθηναίους. καίτοι ἄλλα τε Τισίας ἐς
 λόγους ἐσηνέγκατο καὶ πιθανώτατα τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν γυναικὶ
 Συρακουσίᾳ χρημάτων ἔγραψεν ἀμφισβήτησιν. (9) ἀλλὰ γε
 ἐκείνου τε ἐς πλεον τιμῆς ἀφίκετο ὁ Γοργίας παρὰ Ἀθηναίους, καὶ
 Ἰάσων ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ τυραννήσας Πολυκράτους, οὐ τὰ ἔσχατα
 ἐνεγκαμένου διδασκαλείου τοῦ Ἀθήνησι, τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
 ἐπίπροσθεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰάσων ἐποίησατο. βιώναι δὲ ἔτη Γοργίαν
 πέντε φασὶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑκατόν· Λεοντίνων (δὲ) ἐρημωθεῖσάν ποτε
 ὑπὸ Συρακουσίων τὴν πόλιν κατ' ἐμὲ αὖθις συνέβαινε οἰκεῖσθαι.

(Standing amid less illustrious offerings may be seen two statues:
 one..., the other, the statue of Gorgias from Leontinoi. Eumolpos,
grandson of the Deicrates who married the sister of Gorgias, says
[i.e. in the inscription]³⁵ that it was he who dedicated the statue
 at Olympia. This Gorgias was a son of Charmantides, and he is
said to have been the first to revive the study of rhetoric, which
 had been utterly neglected and almost forgotten. They say that
 Gorgias gained a reputation for eloquence at the Olympic festival
 [i.e. 393 or 388 BC] and at Athens, whither he had gone on an
 embassy with Tisias [i.e. 427 BC]. Yet Tisias had made various
 contributions to rhetoric; in particular, he wrote the most
 plausible speech of his time in support of the claim of a Syracusan
 woman to some property. But at Athens he was outshone by
 Gorgias. Indeed, Jason, tyrant of Thessaly [i.e. ante 375 BC], even
 put Gorgias above Polycrates, a leading ornament of the Attic
 school. They say that Gorgias lived a hundred and five years.
 Leontinoi was once laid waste by the Syracusans [i.e. 403 BC], but
 was again inhabited in my time.)

(Paus. 6. 17. 7-9; trans. Frazer (1898), modified)

Pausanias in composing his narrative unit for the sophist Gorgias
 follows the same method as in the previous example of Ergoteles'
 dedication.

The inscribed statue base of Gorgias (Olympia inv. no. Λ101; Fig. 6.2a, Fig. 6.2b) was discovered in 1876 and corroborated the correction of Gorgias' patronym from the corrupted form *Karmantides*, preserved in all manuscripts of Pausanias (see n. 34), to *Charmantides* (IvO 293 = CEG 2. 830, dated *post* 393 or 375 BC and *ante* 350 BC):

Χαρμαντίδου Γοργίας Λεοντίνος.

vacat c.0.027

τὴν μὲν ἀδελφὴν Δηϊκράτης τὴν Γοργίου ἔσχεν,

ἐκ ταύτης δ' αὐτῷ γίγνεται Ἴπποκράτης,

Ἴπποκράτους δ' Εὐμόλπος, ὃς εἰκόνα τήνδ' ἀνέθηκεν

δισσῶν, παιδείας καὶ φιλίας νεκα.

vacat c.0.06

(p.159) Γοργίου ἀσκήσαι ψυχὴν ἀρετῆς ἐς ἀγῶνας

οὐδεῖς πω θνητῶν καλλίον' ἤρρε τέχνην·

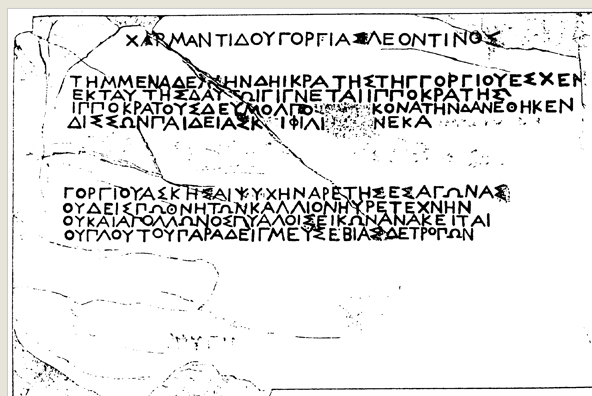
οὔ καὶ Απόλλωνος γυάλοις εἰκὼν ἀνάκειται

οὐ πλούτου παράδειγμ', εὐσεβίας δὲ τρόπων.

vacat c.0.15



Fig. 6.2a. Gorgias' inscribed statue base.



(p.
160)

Fig. 6.2b. Drawing of Gorgias' inscribed statue base (after IvO 293).

(Gorgias, son of Charmantides, from Leontinoi. | Deikrates married Gorgias' sister | and they had a son, Hippokrates; | Hippokrates' son Eumolpos dedicated this statue | for two reasons, on account of *paideia* and *philia*. | So far, no mortal has discovered a more beautiful *technê* | to train the soul how to struggle for *aretê*, except Gorgias. | A statue of Gorgias is also set up in Apollo's valley | as a paradigm not of his wealth but of his pious character.) (Olympia inv. no. Λ101)

Pausanias does not make an explicit reference to the epigram as his source, as in the case of Ergoteles. The expression, however, ἀναθεῖναι δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν φησὶν Εὐμόλπος (Eumolpos says that it was he who dedicated the statue at Olympia) cannot but refer to the text engraved on the statue base; this must be the text where Eumolpos, the subject of the verb φησὶν, provides this information, since there is no other attestation of a work or works of Eumolpos. According to Pausanias' criteria, Gorgias' dedication is worthy to be included in his narrative in which an exegesis of the dedication is also included. The epigram consists of two sections, each of two elegiac couplets: in the first section, Eumolpos records his relation to Gorgias and the reason for setting up the dedication, on account of *paideia* and *philia*; in the third elegiac couplet, Gorgias' *technê* for teaching the soul ways to attain virtue is praised perhaps in a hyperbolic manner; and in the last couplet, Gorgias' statue at Delphi and the reason for its dedication is mentioned.

Leaving aside comments on the composition of this epigram, which utilizes many rhetorical figures and is reminiscent of the style of Gorgias, it appears at first sight that Pausanias does not utilize in his narrative the second part of the epigram, because the narrative in paragraphs 8 and 9 is based on other sources as the verbs λέγεται and φασὶν (twice) indicate. And yet these paragraphs present Pausanias' detailed exegesis for the extraordinary claim made by Gorgias' grandson in the third elegiac couplet. If someone in the middle of the second century AD were to stand in front of Gorgias' dedication at Olympia and were to read the epigram, without any previous knowledge of who Gorgias was, then he would have reached the conclusion that the dedication was in honour of a certain Gorgias, son of Charmantides, from Leontinoi, one of the many rhetoricians who visited Olympia and set up statues; and perhaps he would also understand the third elegiac couplet as a rhetorical exaggeration. What

Pausanias is attempting in the narrative unit of paragraphs 8 and 9 is nothing more than an exegesis, a detailed commentary on the third elegiac couplet: Gorgias' most beautiful *technê* for teaching the soul how to attain *aretê*, which thus does not seem to be a rhetorical exaggeration. The last couplet of the epigram had to await its appropriate place, the Delphic-narrative in Book 10, where, without additional comments or an exegesis, Pausanias simply notes:³⁶ 'there is a gilt statue, an offering of Gorgias of Leontinoi, representing Gorgias himself' (10. 18. 7: ἐπίχρυσος δὲ εἰκὼν, ἀνάθημα Γοργίου τοῦ ἐκ Λεοντίνων, αὐτὸς Γοργίας ἐστίν). The *logos* and the exegesis of Gorgias' dedication were already completed in Book 6.

(p.161) These two examples (which can be multiplied), the narrative/*logos* and the *exégêsis* of Ergoteles' and Gorgias' dedications, show Pausanias at work: epigraphical texts, wherever present, serve as a trigger-mechanism for composing a narrative unit, which, depending on the subject and the available sources for it, can be expanded or contracted, in order to provide a complete commentary, an exegesis of the dedications worthy of *mnêmê* and *logos* according to Pausanias' criteria. At first sight Pausanias appears as a skilled and reliable epigraphist, a *stêlokopas*. He is not interested however in simply copying the epigraphical texts, as did the periegetes before him trying their audience's patience, but in providing the appropriate context for better understanding them. But this is not all. The two narrative vignettes of Ergoteles and Gorgias in Book 6 also betray Pausanias' all-encompassing aim, which defies the then-known categories of genres, or comprises more than one genre. According to his own criteria for inclusion or exclusion of stories and their details worthy of *mnêmê* and *logos*, Pausanias, in addition to the monument and its inscription, for the narrative of Ergoteles and Gorgias also utilizes: historiography and political history, catalogues of the victors in Panhellenic games, Pindaric poetry, literary history, rhetoric and its political dimensions, etc. Narrative vignettes such as Ergoteles' and Gorgias' are what forms each book of Pausanias' work, and the end result of this Pausanian Companion to Antiquity is a new genre *in statu nascenti* as it were: Pausanias calls it a *logos* and an *exégêsis* of (*panta ta*) *Hellênika*; but after him, the Byzantine and Medieval scribes and scholars called it the *Hellados periégêsis* as it came to be known, because Pausanias' prose narrative of 'all things Hellenic' in ten books was or most probably became after him the model for periegetic and travel literature.

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⁽¹⁾ For inscriptions in Herodotus, see West (1985), in Thucydides Smarczyk (2006); for other previous bibliography, see especially Ch. 1 in this volume.

⁽²⁾ For introductions to Pausanias' work, see Musti in Musti and Beschi (1982) pp. ix-lv; Habicht (1998); the essays collected in Bingen (1996), in Knoepfler and Piérart (2001), in Alcock et al. (2001); Hutton (2005a); Pretzler (2007); Pirenne-Delforge (2008) especially 21-173.

⁽³⁾ For Pausanias' epigraphical habits, see Gallavotti (1978a, b), (1979); Habicht (1984), (1998); Tzifopoulos (1991) 1-23 (I cannot but agree with Anne Jacquemin (Casevitz et al. (2002) p. xiv n. 2) who wisely retains Athenaeus' (VI. 234d) MSS reading *στηλοκόπας*); Pritchett (1998-9); Chamoux (2001); Snodgrass (2001); and especially Whittaker (1991) and Zizza (2006) 81-114, 399-436 (although he limits the catalogue to only fifty-four inscriptions, i.e. epigrams, quoted verbatim by Pausanias).

⁽⁴⁾ The bibliography is enormous, because Pausanias has a lot to offer to many different subjects and approaches; see e.g. Chamoux (1960), (1974), (1988), (1996); Musti (1984), (1996), (2001); Veyne (1988); Bultrighini (1990); Jacquemin (1991); Bearzot (1992), (1995), (2001); Castelli (1995); Alcock (1995), (1996); Ameling (1996); Knoepfler (1996); Moggi (1993), (1996), (2002); Arafat (1996); Cherry (2001); Cohen (2001); Segre (2004); Akujärvi (2005); Ellinger (2005); Hutton (2005a), (2005b), (2008), (2009), (2010); Pretzler (2004), (2005), (2007); Pikoulas (2007); Pirenne-Delforge (1998), (2001), (2008); Frateantonio (2009).

⁽⁵⁾ Elsner (1992 (revised in 1995) 125-55) has been decisively influential in understanding Pausanias, his activity, and his narrative as 'pilgrim' and 'pilgrimage', and a number of studies have followed suit: Alcock (1993) 172-214; Dillon (1997); Rutherford (2000), (2001); Elsner and Rutherford (2005b); Hutton (2005a) 303-11 and (2005b) esp. 291-9; Pretzler (2007) 41-3. For sensitive and convincing arguments of the semantics of the terms 'pilgrim' and 'pilgrimage', which are not applicable to Pausanias and his activities, see Arafat (1996) 10-11; Scullion (2005); Jost (2006); Pirenne-Delforge (2008) 97-112, esp. 98-102; Frateantonio (2009) 25-9, all with extensive bibliography. The association of ancient *theôria* and *theôroi* with Pausanias' *theôrêmata* and his activity is indeed far-fetched and misleading, as the mainly political dimension of *theôria* is to be found seldom in forms of 'pilgrimage' (this much is implied by Pausanias' limited and specific use of the word, see Pirenne-Delforge and Purnell (1997) i, s.v.). It is not true that ancient Greek did not have a term for 'pilgrim' and

'pilgrimage', and if these terms must perforce be used, then they may translate instances of the terms προσκυνῶ, προσκύνησις, and προσκυνητής (terms markedly absent from the ten-book narrative of Pausanias, except once in 4. 27. 2, see Pirenne-Delforge and Purnell (1997) ii, s.v.); these terms are the closest analogues to what 'pilgrim' and 'pilgrimage' imply, as they describe the end-result of a pilgrimage, for which, see Lajtar (2006); Tzifopoulos and Litinas (2009); Tzifopoulos (2010).

⁽⁶⁾ Torelli (2001) 53 and *passim*.

⁽⁷⁾ Pausanias is absent from or receives cursory treatment in e.g. Bowersock (1969), (1974); Reardon (1971); Anderson (1993); Swain (1996); Whitmarsh (2001), (2005); Goldhill (2001). For Pausanias' rehabilitation in the Second Sophistic and particularly for the literary merits of his work, see Bowie (1996) and (2001); Porter (2001); Lafond (2001); Elsner (2001); Konstan (2001), (forthcoming); Sidebottom (2002); C. P. Jones (2004); Akujärvi (2005); Ellinger (2005); Hutton (2005a), (2009), (2010); Pretzler (2004), (2005), (2007); Pirenne-Delforge (2008).

⁽⁸⁾ Hutton (2005a) 175-240, especially 190-213; Pretzler (2007) 54-7, 73-90; Pirenne-Delforge (2008) 21-40 (esp. 25-32: 'entre Hérodoté et Thucydide'), all with extensive previous bibliography.

⁽⁹⁾ See Casson (1974) 262-91 (ch. 17 'Sightseeing') and 292-9 (ch. 18 'Baedeker of the Ancient World'); on 'travel' literature before Pausanias, see Hutton (2005a) 241-72; Pretzler (2007) 32-56; Frateantonio (2009) 30-2, 138-60.

⁽¹⁰⁾ See also 396c, 397d, 400d, 400f, 401e; *Quaestiones convivales* 675e, 723f, 724d; *De E apud Delphos* 386b. Plutarch mentions by name two periegetes, Diodoros (*Themistocles* 32. 5, *Cimon* 16. 1, *Theseus* 36. 5 = *FGrH* 372 F35, F37, F38 respectively) and Polemon (*Aratus* 13. 2), for which, see Pretzler (2007) 35-6.

⁽¹¹⁾ Pirenne-Delforge and Purnell (1997) ii, s.v.

⁽¹²⁾ See Habicht (1985) 5 and n. 28, although he accepts the conventional title (1985) 2 and n. 5). For the history of the transmission of Pausanias' work, see Diller's articles (1955), (1956), (1957); Musti, in Musti and Beschi (1982) pp. lix-lxxxv; Irigoin (2001); Rocha-Pereira (2001); Casevitz (2001); Casevitz, in Casevitz et al. (1992) pp. xxxi-xlvi. For Pausanias' *Nachleben*, see Wagstaff (2001); Sutton (2001); Georgopoulou et al. (2007) 52-191; Pretzler (2007) 118-49. A study of

Pausanias' manuscripts and their Renaissance translations for the title(s) of his work remains a desideratum.

(¹³) See Pirenne-Delforge and Purnell (1997) i, s.v. The word 'exegetes' is found nineteen times in Pausanias: Book 1: 13. 8, 34. 4, 35. 8, 41. 2, 42. 4; Book 2: 9. 7, 23. 6, 31. 4; Book 4: 33. 6; Book 5: 6. 6, 10. 7, 15. 10, 18. 6, 20. 4, 21. 8-9, 23. 6; Book 7: 6. 5; Book 9: 3. 3; Book 10: 28. 7. See also Frazer (1898) i. pp. lxxvi-lxxvii; Habicht (1985) 4-8; Hutton (2005a) 242-7; Pretzler (2004) 204-7, (2005) 241-3. C. P. Jones (2001) 39 concludes that Pausanias follows the authors and documents in portraying his local 'guides', the use of the term 'exegete' being 'old-fashioned' and a 'quaint conservatism'; cf. Pirenne-Delforge (2008) 86 who aptly concludes on the subject of *logos*, *legein*, *muthos*, belief/disbelief: 'Pour puiser une fois encore aux distinctions opérées en anthropologie, Pausanias oscille entre un travail d'exégèse—qui est un discours de l'intérieur, participatif, dans une tradition vivante—et un travail d'interprétation—conçu comme un discours instaurant la distance critique de l'observateur extérieur'; and Frateantonio (2009) 160-80, especially 161-9 on Pausanias as 'hyper-exegete' and his narrative-exegesis as similar to narratives of *ecphrases*.

(¹⁴) Jacoby (1949) (8-70, 236 nn. 42-3; 236-304; 399, and the bibliography there) is mainly concerned with the three groups of *exegetai* in Athens, i.e. the ἐξηγητῆς ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν, the ἐξηγητῆς ἐξ Εὐμολπιδῶν, and the ἐξηγητῆς πωτόχρηστος, their relationship with the Atthidographers, and the genesis of the Atthis at Athens. His discussion and arguments are relevant to Pausanias, because Pausanias is often quoted as evidence for the various theories proposed before Jacoby. Winkler (1985) 234-42 reverted to the pre-Jacoby argumentation of the meaning of 'exegete', in order to connect Apuleius with the exegetes, *aretalogoi*, and confessors, thus bringing together all three groups. Pausanias is indeed Apuleius' contemporary, but his usage of the word 'exegete' is not as closely connected with the *aretalogoi* and confessors as Winkler suggests.

(¹⁵) LSJ s.v. ἐξηγητής II.

(¹⁶) LSJ s.v. ἐξηγητής.

(¹⁷) The number of times, twenty, is approximate, since in some of the inscriptions the word is partially restored: *IvO* 59 (line 22), 61 (line 2), 62 (line 15), 64 (line 20), 66 (line 3), 76 (line 4), 80 (line 8), 86 (line 10), 91 (line 14), 92 (line 15), 95 (line 12), 102 (line 13), 103 (line 18), 104 (line 16), 106 (line 14), 116 (line 14), 117 (line 16), 121 (line 16), 122

(line 13), 140 (line 2). The office is also mentioned by Pausanias in 5. 15. 10.

(¹⁸) *IvO* 77 (line 9), 83 (line 2), 110 (line 17), 120 (line 10). The office is not mentioned by Pausanias. The *IvO* editors (p. 141) explain the four instances of the *periêgêtês* instead of *exêgêtês* as 'wohl durch den populären Sprachgebrauch veranlasste Nachlässigkeit'; and C. P. Jones (2001) 37; but see Tzifopoulos (1991) 259–65 and nn. 13–14 above.

(¹⁹) Particularly informative for Pausanias' technique and methodology in composing his narrative of places and objects are Akujärvi (2005); Hutton (2005a) 241–72, (2010); Pretzler (2004), (2007) 91–117; Pirenne-Delforge (2008), esp. 21–173.

(²⁰) The translations are modified from Frazer (1898); the text throughout is that of Rocha-Pereira (1973–81) whose readings, however, are based almost exclusively on the manuscripts, as she has paid attention only to those inscriptions that Pausanias explicitly states that he is reading and quoting. The edition by Hitzig and Blümner (1896–1910) is still valuable and is consulted particularly for the detailed and most useful *apparatus criticus*, as they were conscious of the peculiar nature of Pausanias' text and consistently employed the text of the inscriptions for its improvement—a guideline sensitively followed by the Italian team under D. Musti, M. Torelli et al. (Lorenzo Valla-Mondadori) and the French team under M. Casevitz, J. Pouilloux et al. (Les Belles Lettres-Budé) in their commentaries on Pausanias' text.

(²¹) For the programmatic statements in Pausanias (Book 1: 3. 3; Book 2: 13. 3, 14. 4, 29. 1, 34. 11; Book 5: 21. 1; Book 6: 1. 1–2, 17. 1, 23. 1, 24. 6; Book 8: 2. 5–7, 3. 6, 8.3, 10. 1, 54. 7; Book 10: 9. 1, 32. 1), see Pirenne-Delforge (2008) 21–173 with extensive previous bibliography.

(²²) Trendelenburg (1914); Jacquemin (2001); Arapoyianni (2007).

(²³) Pirenne-Delforge (2008) 103–8 and Frateantonio (2009) 28–30.

(²⁴) Frazer (1898) i. ad loc., and W. H. S. Jones et al. (1918–35) ad loc. translate ἐξήγησιν 'describe'; Papachatzis (1974–81) iii. ad loc.: 'σε μια καταγραφή (= listing)'; Meyer (1954) 277 ad loc.: 'Beschreibung'; Levi (1979) ad loc. somewhat awkwardly: 'explain'; Maddoli and Saladino (1995) 126–7: 'illustrare' (although in the commentary they note (312): 'Pausania abbandona la descrizione degli edifici dell' Altis, per passare alle statue...'); and Casevitz et al. (1999) 57 ad loc.: 'l'exposé des questions relatives'; the last three translations: 'to explain, illustrate,

present an exposition' are closer to Pausanias' text. For the similar expression *ὅποσα ἐξήγησιν ἔχειν* in 1. 14. 3, see Pirenne-Delforge (2008) 102 with n. 33.

(²⁵) For Pausanias' definition of his work as a narrative comprised of *λόγοι* and *θεωρήματα*, see Gurlitt (1890) 1–106; Habicht (1985) 20–7; and especially Pirenne-Delforge (2008) 41–173 and Frateantonio (2009) 10–15, 135–8, 169–80, all with extensive previous bibliography.

(²⁶) See Tzifopoulos (1991) 3–23; Whittaker (1991); Zizza (2006) 21–114, 399–436.

(²⁷) Whittaker (1991) 177–9.

(²⁸) The number of inscriptions, which he claims to have read, is still very impressive, and it is not limited to Books 5 and 6, as Gallavotti (1978a) 3 has argued; see Whittaker (1991) 172–3; Zizza (2006) 63–79.

(²⁹) Tzifopoulos (1991) 3–23; Whittaker (1991) 171–2; Zizza (2006) 97–114.

(³⁰) Frazer (1898) iv. 16 ad loc.; Hitzig and Blümner (1896–1910) ii. 463–4; Papachatzis (1974–81) iii. 336 ad loc.; Maddoli and Saladino (1995) 34–5 ad loc., 207; Casevitz et al. (1999) 14 ad loc., 122–4; Zizza (2006) 411–12.

(³¹) Kunze (1953); *SEG* 11. 1223a, 14. 900, 23. 254, 29. 414, 42. 396; Tzifopoulos (1991) 78–82 no. 8.

(³²) For Pindar's ode see Silk (2007) with previous bibliography; for the epinician and the athletic statuary see Thomas (2007) and Smith (2007).

(³³) On Cretan *dromeis*, see Tzifopoulos (1998).

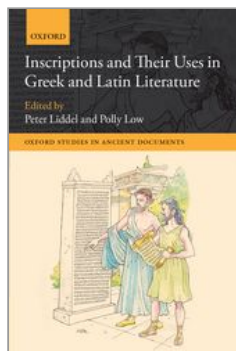
(³⁴) Frazer (1898) iv. 55 ad loc.; Hitzig and Blümner (1896–1910) ii. 500: *app. crit.*: Καρμαντίδου codd., *correxit* Hitzig and Blümner; Papachatzis (1974–81) iii. 361 ad loc.; Maddoli and Saladino (1995) 106–9 ad loc., 304–7; Casevitz et al. (1999) 53–4 ad loc., 22–7; Morgan (1994).

(³⁵) Similarly, Papachatzis (1974–81) iii. 361 ad loc. translates: 'τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦ Γοργία λέει (ὁ ἴδιος στὸ ἐπίγραμμα) πὼς τὸν ἀνάθεσε στὴν Ὀλυμπία ὁ Εὐμόλπος...'

(³⁶) For information from inscriptions utilized 'out of their context' in more appropriate places of the narrative, see Whittaker (1991) 179–80.

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Archaic Latin Inscriptions and Greek and Roman Authors

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter reviews some of ways in which early Latin inscriptions (mainly from before 200 bc) are reflected, directly or indirectly, in the works of Greek and Roman authors. The Latin language appears to have changed between the fifth and the second century bc much more dramatically than Attic-Ionic Greek did in the same period. Consequently, for educated Greeks and Romans of the first century bc, Latin inscriptions from the first generations of the Roman Republic were very much harder to use than, say, Athenian inscriptions from the age of Themistocles or Pericles. If the oldest Latin inscriptions could be understood at all, they were subject to misinterpretation (in respect of morphology, vocabulary, and syntax — sometimes even their letter-forms were misread) and to more or less systematic modernisation of their language in quotations. On occasion, inconsistent modernisation or bizarre citations arising from misunderstandings hold valuable clues to the original language of the lost inscription. Some types of archaic inscriptions (especially legal and religious) are evoked in Latin literary texts of various sorts. To the extent that particular (types of) inscriptions are the best or only (surviving) representatives of certain registers of the language, the question arises whether Naevius, say, or

Lucilius is evoking the physical form (inscribed tablet) or the register (the language of prayer, say, or of early laws). ‘Or both together’? is an easy answer, but one that brings with it the important consequence of blurring the distinction between object and language.

Keywords: Latin inscriptions, language change, archaic epigraphy, letter-forms, orthography, bilingualism

In memoriam Jürgen Untermann 1928–2013.

The first section of this chapter considers a wide range of references in Greek and Roman literature to early Latin inscriptions (from the earliest examples to about the middle of the third century BC). Main themes here include the number of such documents attested (a provisional catalogue is offered), and the difficulties in their reading and interpretation posed by their archaic letter-forms and language. The second section addresses more particular issues of genre and medium, and certain tensions or paradoxes surrounding them, including, on the one hand, the secondary inscribing of early ritual formulae, and, on the other, the modernizing of originally inscribed forms, whether in a later inscription or in a literary representation. These themes are illustrated with a smaller number of familiar examples including the *carmen arvale*, the Umbrian Iguvine Tables, the Law of the Twelve Tables, the column of C. Duilius, and the epitaphs of A. Atilius Calatinus and of the Scipios.

1. The use of inscriptions in literature

The earliest claimed use of an inscription by a literary author in an Italian connection¹ is challenged by Polybius, who thereby wins (probably) the distinction for himself. The challenge comes in the long series of virulent criticisms **(p.168)** levelled by the Achaean historian against the methods and results of Timaeus of Tauromenium (c.350–c. 260 BC), Polybius’ perceived rival as *the* Greek Historian of the West. In support of his own account—against that of Aristotle—of the foundation of Locri Epizephyrii in ancient Bruttium in south Italy, Timaeus stated (Plb. 12. 9. 3) that the Locrians of Greece had shown him a written treaty (συνθήκας ἐγγράπτους) still binding between themselves and the inhabitants of Italian Locri. However, Polybius continues (12. 10. 4–5), Timaeus in spite of ‘his speciality...namely, the display of accuracy he makes about dates and inscriptions (ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς)...tells us neither the name of the city where he found the inscription, nor the place where the treaty is actually set up (ἐν ᾧ συμβαίνει τὴν συνθήκην ἀναγεγράφθαι), nor the names of the officials who showed it to him and with whom he discussed it’—had he but given adequate references, all would have been well, the matter settled. As it is, Polybius concludes

(12. 6. 1) from his own inquiries and conversations in Italian Locri, such a treaty never existed and its inscription was a malicious invention by Timaeus.

I shall not pursue the questions surrounding the foundation of Italian Locri, or Timaeus' account of it including 'his' inscription in Greece.² On the other hand, Polybius' statement of 'best practice' for the historian supporting a claim with reference to documentary evidence is important not only in ancient historiography generally, but also for our appreciation of Polybius' own practice in particular. About 120 kilometres up the south Italian coast to the north-east from Locri is Cape Lacinium, south of Croton, where, in the temple of Hera, Polybius (3. 33. 18) 'found' and read and 'chose to follow' in his account a bilingual, Punic-Greek inscription on a bronze tablet (ἐν χαλκώματι), set up by Hannibal and listing in detail the forces that he had in Spain before his departure and on his arrival in Italy. Polybius refers to this document twice, the first time (3. 33. 17-18) at some length in order to explain the astonishing detail of the information he has just given about Hannibal's military and naval dispositions in north Africa and Spain, the second time (3. 56. 4) more briefly as a footnote, as it were, to his statement of the numbers of troops with which Hannibal descended from the Alps into the Po valley. The reality of Polybius' inscription is confirmed—if confirmation is needed—by the evidently independent testimony of the source used by Livy (28. 46. 16; Coelius Antipater, Fr. 34 Peter) for his reference to the altar constructed and dedicated by Hannibal 'with an extensive inscription of his achievements engraved in Punic and Greek letters' ('cum ingenti rerum ab se gestarum titulo Punicis Graecisque litteris insculpto'). And a similar or even greater degree of care on Polybius' part in introducing epigraphic evidence is seen in his handling, in (1), of the earliest Republican Latin document to be quoted in literature, a copy, probably again bilingual (Latin-Punic), of the first treaty between Rome and Carthage, purportedly dated, with reference to the consuls, to the first year of the Republic (508/7 BC on Polybius' chronology, 510/9 on Varro's), of which the Latin version posed, in the first half of the second century, serious problems of interpretation:³

(p.169) (1) Polybius 3. 22. 2-4:

ταῦτα δ' ἔστι πρότερα τῆς Ξέρξου διαβάσεως εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα
 τριάκοντ' ἔτεσι λείπουσι δεῖν. ἃς καθ' ὅσον ἦν δυνατόν
 ἀκριβέστατα διερμηνεύσαντες ἡμεῖς ὑπογεγράφαμεν. τηλικαύτη
 γὰρ ἡ διαφορὰ γέγονε τῆς διαλέκτου καὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τῆς νῦν

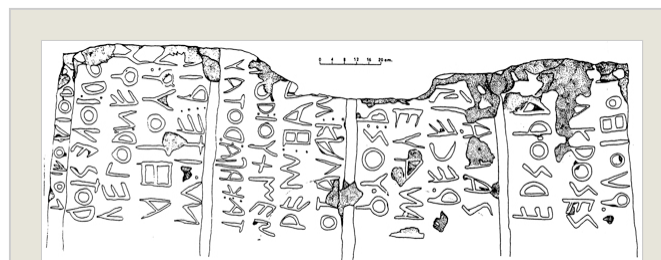
πρὸς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ὥστε τοὺς συνετωτάτους ἔνια μόλις ἔξ
ἐπιστάσεως διευκρινεῖν. εἰσὶ δ' αἱ συνθῆκαι τοιαίδε τινές·...

(This [i.e. the consulship of L. Junius Brutus and M. Horatius, the first year of the Republic, 508/7 BC] predates Xerxes' crossing into Greece by twenty-eight years. What I report below is the most accurate rendering possible of this treaty: the thing is, there is such a huge difference in the language, even for the Romans themselves, between contemporary Latin and ancient Latin that even experts understand some parts of it only with difficulty, after considerable application. Anyway, the treaty is more or less as follows:...)

Given the substantial amount of detail that Polybius provides after this cautious and apologetic preamble, and since the agreement deals partly with Punic trade in Latium, it is fair to assume that the copy used by Polybius and his helpers was in Punic as well as in Latin, and the Punic version may have been vital for getting any sense at all out of the Latin.

Of course, neither this treaty nor Hannibal's catalogue nor Timaeus' Locrian treaty (if it ever existed!) has survived, but in the case of the treaty between Rome and Carthage we can at least compare the very few very early Latin documents that have survived, and in so doing sympathize thoroughly with Polybius' 'experts'. We have one extant Latin public document plausibly, albeit roughly, contemporary with—in fact, probably older than—Polybius' first treaty. This is the 'Forum inscription' (*CIL* I² 1; *ILLRP* 3),⁴ inscribed on all four faces of a stone *cippus*, of which only one end survives, found under the *lapis niger* in the *comitium*, near the Rostra, and most recently dated (Carafa (1998) 130), inevitably tentatively, to the second half of the sixth century BC.⁵ Of this originally quite long inscription we have just the beginning or end (the direction of writing varies) of the sixteen lines, with between four and twelve letters legible in a line. This document may have the very rare distinction among those surviving from before 300 BC of being referred to (possibly more than once) by an ancient writer (cf. **(p. 170)**

nos. 5 and 6 in Table 7. 2 below). For more effective illustration of Polybius' point,⁶ I reproduce (Fig. 7.1) a drawing of the four faces side by side and in (2) a transcription.



(2) The 'Forum inscription',

transcription, partly

interpretative, following Gordon (1983) 79; Wachter (1987) 66; and Vine (1993) Ch. 1:

Fig. 7.1. The 'Forum inscription'.

QVOI HO[...]|...|SAKROS : ES|ED SORD[...]|...|A : HAS || RECEI
IO[...]

|...|EVAM QVOS : RE[...]|...|JM : KALATO|REM : HA[...]|...|OD :
IOVXMEN|TA : KAPIA : DOTAV[...]|...|JM : ITE : RI[...]|...|JM : QVOI
HAVELOD : NEQV[...]|...|JOD IOVESTOD | LOIVQVIOD QO[

In fact, several words are confidently read and interpreted by historians of Latin, and feature as standard textbook examples of early forms as yet unaffected by the sound-changes which made Latin distinctively Latin.⁷ Other sequences of letters are ambiguous or impenetrable, and, as the lines are so short, there is barely a glimpse of any syntax.

However, in case we are tempted to suppose, emboldened by the words that we recognize, that our difficulties are caused even mainly by the fragmentary nature of the text, and that, given the missing portions of the *cippus*, we could merrily translate at sight, we have the salutary reminder of the complete and perfectly legible 'Duenos' inscription (*CIL* I² 4; Rome, east side of the Quirinal), very variously dated but perhaps roughly contemporary with, perhaps slightly older than, the Forum inscription.⁸ This is our earliest Latin graffito, written round the edge of a uniquely shaped, 'triple' vessel resembling in plan a clover-leaf, transcribed and in part translated (following Vine (1999)) as in (3):

(p.171) (3) The Duenos inscription, transcription, and partial translation following Vine (1999):

(a)

IOVESATDEIVOSQOIMEDMITATNEITEDENDOCOSMISVIRCOSIED

(a, beg.) 'iurat deos qui me [donat]' (The person who gives me swears by the gods) (a, end) 'ni in te [= erga te] comis uirgo sit' (if the/a girl is not kind/friendly towards you)

(b) ASTEDNOISIOPETOITESIAIPACARIVOIS

(c)

DVENOSMEDFECEDENMANOMEINOMDVENOINEMEDMALOSTA
TOD

(c, beg.) 'Bonus/bonus me fecit in bonum donum bono' (Mr. Good/A good man made me as a fine gift for a good man) (c, end) 'ne me malus [tollito, clepito]' (let not an evil person steal me).

This very early Latin inscription is still not fully understood. ‘Lines’ a and c are much more intelligible than they were even twenty-five years ago, thanks to work drawing on recent advances in Indo-European comparative-historical linguistics,⁹ none of whose insights were available to Polybius’ συνετωτάτοι endeavouring to make sense of the first treaty between Rome and Carthage. Even so, there is very little that we can say with any confidence or agreement about the second ‘line’. Polybius is quite right, and this short but beautifully preserved private inscription, although a very different kind of text from the first treaty, illustrates his point very well: Latin had indeed changed dramatically between the sixth century and his own day, much more significantly than did, say, Attic-Ionic Greek in the same period. Consequently, for educated Greeks and Romans of the second and first centuries BC, Latin inscriptions from the first generations of the Roman Republic were very much harder to use than, say, Athenian inscriptions from the age of Themistocles.

Polybius’ observation is illustrated particularly well if one sets beside the Forum and Duenos inscriptions one of the best-known inscriptions from Polybius’ own lifetime, the copy of the *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* of 186 BC. From the point of view of Classical Latin, the most striking features in this inscribed series of formal senatorial pronouncements are orthographic and morphological: in its syntax and vocabulary, it is very close to the language of Cicero and Caesar (on this distinction in reverse—archaic syntax and vocabulary versus modernized spelling and endings—see section 2 below, esp. pp. 184–92). Although the *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* is later than the chronological limit of the present chapter, I draw attention, in Table 7.1 below, to those passages to which Livy alludes closely enough to give at least some archaizing, chancery-style colour to his reports of the Senate’s reactions and decisions, in particular at 39. 14. 8 and 39. 18. 7–9.

Table 7.1 highlights (in bold face underlined) some of the agreements in phraseology and even syntax between Livy’s account and the surviving copy on bronze of the *senatus consultum*. These have important implications not only for the question **(p.172)**

Table 7.1. Echoes of Livy in the *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus*

Livy 39. 14. 8, ^a 39. 18. 7-9 ^b		CIL I ² 581 (Tiriolo, Calabria; 186 BC) ^c	
39. 14. 8 (iubent) edici praeterea et in urbe Roma et per totam Italiam edicta mitti...	... ne quis qui Bacchis initiatu esset coisse aut convenisse sacro rum causa uelit , neu quid talis rei diuinae fecisse ; ante omnia ut quaestio de iis habeatur qui coierint coniurauerint quo stuprum flagitiumue inferretur. Haec senatus decreuit.	NEVE POSTHAC INTER SED CONIOVRAISE NEVJE COMVOVISE NEVE CONSPONDISE NEVE CONPROMESISE VELET NEVE QVISQVAM FIDEM INTER SED DEDISE VELET SACRA IN DQVOLTOD NE QVISQVAM FECISE VELEI NEVE IN POPLICOD NEVE IN PREIVATOD NEVE EXTRAD VRBEM SACRA QVISQVAM FECISE VELET	vv. 14- 16
39. 18. 7 Datum deinde consulibus negotium...	...ut omnia Bacchanalia Romae primum, deinde per totam Italiam diruerent, extra quam si qua ibi uetusta ara aut signum consecratum esset.	VTEI EA BACANALIA SEI QVA SVNT EXSTRAD QVAM SEI QVID IBEI SACRI EST ...FACIATIS VTEI DISMOTA SIENT	28- 30
39. 18. 8 In reliquum deinde senatus consulto cautum est ne qua Bacchanalia Romae neu in Italia essent....	... Si quis tale sacrum sollemne et necessarium duceret nec sine religione et piaculo se id omittere posse, apud praetorem urbanum profiteretur.	SEI QVES ESENT QVEI SIBEI DEICERENT NECESVS ESE BACANAL HABERE EEIS VTEI AD PR VRBANVM ROMAM VENIRENT...	3-5

Livy 39. 14. 8, ^a 39. 18. 7-9 ^b		CIL I ² 581 (Tiriolo, Calabria; 186 BC) ^c	
39. 18. 9	Praetor senatum consuleret; si ei permissum esset, <u>cum in senatu centum non minus essent</u> , ita id sacrum faceret, dum ne <u>plus quinque</u> sacrificio interessent, neu qua <u>pecunia communis</u> neu quis <u>magister</u> sacrorum aut <u>sacerdos</u> esset	ISQVE DE SENATVOS SENTENTIAD <u>DVM NE MINVS SENATORIBVS CADESENT</u> QVOM EA RES COSOLERETVR IOVSISENT... HOMINES <u>PLOVS V</u> OINVORSEI VIREI ATQVE MVLIERES SACRA NE QVISQVAM FECISE VELET... <u>SACERDOS</u> NEQVIS VIR ESET <u>MAGISTER</u> NEQVE MVLIER QVISQVAM ESET NEVE <u>PECVNIA</u> QVISQVAM EORVM <u>COMOINEM</u> [H]ABVISE VELET	10-11 8-9 19-20

Notes:

^a 39. 14. 8 'The Senate decreed) furthermore that it should be proclaimed in the city of Rome (and edicts should be sent throughout Italy to the same effect) that no one who had been initiated into the Bacchic rites should attempt to assemble or meet for the purpose of holding these ceremonies or to perform any such religious rite; more especially that an inquiry should be held regarding those persons who had assembled or conspired for the furtherance of any immoral or criminal design. Such was the decree of the Senate.'

^b 39. 18. 7 'The next task entrusted to the consuls was the destruction of all shrines of Bacchic worship, first at Rome and then throughout Italy, except in places where an ancient altar or statue had been consecrated. (8) For the future it was provided by decree of the Senate that there should be no Bacchanalia in Rome or Italy. If any person regarded such ceremonies as hallowed by tradition and as essential for him, and believed himself unable to forgo them without being guilty of sin, he was to make a declaration before the city praetor. (9) The praetor would consult the Senate; if permission were granted to the applicant, at a meeting attended by at least a

hundred members of the Senate, he would be allowed to perform the rite, provided that not more than five people took part; and there was to be no common fund of money, no president of the ceremonies, and no priest.'

^c vv. 14–16 'nor shall any persons henceforth make oath, vow, pledge, promise or covenant together. Let no one perform the rite in secret and let no one perform the rite in public nor in private nor outside the city'; 28–30 'that any existing Bacchic shrines, except where there is a sacred object there...you are to see to it that they are destroyed'; 3–5 'if there were any who claimed that it was necessary for them to keep a Bacchic shrine, that they should come to the city praetor in Rome'; 10–11 'and he should command it in accordance with a decision of the Senate, provided that no fewer than 100 senators were present when the matter was debated...'; 8–9 'let no one perform the rite in a company of more than 5 persons altogether men and women'; 19–20 'let no man be a priest, nor any man or woman be president, nor anyone of them have a common fund of money'.

(p.173) of Livy's sources for this episode,¹⁰ but also for two points directly related to themes of this volume and this chapter. In the first place, Livy's clear echo (at the start of his summary in 39. 18. 7–9) of the final section of the inscription, the genesis of which has aroused debate and controversy because it is stylistically distinct from the earlier provisions, shows that in part at least 'the end of the inscription followed the text of the consuls' letter' (Briscoe (2008) 285). Secondly, taken together these echoes provide a particularly fine example of the reflection in a literary text of official forms of language known to most people in their contemporary context through the medium of inscriptions. In this instance, a literary account is deliberately coloured with the language of a formal document¹¹ contemporary with the events described. Later on, we shall consider possible examples of the converse, the deliberate colouring of (in some cases, remade) inscriptions with contemporary literary language and conventions.

The documents that Polybius was persuaded were early treaties between Rome and Carthage furnish the earliest reasonably secure, though not uncontroversial, case of the express use of inscriptions by an ancient historical writer in an Italian connection. How typical or unusual is this instance? How many early documents are attested by ancient writers? How reliable are the statements made by historians or their sources about the provenance and the substance of early inscribed material? How do such 'literary' reports of inscriptions compare in quantity and quality with our early Latin epigraphic record on stone and bronze?

It is undeniable that, given the spread of writing in Italy from as early as the second half of the eighth century, very few archaic Latin inscriptions survive today. On one count (see Meyer (1983) 46–7), of the total of some 2,800 confidently assigned to the period of the Republic by the editors of *CIL* I²,¹² only a dozen or so (mainly short dedications) are datable to before 300 BC. Some sixty are extant from the third century, especially from its last two decades, the period of the Second Punic War. The verse inscriptions (in saturnians) on the sarcophagi of Scipio Barbatus (cos. 298) and his son (cos. 259) arguably illustrate a significantly new epigraphic habit (see section 2 below, esp. pp. 190–2) towards the end of the third century, when at last surviving Latin inscriptions become more abundant.

How representative is our surviving record? On one view, the more traditional, the paltry remains of early Latin available to us are a fair reflection of a period in which both knowledge and use of literacy were very restricted. Livy is cited as a witness, in his brief introduction to Book 6 (6. 1. 2), on the paucity of sources for **(p.174)** the period (covered in Books 1–5) from the Foundation of the City to its sack by the Gauls. He states first that ‘the use of writing, the only reliable means of preserving the memory of the past, was rare in those days’ (6. 1. 2 ‘rarae per eadem tempora litterae fuere,¹³ una custodia fidelis memoriae rerum gestarum’), and then that any documents that had existed down to the 390s, were largely destroyed by fire in the sack.¹⁴ To make matters even worse for the historian, according to a Roman source of Plutarch, ‘a certain Clodius’,¹⁵ quoted at the start of the *Life of Numa*, such early documents as *are* displayed are forgeries:¹⁶

(4)

Plu. *Num.* 1:

A certain Clodius, in a book entitled *An examination of chronology*, insists that the ancient records (τὰς μὲν ἀρχαίας ἐκείνας ἀναγραφάς) were lost when the city was sacked by the Gauls, and that those which are apparent now (τὰς δὲ νῦν φαινόμενας) are forgeries (οὐκ ἀληθῶς συγκεῖσθαι).

This is one view.¹⁷

On the other hand, since the early 1980s a very different account has become increasingly prominent in the scholarship on early Rome.¹⁸ On this view, in the first place, a realistic assessment of literacy has to be based not only on longer, more complete texts but on an exhaustive count of all surviving written documents, no matter how short or fragmentary:¹⁹ this count suggests that writing was much more widely

available and diversely used. Secondly, archaeology has shown that the extent of the destruction of Rome by the Gauls has been widely exaggerated in ancient and modern accounts (cf. Cornell (1995) 24, 318, with further references), so that it is in principle plausible that Roman documents from the fifth century and before did survive and remain available to early historians and **(p.175)** antiquarians. In consequence, thirdly, ancient reports of (lost) inscriptions need not—indeed, should not—be presumed false in the absence of independent confirmation. This is not to throw caution to the winds in assessing ancient reports of very early inscriptions, but rather to insist, in the words of an eminent and eloquent advocate of this much more optimistic view of very early Latin documentary sources, that ‘what is quite inadmissible is the presumption that all quotations from, and references to, archaic documents are false unless they can be proved genuine’ (Cornell (1995) 16).

The reliability, then, of literary references to very early Latin inscriptions is to be assessed on a case-by-case basis.²⁰ As for the size of the dossier, Table 7.2 makes no claim to exhaustiveness (especially for the fourth and the early third century), but catalogues thirty-one documents reported for the period from before the Foundation of the City to 260 BC (plus three items in square brackets, [17], [18], [30], widely thought to derive from inscriptions, although without explicit mention of an epigraphic source). The table was readily compiled from various sources, ancient (above all the early books of Dionysius’ *Roman Antiquities* and of Livy), and modern.²¹ It is ordered chronologically, rather than by type of document, most of these early ‘literary inscriptions’ being attributed to specific Kings or magistrates, or to dated events in the fifth or fourth century. This literary dossier purports, if not to exceed in quantity, at least to swell considerably the surviving epigraphic corpus—depending, of course, on how one counts the latter (see above and n. 19). (Note that Table 7.2 does not include references to ‘books’ or writings on perishable materials or not for public display.)²²

Not included in Table 7.2 is the occasional reference in a later literary work to an evidently early (but undated) dedication, sometimes misidentified by the citing author. So, for example, a mid-second century AD identification of the dedicand of an inscribed statue pulled out of the Tiber is probably incorrect, and the truth more interesting. Justin Martyr reports (*Apol. mai.* 1. 26. 56) the recovery of the statue and quotes the Latin inscription on it (ἐπιγραφὴν Ῥωμαϊκῆν) as ‘Σίμωνι δεῶ Σαγκτῶ’. Justin himself recognizes in Σίμωνι the early Gnostic

Simon the Magus of Samaria (first century AD),²³ but the three words that he quotes have suggested comparison rather with surviving inscriptions such as *CIL* VI 30994,²⁴ and a restoration of the inscription he saw as in (5) (top of p. 180): **(p.176)**

Table 7.2. Literary references to very early Latin inscriptions

1	<i>From before the City^a</i>	Sacred: affixed to a tree ^b	Plin. <i>Nat.</i> 16. 237 'On the Vatican hill there is a holm-oak older than the City, with a bronze inscription in Etruscan letters ('titulus aereus litteris Etruscis'), indicating that the tree even then was held worthy of veneration.'
2	<i>?From before the City</i>	Sacred: on the base of statues of the Dioscuri / Penates	D.H. 1. 68. 1 'images of the Trojan gods...with an inscription showing them to be the Penates'. ^c
3	<i>From before the City</i>	Private: on the 'cradle' of Romulus and Remus	Plu. <i>Rom.</i> 7. 6 'the trough (ἡ σκάφη) with faded letters engraved on its bronze girdles'. (γραμμάτων ἀμυδρῶν ἐγκεχαραγμένων; cf. 8. 2 τὰ γράμματα) ^d
4	<i>From the foundation of the City</i>	Inscribed human skull	Isid. <i>Orig.</i> 15. 2. 31: on one account of the placename <i>Capitolium</i> , it takes its name from the 'human skull inscribed with Etruscan letters' ('caput hominis litteris Tuscis notatum') discovered by Tarquinius Priscus excavating the foundations of Rome on the Capitol. ^e
5	Romulus	<i>Res gestae</i> on a statue of himself dedicated to 'Hephaestus'	D.H. 2. 54. 2 'with an inscription in Greek letters of his own achievements (ἐπιγράψας Ἑλληνικοῖς γράμμασι τὰς ἑαυτοῦ πράξεις)' (Plu. <i>Rom.</i> 24. 3 makes no mention of an inscr.).
6	(Romulus)	Epitaph: honouring the grandfather of Tullus Hostilius	D.H. 3. 1. 2 'deemed worthy of a monument attesting with an inscription his valour

			(στήλης ἐπιγραφῇ τὴν ἀρετὴν μαρτυρούσης ἀξιωθείς). ^f
7	Romulus	Treaty with Veii	D.H. 2. 55. 6 'engraved the terms on <i>stelai</i> '.
8	Numa Pompilius	Epitaph: bilingual inscriptions on Numa's sarcophagus and on a chest containing his books	Liv. 40. 29. 4 'Each chest was inscribed in Latin and Greek letters ('litteris Latinis Graecisque utraque arca inscripta erat'). The inscription on the one said that Numa Pompilius son of Pompo, King of the Romans, was entombed within it, that on the other that it contained the books authored by Numa Pompilius'; V. Max. 1. 1. 12 (only the sarcophagus inscribed); Varro <i>apud</i> August. <i>C.D.</i> 7. 34.
9	Tullus Hostilius	Treaty with the Sabines	D.H. 3. 33. 1 'the Sabines... had set up <i>stelai</i> in their temples on which the terms of the treaty were inscribed'; Liv. 1. 24. 4 'and this is the oldest treaty on record'. ^g
10	Ancus Marcius	Sacred: public copy of Numa's writings on rites	D.H. 3. 36. 4 'he (Ancus Marcius) caused them to be transcribed on tablets (ἀνέγραψεν εἰς δέλτους) and displayed in the Forum'. ^h
11	Servius Tullius	Treaty with the Latins, or: Sacred: foundation of the cult of Diana on the Aventine ⁱ	D.H. 4. 26. 5 'This <i>stèle</i> still existed down to my day in the temple of Diana, with the inscription in the characters anciently used in Greece (γραμμάτων ἔχουσα χαρακτῆρας οἷς τὸ παλαιὸν ἡ Ἑλλάς ἐχρῆτο). ^j (Cf. Paul. <i>Fest.</i> p. 48L. s.v. 'clipeum'; p. 164L. s.v. 'nesi'.)

12	Servius Tullius	Laws	D.H. 4. 43. 1 Tullius' laws in the Forum were all abolished by Tarquinius, 'who left not even the tables on which the laws were written (οὐδὲ τὰς σανίδας ἐν αἷς ἦσαν γεγραμμένοι)'. ^k
13	Tarquinius Superbus	Treaty with the Latins	D.H. 4. 48. 3 'they engraved the treaty on <i>stelai</i> (συνθήκας τε γράψαντες ἐν στήλαις)'. ^l
14	Tarquinius Superbus	Treaty with Gabii	D.H. 4. 58. 4 'A monument of this agreement is in Rome in the temple of Zeus Pistios, whom the Romans call Sancos; it is a wooden shield covered with the hide of the ox that was sacrificed...and upon it are inscribed in ancient letters (γράμμασιν ἀρχαῖκοις ἐπιγεγραμμένη) the terms of the treaty.' ¹
15	508/7 BC (cf. n. 3 above)	Treaty with Carthage	Plb. 3. 26. 1 'the treaties [cf. nos. 28 and 33 below] are even now preserved on bronze tablets (ἐν χαλκώμασι) by the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in the treasury of the quaestors'; 3. 22-3, 3. 25. 6-9; Liv. 9. 43. 6.
16	508/7 BC	Sacred: commemoration of apotropaic sacrifice against the plague by P. Valerius Publicola inscribed on an earlier altar deliberately buried and forgotten	Zosimus, <i>Hist. nova</i> 2. 3. 3 'P. Valerius Publicola...freed the city from the disease and inscribed the following on the altar (ἐπιγράψας τῷ βωμῷ ταῦτα): "I, P. Valerius Publicola, consecrated the fire-bearing plain ^m to Dis and Proserpina and led processions in their honour (θεωρίας ἤγαγον) for the

			sake of the deliverance of the Romans”.’
[17]	c. 500 BC	Dedication: by a group of Latin peoples at the sacred grove of Diana at Aricia	Cato, <i>Orig.</i> from Bk 2 (fr. 58 Peter; <i>FRH</i> 5 F 36 ⁿ) ‘the grove of Diana in the wood at Aricia Egerius Baebius of Tusculum, the Latin dictator, dedicated; these peoples took part jointly:…’
[18]	c. 500 BC	Sacred: including a list of Latin peoples	Plin. <i>Nat.</i> 3. 69 listing thirty, or thirty-one, Latin ‘peoples accustomed to receive meat on the Alban Mount’. ⁹
19	493 BC	Treaty of Sp. Cassius with the Latins ^p	Cic. <i>Balb.</i> 53 ‘we have in recent memory that it was inscribed on a bronze column behind the Rostra’; Liv. 2. 33. 9 ‘the treaty with the Latins engraved on a bronze column’; D.H. 6. 95. 2 [giving some of the terms].
20	486/5 BC	Dedication: on a statue made from the sale of Sp. Cassius’ goods	Liv. 2. 41. 10 ‘from the proceeds of the sale of his property a statue was made and inscribed “given from the proceeds of Cassius’ belongings”’. ^q
21	472 BC	Law of the consuls L. Pinarius and P. Furius ^r	Varro reported by Macr. 1. 13. 21 to have written ‘that a very ancient law (‘antiquissimam legem’) was incised on a bronze column by the consuls L. Pinarius and (P.) Furius’.
22	456 BC	Law: <i>Lex Icilia de Aventino publicando</i>	D.H. 10. 32. 4 ‘The law was ratified, and it is written on a <i>stele</i> of bronze (ἐν στήλῃ χαλκῇ γεγραμμένος), which they set up on the Aventine in the temple of Diana.’

23	451/50 BC	Law of the Twelve Tables	D. H. 10. 57. 7 'they engraved the laws on bronze <i>stelai</i> (στήλαις χαλκαῖς ἐγγράξαντες αὐτούς) and set them up in a row in the Forum'. (Cf. Livy 3. 57. 10, D.S. 12. 26. 1.) Pomponius, <i>dig.</i> 1. 2. 2. 4 'on wooden tablets' [<i>eboreas</i> surely in error for <i>roboreas</i>]. ^s
24	?before 449 BC	Law of 'driving the nail' ^t	Liv. 7. 3. 5-6 'There is an ancient law, written in archaic letters and words ('priscis litteris uerbisque scripta'), that the chief magistrate ('praetor maximus') shall on the 13 September drive a nail; it [the law] was affixed to the right side of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, where Minerva's chapel is. This nail served, they say, in those days of little writing, to mark the number of years, and the law was confided to the chapel of Minerva, because number was an invention of that goddess.'
25	c. 437 BC	Dedication: of <i>spolia opima</i> by A. Cornelius Cossus ^u	Liv. 4. 20. 5-7 'The actual inscription written on the spoils shows that my sources and I are wrong and that it was as consul that Cossus captured them. I have heard that Augustus Caesar... himself read the inscription on the linen corslet, and I have felt...that it would be almost sacrilege to deprive Cossus of so great a witness to his spoils as Caesar, the restorer of that very shrine.'

			By what error the ancient annals and the Linen Rolls of magistrates in the temple of Moneta...only record Cossus as having shared the consulship seven years later with T. Quinctius Pennus, is anybody's guess.'
26	411 (or 416) BC	Treaty with Ardea ^v	Liv. 4. 7. 12 'Licinius Macer attests that the names of these consuls were given both in the treaty with Ardea and in the Linen Books in the temple of Moneta.'
27	380 BC	Dedication: T. Quinctius' victory over Praeneste ^w	Liv. 6. 29. 9 'It was inscribed with more or less the following words ('his ferme incisa litteris fuit')'; Fest., p. 498L. s.v. 'trientem tertium' [perh. quoting the inscription].
28	348 BC	Treaty with Carthage	Plb. 3. 24, 3. 26. 1 [cf. no. 15]; D.S. 16. 69.
29	340 BC	Treaty: record of the granting of citizenship to Campanian <i>equites</i> ^x	Liv. 8. 11. 16 'They fixed a bronze tablet in the temple of Castor.' Cf. D.H. 15. 4. 2.
[30]	306 BC	?On an equestrian statue honouring Q. Marcius Tremulus for putting down the Hernici ^y	Plin. <i>Nat.</i> 34. 23 [perh. paraphrasing the inscr.] 'he who twice subdued the Samnites, and, by capturing Anagnia, freed the people from tribute' ('qui Samnites bis deuicerat captaque Anagnia populum stipendio liberauerat').
31	305 BC	Dedication: of a temple to Concordia	Plin. <i>Nat.</i> 33. 19 the aedile Cn. Flavius 'inscribed on a bronze tablet ('incidit in tabella aerea') that the

			temple had been made 204 years after the dedication of the Capitoline temple'. ^z Cf. Liv. 9. 46. 6.
32	300 BC	Commemoration of the introduction of barbers from Sicily to Italy by P. Titinius Mena	Var. <i>R.</i> 2. 11. 10 'as is recorded still on a public monument at Ardea ('ut scriptum in publico Ardeae in litteris exstat')'.
33	279 BC	Treaty with Carthage	Plb. 3. 25. 1–5, 3. 26.1 [cf. nos. 15 and 28].
34	260 BC, or later?	Commemoration of C. Duilius' naval victory at Mylae	Plin. <i>Nat.</i> 34. 20; Quint. <i>Inst.</i> 1. 7. 12 'early Latin writers ended many words with -d, as is still apparent from the beaked column ('manifestum est etiam ex columna rostrata') which was set up for Duilius in the forum'.

Notes:

^a 'A pre-literate age' (Cornell (1995) 16), at least for speakers of Latin.

^b For a thorough collection and discussion of literary references, Greek and Roman, to writing on trees ('a lost facet of the Graeco-Roman epigraphic habit!'), see Kruschwitz (2010).

^c Varro (quoted by Serv. on *A.* 3. 12) is thought to refer to this inscription and to have read on it the words *MAGNIS DIIS*.

^d Cf. the tradition that Romulus and Remus were sent to Gabii to receive a Greek education ('Ελλάδα παιδείαν; D.H. 1. 84. 5) and to learn 'letters' (γράμματα; Plu. *Rom.* 6. 2).

^e I owe this reference to Massimiliano Di Fazio ((forthcoming) §2 ad fin.), who rightly draws from the anecdote further evidence of 'the Roman perception of Etruscan culture as a literate culture'.

^f Ampolo ((1983b) 19–25; cf. Cornell (1991) 28, (1995) 94–5) has suggested that nos. 5 and 6 were alternative later Republican interpretations of the Forum inscription (Fig. 7.1 and example (2) above). On the multiple ancient reports and interpretations of

objects and inscriptions visible in this part of the Forum, see, in addition to Ampolo and Cornell, Coarelli (1983–5) i. 161–78, (1999); Gantz (1974).

^g Livy surely does not mean that the inscription has survived, merely that its terms are mentioned by earlier historians, so that his statement that this is the oldest treaty on record is at odds with Dionysius' report of no. 7. Neumann (1909) 2819 observes that Livy reports the concluding of even earlier treaties, but mentions neither an associated document nor specific terms: at 1. 1. 8, 1. 1. 9 (Aeneas and Latinus; cf. the different version in Enn. *Ann.* 30–2 Skutsch, if Skutsch (1985) 190 is right that Latinus was the *rex Albae Longae*), 1. 13. 4f. (Romulus and the Sabines), 1. 14. 3 (Rome and Lavinium after the death of Titus Tatius), 1. 19. 2 (Numa with all neighbouring peoples), 1. 23. 7 (Rome and Alba Longa).

^h Dionysius rather neatly proceeds to state that the originals were destroyed in the course of time (ἀφανισθῆναι τῷ χρόνῳ) since bronze *stelai* were not yet in use and they were inscribed instead on oaken boards (δρυίναις ἐχαράττοντο σανίσιν). Knowledge of them was preserved by the public copy (ἀναγραφὴ δημοσία) made, after the expulsion of the kings, by the pontiff C. Papirius.

ⁱ Cornell (1995) 295 and 456 n. 8 identifies this inscription with 'the *lex arae Dianae in Auentino* ("law of the altar of Diana on the Aventine"), which served as a model for all later sanctuaries of the same kind, *CIL* XII 4333, etc.'.

^j I present nos. 11 and 12 as two separate items, though this is not unambiguously clear in Dionysius.

^k Dionysius states expressly (4. 26. 5) that the permanence of the record of these laws was assured by the preparation of a bronze *stèle*. Comparison with his remarks on no. 10 (n. h) suggests—although he does not say this—that Servius Tullius' laws were the first permanent inscription.

^l On the events, but without mention of the inscription, cf. Liv. 1. 54. 10 (also on this ‘favoured piece of Augustan antiquarianism’, see Brink (1982) on Hor. *Ep.* 2. 1. 24 and example (9) below). Note Ogilvie’s (1965) 209–10 comments: ‘The leather shield treaty, alleged to have been seen by D.H., is more suspect since the temple of Semo Sancus also contained what purported to be the distaff and spindle of Tanaquil (Plin. *Nat.* 8. 194)... Since it is scarcely credible that an inscription of the fifth century would have been understood by a Roman of Cicero’s day, it seems safest to assume that the ‘shield’ from Gabii is in fact comparable with *orbes aenei* from Privernum, as a trophy from the capture of Gabii in the Latin War of the fourth century.’ On the god Sancus, cf. D.H. 2. 49. 2, and the undated inscription reported immediately below this table; for bibliography on Sancus, see Stalinski (2001) 223 ff. (a reference I owe to Daniele Miano), Elm (2008), and, with due caution, Woodard (2006) 206.

^m i.e. the *Campus Martius*. On this episode, see F. Paschoud’s notes in his Budé edition of Zosimus (rev. edn Paris 2000), 194–7 nn. 3–4.

ⁿ On this item, see Ampolo (1983a). I am grateful to Tim Cornell for showing me his edition of and commentary on this fragment of Cato before publication.

^o On this item, see now Grandazzi (2008) ii. 676–729, esp. 693, and cf. the discussion of the name *Manates*, pp. 181–2 below.

^p Ogilvie (1965) 320 infers from Cicero’s ‘recent memory’ that the bronze had been removed in 89 BC, when the treaty became obsolete; and from Livy’s silence on the inscription’s removal that he is quoting a Sullan source without verifying it.

^q Livy expresses his doubts about the truth of this version. Ogilvie (1965) 344 points out that ‘if the inscription were genuine, it would disprove the authenticity of one of the oldest pieces of the legend—the participation, in whatever capacity, of Sp. Cassius’ father’. (Ogilvie’s explanation of the version doubted by Livy is ingenious.)

^r Cf. Broughton (1951–2) i. 29, *pace* the heterodox view accepted by Ogilvie (1965) 543.

^s See Ogilvie (1965) 507 for the view that, being originally of wood, the Twelve Tables were at the start of the first century ‘restored and set up in bronze, perhaps when Sulla reconstructed the Curia’. On the Twelve Tables in Cicero, see pp. 185–9 below.

^t Livy's source at this point, Cincius, cited immediately after the passage quoted, was probably the Augustan antiquarian (quoted by Festus p. 498L. (and cf. no. 27 in this table)) rather than the early annalist. Livy is here recording events of the year 363 BC. The inscription, if genuine, was presumably of Republican rather than Regal date, given the reference to the *praetor maximus* (I am grateful to Tim Cornell for discussion of this point). In hazarding 'before 449' I allude to the possibility that there is substance behind Zonaras' statement (7. 19. 1) that the designation of the chief magistrate was changed from 'praetor' to 'consul' in 449. On this and other aspects of the law and the inscription, see Oakley (1997-2005) ii. 73-80, who is inclined to treat Livy's document as genuine.

^u Ogilvie (1965) 563-5 rejects Augustus' evidence for an inscription of 437 as worthless, but suggests that he might have seen a 'restored' inscription from c.200 BC; Oakley (1997-2005) ii. 78-9 n. 2, on the other hand, states 'dogmatically, Augustus was lying'! For a survey of approaches to the problem, see Badian (1990) 13-16.

^v Ogilvie (1965) 543 argues convincingly that 'Licinius' treaty, if it is genuine, is later than 443 [the year of Livy's narrative at this point] and is rather a renewal, of 411 (or 416); for further detail, see Ogilvie (1961) 380-1. On Licinius Macer's report see Fr. 13 Peter (*FRH* 27 F 18).

^w Oakley (1997-2005) i. 623-4.

^x Oakley (1997-2005) ii. 514 seems to take this at face value.

^y Oakley (1997-2005) iii. 567: 'If Pliny was reporting an inscription on the statue itself, then we should have striking confirmation of the basic reliability of Livy's account.' Liv. 9. 43. 22 does not mention an inscription.

^z On this chronology, see Walbank (1957-79) i. 340, and cf. example (1), and nos. 15 and 27 in this table.

(p.177) (p.178) (p.179)
(p.180) (5) Justin Martyr's inscription (*Apol. mai.* 1. 26. 56) transcribed and restored (cf. Radke (1981) 104):

SEMONI [SANCO

DEO SANCTO [FIDIO

Here, then, we have probably an indirect, literary glimpse of another, lost Roman dedication to the old (Italic?) divinity Semo Sancus, whose temple in Rome housed the treaty between Rome and Gabii (cf. Table 7.2 below, no. 14).

The items listed in Table 7.2 are diverse, in part reflecting the wide-ranging interests of antiquarians (cf. Cornell (1995) 24). The types of text reported are, in decreasing order of frequency: treaties (ten clear examples); dedications and other sacred records (eight clear examples); laws (five clear examples); epitaphs (two clear examples). The list is inclusive, I have not presumed to pronounce individual documents genuine or false (although some such judgements are reported in the notes).

A recurrent element in comments by literary writers on early inscriptions, both in Table 7.2 and elsewhere, concerns the character of the letter-forms. Late Republican and early Imperial literary authors are sometimes accused of ignorance or confusion in statements about letter-forms on early inscriptions, not always fairly. The Etruscan alphabet is an adapted Greek import, and the Latin alphabet a modified version of the Etruscan, probably with Greek input, so that to refer to the script of very early Latin inscriptions as 'Etruscan' or 'Greek' may be both descriptively and historically accurate. Thus, Tacitus' brief outline history of the spread of writing from Phoenicia to Greece and thence to Italy is broadly in line with modern accounts, and the comparison that Tacitus draws, in the context of Claudius' reform of the Latin alphabet (cf. Suet. *Cl.* 41. 3), between Latin and archaic Greek letter-forms, is essentially correct: *Ann.* 11. 14. 3 'et formae litteris Latinis quae ueterrimis Graecorum' (the Latin characters resemble those of the earliest Greek). Equally, there need be no confusion in Pliny's characterization as 'Etruscan' of the letters in the inscription on the tree allegedly older than Rome itself (Table 7.2, no. 1; and cf. no. 4, from Isidore), nor in Dionysius' description of Romulus' inscribed *res gestae* as being 'in Greek letters' (Table 7.2, no. 5).²⁵

In the foregoing passages, I am assuming that 'letters' (*litterae*, γράμματα) refers to the script and not to the language of the respective inscriptions. On the other hand, in his account of the two stone chests (*lapideae arcae*) excavated in 181 BC and said to contain, respectively, the mortal remains of and the books authored by King Numa, Livy says (40. 29. 4; Table 7.2, no. 8) that the inscriptions on them were 'in Latin and Greek letters'. While this is in principle a reasonable description of a very early monolingual Latin inscription (compare again the drawing of the Forum inscription, example (2) above), the probability is that

these are second-century forgeries, and Livy surely means that two languages were in use as well as two scripts.²⁶

(p.181) The word ‘ancient’ applied by a Classical writer to *Latin* letters, on the other hand, may refer to a much more recent document. The inscription honouring M. Plautius, the decorator of the temple at Ardea, is described by Pliny (*Nat.* 35. 115), who may have transcribed it personally,²⁷ as being in ‘ancient Latin letters’ (‘antiquis litteris Latinis’), but it is in dactylic hexameters, and therefore presumably from the age of Ennius or later.

Very occasionally, it is true, puzzling forms of names cited by literary authors seem to rest on a misreading of non-Latin or very early Latin letter-forms. In a few cases, it is possible to make a plausible guess, on the basis of the history of the alphabet and the misreported form, as to the original sequence of letters. So, for example, it is likely that Varro misread as ‘Fidonia’ (perhaps rather ‘Fidunia’) the name of the goddess Fērōnia because he saw it, in her sanctuary in Tarracina, in an Oscan or Volscian inscription in the Etruscan alphabet in the form (HFÍDVNIA).²⁸ Or again, the etymological association of the harvest-divinity Consus with counsel (*consilium*) rather than with bounty (**consuium*; *Consiuius*) may rest on a confusion between the very similar early forms of the letters ⟨V⟩ and ⟨L⟩—see line 16 (on the extreme right) of the drawing of the Forum inscription, Fig. 7.1 above—and a misreading of ⟨V⟩ as ⟨L⟩, possibly on the inscription on the subterranean altar of Consus, quoted by Tertullian (*De spect.* 5) as ‘Consus consilio Mars duello Lares compito potentes’ (presumably, ‘Consus is potent in counsel, Mars in war, the Lares at a crossroads’).²⁹

A third intriguing possible instance of this sort arises from the perplexing name *Manates* in the list given by Pliny of former peoples of Latium (*Nat.* 3. 69, ‘*populi Albenses*’) accustomed to partake of the sacrificial meat in Latin rites on the Alban Mount (Table 7.2, no. [18]). It has been proposed that the otherwise unknown name *Manates* arose from the misreading as *M* of the Etruscan letter sade³⁰ on an early fifth-century inscription, the ultimate source of Pliny’s list: the name intended was *Sanates* (or *Ś-*), a form taken to be corroborated by its appearance **(p.182)** in a quotation from the Twelve Tables in a context that allows it to be understood as the name of a Latin people.³¹ A fourth example causes us to reflect again, at the end of this section, on the Forum inscription and possible literary references to it. It is clear that Festus’ fragmentary entry for ‘*Niger lapis*’ (p. 184 Lindsay) offers at least two competing accounts of the sanctuary (‘ut alii..., ut alii dicunt’, (according to some..., as others say)), and Cornell ((1991) 28) has compared these alternatives with what he takes to be Dionysius’ two

separate references to the Forum inscription (pp. 169–70 above). Stein, if I understand him correctly, implies ((1931) 48) that a sequence of letters on the lost part of the Forum *cippus* (HOSTLOS) might have been read now as *Hostlos*, now as *Fostlos*, the first reading being taken to refer to (Hostus) Hostilius and giving rise to the view that the inscription commemorated the grandfather of Tullus Hostilius (Table 7.2, no. 6), the second being understood as *Faustulus* and prompting the reading of the stone as the *res gestae* of Romulus (Table 7.2 no. 5).³²

2. Genre and medium: literary reception of and LITERARY influence in inscriptions

Since the Latin language had been written for at least three and a half centuries before the beginnings of a Latin literature, there is a tendency to regard very early Latin as the language of inscriptions. In entertaining this (in some ways understandable) view, one is apt to forget that, at least in principle, genre and medium are largely independent. There are important examples of very early Latin which are only secondarily inscribed, and conversely instances of early inscribed material that takes on a life of its own in a secondary literary tradition.

Old religious language, although evidently handed down in writing as well as orally (see example (8) below and preceding discussion on the *libelli* of the arval brethren), was not usually inscribed on permanent media. Our information about the hymn(s) of the Salii ('carmen Saliare, carmina Saliaria'), the dancing priests of Mars Gradivus instituted by King Numa,³³ is purely literary, with no mention of **(p.183)** inscriptions. Most of the fragments are quoted, badly corrupted, by Varro, Festus, and the second-century grammarian Terentius Scaurus.³⁴ Statements about the hymn(s) by Horace and Quintilian, (6) and (7) below, attest the fact that—in spite of a commentary by L. Aelius (Var. *L.* 7. 2–3)—they were incomprehensible. Horace uses 'Numa's Salic hymn' as an instance of old-fashioned literary taste, and of something that no one understood, even if some liked to affect comprehension:

(6)

Hor. *Ep.* 2. 1. 86–7:

iam Saliare Numae carmen qui laudat et illud
quod mecum ignorat solus uult scire uideri,
ingeniis non ille fauet plauditque sepultis,
nostra sed impugnat, nos nostraque liuidus odit.

(Now the man who praises Numa's Salic hymn, and who wishes to be thought to be the only one to understand things that in fact he understands no better than I, he is not appreciating or applauding that long-lost genius, he is just aiming criticism at our work, us and our age, which he hates with a passion.)

Quintilian, who elsewhere (*Inst.* 1. 10. 20) acknowledges the musical appeal of the hymns,³⁵ states that they were barely understood even by their own priests, and explains this with appeal to the unchangeable nature of sacred formulae:

(7)

Quint. *Inst.* 1. 6. 40-1:

Saliorum carmina uix sacerdotibus suis satis intellecta. sed illa mutari uetat religio et consecratis utendum est.

(...the language of the hymns of the Salii is scarcely understood adequately by their own priests, but religion forbids their alteration and they have to be treated as sacred.)

The hymn of the arval brethren, on the other hand, (the *carmen aruale*, of the *fratres aruales*) presumably transmitted for centuries in a similar fashion (*libelli* are mentioned twice in the inscription;³⁶ see (8) below), is known only from an inscription recording the *acta* of this priesthood for 29 May AD 218. Thanks to 'un miracle épigraphique' (Scheid (1990) 616), for this single day we may read not only the proceedings of the brethren but also the hymn itself. The hymn is quoted in 432 letters on seven lines (vv. 1 and 7 very short, vv. 2-6 with c. eighty letters each) in *scriptio continua*, with only eight interpuncts, the significance of which is unclear. In (8) I give just the beginning and end of the inscription with only the first and last line of the *carmen*:

(p.184) (8)

CIL I² 2; VI 2104 (cf. Morel, Buechner, and Blänsdorf (1995) 9-11):

AEDES CLVSA E[ST] OMNES FORIS EXIERVNT IBI
SACERDOTES CLVSI SVCCINCTI LIBELLIS ACCEPTIS CARMEN
DESCIDENTES TRIPODAVERVNT IN VERBA HAEC

(1) ENOSLASESIVVATE

...

(7) [PETRI]VMPE

POST TRIPODATIONEM DEINDE SIGNO DATO PVBLICI
INTROIER(VNT) ET LIBELLOS RECEPERVNT

The inscription enables us to identify some divine names (the Lares (*lases*), Semo (*semunis*), Mars (*marmar* ~ *marmor*)) and imperative forms (*iuuate* ‘help!’ pl., *iuuato* ‘help!’ sg.; (?) *sali* ‘leap!’ (?)), but—of course, this is controversial—precious little else.³⁷ The word-divisions and the forms themselves are so uncertain and unreliable that this text is of very limited value for the history of the language. More interesting for our present concerns are the instances of modernization of the Latin of the *carmen* on the stone. Modernization is probable in the loss of final *-d* in the future imperative *iuuato(d)* ‘then help!’, and plausible—although, frankly, we are immediately in very uncertain territory—in the rhotacism of intervocalic *s* in *incurrere* (if it is an infinitive, on whatever stem) and *pleores* (if it is a comparative, related to Classical Latin *plures* (?)) in contrast with the unrhottacized form *lases* (generally assumed to be for later *Lares*). If this is right, it implies at least a degree of comprehension on the part of successive generations of priests and hence substitution at various stages of the current form for the form originally learned (after the fourth century in the case of rhotacism and about 200 BC in the case of the loss of word-final *-d* after a long vowel). For the arval hymn, this qualifies, to some extent at least, Quintilian’s remarks (in (7) above, with reference to the hymn of the *Salii*) about the unchangeability and consequent incomprehensibility of ancient religious formulae.

Other, more perspicuous Roman prayer formulae survive in quotations in literary works of various types in prose and verse. So, for example, the phrase ‘uolens propitius(que)’ (of goodwill (and) gracious) is attested in a prayer to Romulus quoted by Livy (1. 16. 3; cf. 1. 12. 8),³⁸ in a prayer to Mars in Cato’s *On agriculture* (141. 2) and earlier still, at least a generation before Cato, in a parody of a prayer, to a door, in Plautus’ *Curculio*, 88–9: ‘agite bibite, festiuae fores; | potate, fite mihi uolentes propitiae’ (Come, drink, festal doors! Drink, and become to me of goodwill and gracious!). Plautus surely expected this form of words to be familiar to his audience in its original, solemn context: the parody renders this first attestation of the prayer formula in effect ‘delayed’ (by an unknowable number of years or generations). A second, more famous sacred **(p.185)**

Table 7.3. Pl. As. 259–61 compared with *Iguv. Tab. 6a. 1*

Plautus	Umbrian
impetritum, inauguratumst: quouis admittunt aues, <u>picus et cornix ab</u> <u>laeua, coruos parra ab dextera</u> consuadent	<i>este . persclo . aueis .</i> <i>aseriater . enetu . parfa .</i> <i>curnase . dersua . peiqu .</i> <i>peica . merstu</i>
I've got my auspices, my auguries: the birds let me steer it where I please. Woodpecker and crow on the left, raven and barn owl on the right. 'Go ahead!' they say	He (the <i>adfertor</i>) is to begin this ceremony by observing the birds, a <i>parra</i> and crow on the right/in the west, a woodpecker and magpie on the left/in the east

formula used to comic effect by Plautus is otherwise known only from an inscription. I am referring to the mock taking of the auspices, with reference to particular birds on left and right, by the clever slave Libanus in the *Asinaria*, and the almost identical augural formula inscribed on the sixth Iguvine Table, in Umbrian (in the later version, in the Latin alphabet).³⁹ I quote the Plautus and the Umbrian side by side in Table 7.3.

We can only guess at what precisely lies behind this extraordinary and fascinating agreement. The importance accorded by the Umbrians to the birds in augury was well known in Rome (cf. e.g. Cic. *Div.* 1. 92), and it has been suggested that Plautus in this passage 'had in mind the augural practice of his native Umbria' (Poultney (1959) 228). If this was the case, the line stands, as far as I can see, in its speech and its scene as an isolated Umbrian allusion. Presumably, whether or not the line was prompted by Plautus' Umbrian background, he could assume among his audience, for the joke (Umbrian or not) to be effective, familiarity with the formula in Latin garb? Such a formula is surely more likely to have been heard (or heard of) than read, whether on perishable or permanent material. In other words, as on the *acta* of the arval brethren (pp. 183–4), so on the Iguvine Tables, the inscribing of religious formulae and prescriptions was the exception rather than the rule. Plautus' use of an augural formula at *Asinaria* 260 alludes not to an inscription or inscriptions, even in Latin, let alone in Umbrian, but to a type of religious text (or, better, utterance) that his audience would have heard rather than read. Here, then, I am deliberately resisting this as an example of an inscription *in* literature, although we remain profoundly grateful for these two epigraphic miracles of having an inscription to set *beside* the literature.

A natural transition to the law is provided by Cicero's explicit comparison of the text of the Twelve Tables with a hymn (*carmen*). 'As boys,' Cicero recalls, 'we used to memorize "the Twelve" like a prescribed hymn, though no one learns **(p.186)** them nowadays' (Cic.

Leg. 2. 59, ‘discebamur enim pueri duodecim ut carmen necessarium; quas iam nemo discit’). A similar comparison is implicitly made by Horace in two separate passages of his ‘Letter to Augustus’ (*Ep. 2. 1*). The poet uses first (example (9)) old laws and treaties and later old hymns (already quoted in (6)) as examples of the contemporary cultural context that he is castigating, in which eccentrically antiquarian, anti-modern tastes dominate, and, in Brink’s words ((1982) 58), ‘anything long defunct attracts approval’:

(9)

Hor. *Ep. 2. 1. 23-5, 27*

sic fautor ueterum ut tabulas peccare uetantis
 quas bis quinque uiri sanxerunt, foedera regum
 uel Gabiis uel cum rigidis aequata Sabinis,
 ...
 dictitet Albano Musas in monte locutas.

(He is such a fan of the old that he repeatedly tells us that the Tables forbidding transgression, which twice five men enacted, and the treaties of the Kings concluded either with Gabii or with the strict Sabines,..., were uttered by the Muses on the Alban Mount.)

The taste for the *recherché* in the obsolete, criticized by Horace, survives to attract the censure of Seneca the Younger and Quintilian. Seneca disapproves of those who ‘hunt for words from another age, and talk like the Twelve Tables’ (*Ep. 114. 13*, ‘multi ex alieno saeculo petunt uerba, duodecim tabulas locuntur’). Quintilian comes close to echoing Horace (in examples (6) and (9)) when he illustrates the fault of obscurity (‘obscuritas’), resulting from words no longer in common use, with a man hunting through the records of the pontifices or ancient treaties (‘commentarios...pontificum et uetustissima foedera’ (cf. Hor. *Ep. 2. 1. 24*, example (9)) deliberately looking for unintelligibility, and states, apparently with reference to his own day, ‘Some seek a reputation for erudition from this; they want to be thought to be the only people who know certain things’ (Quint. *Inst. 8. 2. 12*, ‘hinc enim aliqui famam eruditionis adfectant, ut quaedam soli scire uideantur’; cf. Hor. *Ep. 2. 1. 87*, example (6)).

On the face of it, there is a paradox here, in that, while religious formulae are intended to be changeless even at the cost of incomprehensibility, legal provisions (including treaties) must for obvious reasons remain transparent to successive generations. In the event, as we have seen, even religious language is subject to change. And, in fact, it is surely the case that religion and law have in common

that use entails change; only interest in an old form as such promises to preserve it. The statute law of the Twelve Tables, inscribed and published in 450 BC (Liv. 3. 33. 1, 3. 34. 1, D.H. 10. 57; cf. no. 23 in Table 7.2),⁴⁰ constituted a permanent foundation for subsequent Roman law.⁴¹ In its utilitarian, legal aspect, however, the language of early Roman law is progressively modernized, so that in direct (p.187) quotations from the Tables their language, at least in spelling and morphology (on this qualification see further below), is essentially Classical. The fact that older linguistic forms are preserved in the literary tradition by grammarians and antiquarians reflects a distinct set of interests (to some extent perhaps the tastes criticized by Horace, Seneca, Quintilian, and others) in old forms for their own sake, as curiosities.⁴² Here, then, we have reason to be grateful to the type of man who is interested in old legal texts even without being interested in the law.⁴³ To give a single, simple example in the form of the word for dispute or lawsuit, we owe attestations of the earliest form *stlis* not to epigraphic but to literary sources, Festus and Quintilian, both of whom set *stlis* beside *stlocus* (whence Classical *locus* 'place'),⁴⁴ and possibly Cicero, in an example of where not to impose the recent genitive plural ending *-orum* in place of *-um*. 'Of course,' says Cicero (*Orat.* 156), 'I never say (*iudicium*) *decem uirorum stlitibus iudicandis* (the judgement of the Commission of Ten for the Judging of Lawsuits)' (but rather, he implies, *decem uirum*).⁴⁵ The intermediate form *slis* is found in inscriptions of the second century BC,⁴⁶ but the transmission of the Twelve Tables contains only the Classical form, *lis*, for example, at 1. 8 *post meridiem praesenti litem addicito* ('after midday let him award the suit to the party present').

The distinction between morphology and spelling on the one hand, and syntax and vocabulary on the other, is important and relevant here. The prominent fourth-century rhetorician Marius Victorinus makes the central observation about the language of old treaties and laws that, although they change in certain respects through frequent copying, they nevertheless retain their antiquity.⁴⁷ The sentence immediately above from the Twelve Tables, quoted by Aulus Gellius (17. 2. 10), although perfectly classical in its endings and orthography, nevertheless retains its antiquity in its lapidary quality (especially in the single word 'praesenti' for 'whichever of the two parties is present'), in the use of the third person future imperative in *-to* (and in clause-final position), and possibly also in the meaning of *lis* (Crawford (1996) ii. 594). In his masterly article on Cicero's adaptation of legal Latin in the *De legibus*, Powell (2005) shows convincingly that Cicero is setting out not to reconstruct or imitate systematically the Twelve Tables, but rather to recall the model of the Twelve Tables through

[t]he use of a generalized legal idiom, combined with the specifically stylistic feature of brevity and a few easily **(p.188)** recognizable touches of archaism' (Powell (2005) 122–3). In Cicero's own statement about the form of language in which he will present his laws (*Leg. 2. 18*), the only feature of legal language that he specifically mentions seems to be vocabulary or phraseology (Powell (2005) 125 and n. 18). The 'voice of the laws' (*legum uox*) is said to consist in its fixed terms, or forms of words ('certa legum uerba'), which are not so antiquated ('prisca') as those in the Twelve Tables, and yet, in the interests of conveying authority, a little more archaic than the present conversation ('paulo antiquiora quam hic sermo'). To the extent that it is possible to judge from the manuscripts of the *De legibus*, this approach is reflected in Cicero's practice, both in his own law codes (*Leg. 2. 19–22, 3. 6–11*) and in his quotations from the Twelve Tables themselves. So, for example, Cicero quotes (*Leg. 2. 9*) the start of the first of the Twelve Tables as 'si in ius uocat ito' (If one [a plaintiff] summons someone to court, he is to go), and *not*, as he might perhaps have been able to do on the strength of his knowledge of surviving archaic inscriptions, as (for example) SEI EN IOVS VOKAT EITOD, *vel sim.*⁴⁸ Or again, in Cicero's quotations (*Leg. 2. 58–64*) from the parts of the Tables relating to funerals, we find archaic vocabulary (e.g. *ast* for *at*, *im* for *eum*, *pos* for *post*, *se* for *sine*, the lexical item *lessum*, obscure to us as to Cicero!) alongside perfectly Classical endings (e.g. acc. sg. *-um* not *-om*, sg. 3 impv. *-to* not *-tod*, abl. pl. *-is* not *-eis*).⁴⁹ Earlier spellings, such as *-om*, *-tod*, *-eis* just mentioned, or genitive singular in *-ai*, ablative singular in *-od*, *-ad*, etc., passive/deponent infinitive in *-ier*, or the diphthongs in the words *aidilis*, *iou*, *iourare*, *darei*, *quei*, and many others (see further Untermann (1988) 430–2; Powell (2005) 140), would certainly have been familiar to Cicero from inscriptions made as recently as in his own youth, but archaic forms of this type are (with one or two probable exceptions)⁵⁰ not transmitted by the manuscripts of *De legibus*. It is, of course, possible, that Cicero wrote them and the tradition subsequently normalized them, but it is more likely that his archaisms were selective and involved mainly the stems rather than the endings of words,⁵¹ and that his spelling and morphology were essentially contemporary.⁵² There are very probably some particular and deliberate syntactic-cum-phrasal echoes of the Twelve Tables in Cicero's own law codes, for example, in the structure ## *si/qui* + VERB ENDING IN *-sit*, -- *esto* ## (if a man *-es*, let him be/let there be *-*),⁵³ or in the **(p.189)** clause framed ## *ast* -- *nec escit/escunt* ## (and there is/are not *--*).⁵⁴ Overall, however, the forms inscribed and published by the Decemviri in 450 are represented even in Cicero's quotations of the Twelve Tables only sporadically, indirectly, and partially.⁵⁵

We cannot know for every word or grammatical form to what extent Cicero could have recreated mid-fifth century morphology and spelling, had he wished to imitate the Twelve Tables much more closely. Powell suggests ((2005) 146–7) that we see perhaps the sort of thing that Cicero might have produced—although I am inclined to think that he would have been more successful!—in the inscription on the base of the *columna rostrata*⁵⁶ in honour of C. Duilius (the consul of 260 BC, Rome’s first victorious commander at sea). This inscription (*CIL* I² 25; Roman Forum, near the arch of Septimius Severus) was apparently regarded as genuinely old by Quintilian, who cites it (*Inst.* 1. 7. 12) for visible examples of early Latin endings in *-d* (e.g., in *marid*, *praedad*, *pucnandod* for *mari*, *praeda*, *pugnando*); the column is described by Silius Italicus as part of a wall-painting in a temple in Italy, which the poet imagines Hannibal looking at, and it is possible that Silius’ description alludes to the text of the inscription.⁵⁷ The surviving base is of marble, and so cannot be the third-century original, which would surely have been of tufa. And the inscription contains alongside perfectly plausible archaic forms several false archaisms that never existed,⁵⁸ and intrusive later, even Classical forms.⁵⁹ In the extensive scholarship on the extant inscription,⁶⁰ opinions have diverged as to whether it is an (early-Imperial, perhaps Claudian) confection *ex nihilo* of a lost, illegible, or non-existent original of the third century or slightly later, or a new copy of a partly legible original, the errors being made where the latter was most difficult to read. The latter view, which became dominant thanks to Eduard Wölfflin (see Wackernagel (1919) 162–3), is defended by Gordon ((1983) 124) on the grounds that it is hard to motivate or parallel such a pseudo-historical fabrication: the inscribed eulogies on the bases of statues set up by Augustus of Republican heroes, including one for C. Duilius (*ILS* 55), do not affect archaic **(p.190)** forms. On the other hand, one might associate such an exercise with Claudius’ antiquarian and linguistic interests, and certainly, the linguistic shortcomings are such that the extant inscription cannot be regarded as a third-century text: even to see it as a copy of a damaged original requires too much in the way of special pleading and additional hypotheses.

In a sense, the view one takes of the inscription on the *columna rostrata* does not affect the strength of Powell’s contrast between Cicero’s delicately archaizing touches in his law codes and the false archaisms and inconsistencies perpetrated by the author of the Duilius *elogium*. Remarkably, however, we can with confidence compare the maker/restorer of the latter with Cicero in his treatment of a third-century commemorative inscription honouring an exact contemporary of C. Duilius: this is the epitaph of A. Atilius Calatinus, the consul of 258 and

254. The first two (incomplete) saturnians of this epitaph, 'known from the inscription on his tomb' ('notum est enim totum carmen incisum in sepulcro'), are quoted by Cicero in *De senectute* 61 (and again, in the same words, in *De finibus* 2. 116–17) thus:

hunc unum plurimae consentiunt gentes
populi primarium fuisse uirum

(this one man very many families concur | was the pre-
eminent man of the people)

At first sight, these lines are thoroughly Classical in their word-forms, in stark contrast with the text honouring Duilius. One's first thought is probably that Cicero is quoting the Calatinus verses in modern form, as an English-speaker might do in quoting a line of Chaucer.⁶¹ As with reference to the language of the laws in the *De legibus*, we should also consider the possibility that the manuscripts of *De senectute* and *De finibus* have normalized a quotation originally peppered with archaic spellings.⁶² We should also of course not neglect the question how distinctively and definitely non-third century are the forms of Cicero's quotation. In this regard, we are again fortunate to be able to set beside the Calatinus inscription quoted in a literary text the very similar epitaph on stone of one of the consuls of 259, the year before Calatinus' consulship, L. Cornelius Scipio, son of Barbatus.⁶³ Here are the first two of the six saturnians (which follow the curt, formal *titulus* recording Scipio's name and the curule offices that he held):

HONC · OINO · PLOIRVME · COSENTIONT · R[OMAI]⁶⁴
DVONORO · OPTVMO · FVISE · VIRO

(this one man very many at Rome concur | was of good men
the best)

Manifestly, in so many features that illustration is hardly necessary, the orthography of the inscribed verses honouring the son of Barbatus is earlier than that of **(p.191)** Cicero, who must, therefore, have modernized. These inferences seem so safe as to render discussion otiose. But are they?

I am acutely aware of having come by a roundabout route and late in the day to the surviving funerary inscriptions of the Scipios (*CIL* I² 6–15), which even alone offer large scope for an essay on epigraphy and literature, not least because six of them are in verse (four in saturnians, two in elegiac couplets), and they are held to instantiate very early examples of both cultural and literary Hellenism among the Roman elite consequent on Roman expansion into southern Italy and Sicily. I do not presume to add to the wealth of scholarship on this enthralling

third- and second-century corpus, which has intriguing points of contact with the beginnings of verse epigram and of history-writing in Rome.⁶⁵ Let me, however, before concluding, offer just two observations, both related to my distinction between, put simply, words and spellings.

The first follows from the assumption that Cicero has modernized the spelling and morphology of Calatinus' epitaph, and concerns the now widely held view that the *elogium* of the son of Barbatus is older than that of Barbatus himself (the consul of 298).⁶⁶ This view risks becoming orthodoxy among historians thanks to the excellent article by John van Sickle (1987), unfortunately published in the same year as, and therefore in ignorance of, Rudolf Wachter's close comparison of the two *elogia* of father and son, and his conclusion that there are no epigraphic or linguistic grounds for regarding either the son's as the earlier of the two, or the father's as inscribed long after his death (probably c.260).⁶⁷ Put briefly—and without going into detail, for which there is neither space here, nor need in a matter of principle—for the purposes of dating, an archaic spelling cannot in itself yield a *terminus ante*, but an innovation in spelling does yield a *terminus post*. **(p.192)** Hence, for us comparing Cicero's quotation of the Calatinus epitaph with the verses honouring the son of Barbatus, before drawing the seemingly obvious inference that Cicero has modernized, the question must be answered as to whether in Cicero's spelling there are innovations that demonstrably occurred after, say, the third quarter of the third century, since it is only these that license the inference of modernization: and our answer is yes, there are (although perhaps fewer than one might have supposed).⁶⁸ Similarly, for Wachter comparing the epitaph of Barbatus with that of his son, given that the archaic look of the latter says nothing about its date, the question was whether there are novel spellings in the Barbatus inscription demonstrably later than the death of the son: and his answer is no, there are not.⁶⁹

The second observation I take from Wachter ((1987) 340–1) for a closing small, but nice, illustration of the relation (sometimes tension) between medium and genre. It concerns a variation in spelling between the *titulus* and the verse *elogium* on both monuments, the father's and the son's alike. The *tituli* are as follows, first that of Barbatus, then his son's:

[L·C]ORNELIO CN·F·SCIPIO [L] CORNELIO L F SCIPIO

AIDILES · COSOL · CESOR

With that of Barbatus we can contrast the spelling of his full name in the nominative in the verse epigram, line 1: CORNELIVS · LVCIVS · SCIPIO · BARBATVS . With the son's we can compare only the names of the offices that he held, line 3: CONSOL · CENSOR · AIDILIS—these occur also in Barbatus' *elogium* (line 3), in exactly the same forms (cf. n. 66 above). Wachter observes ((1987) 341) that on both monuments the *titulus* is characterized by archaic spelling (nom. *Cornelio*, *aidiles*, *cosol*, *cesor*), while the *elogium* itself shows innovative forms (*Cornelius*, *aidilis*, *consol*, *censor*). He raises the possibility that, in contrast to the traditional and conservative *tituli*, the verse *elogia*—a cultural innovation with in part at least a foreign cultural background—show the beginnings of a new orthography, that would eventually become the literary standard: in effect, that we have on these two third-century monuments traces of two sets of writing conventions, the one proper to inscriptions, the other to literature.⁷⁰

3. Summary and Conclusion

Especially if they bear a distinctive orthography, the inscribed *elogia* of the Scipios are the first clear instances in Latin of literary colouring in inscriptions, the converse of the deliberate colouring of literature with the language of official **(p.193)** documents known to the wider world in inscribed form that we saw illustrated in Livy's use of the *senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* and possibly in Cicero's evocation in the *De legibus* of the Twelve Tables—if it is legitimate to represent these still in Cicero's day in epigraphic terms. Cicero himself, as we noted, compared them to a *carmen*, and—setting early verse epitaphs aside—one hardly expects to find the old *carmina* inscribed on stone or bronze. The extraordinary examples that one does find, however, the *carmen aruale* and parts of the Iguvine Tables, can throw valuable light on literary texts and the history of religion as well as on language, certainly Umbrian and perhaps to a limited extent early Latin. The late inscription of the *carmen aruale* and the late literary reflections of the early-inscribed Twelve Tables illustrate in the one case the inevitability, in the other the desirability of change in respectively religious and legal language. Change in written forms may be a consequence of performance (as in the ancient *carmina*; cf. again the earlier and later versions of the Iguvine rituals), or of the maintenance of utility (of old but still current laws and treaties), or of developments in literary or more broadly generic conventions. There were clearly tensions between change (favouring comprehension and utility) and preservation (respecting ancient forms or antiquarian tastes), between Horace and the reviled *fautor ueterum*, between Cicero and the fabricator of Duilius' *elogium*. The latter, very active antiquarian suffers (in, let us suppose, the first century AD)—as do the more inert experts consulted

by Polybius 200 years earlier over the interpretation of the inscribed terms of the first treaty with Carthage—from the very serious discontinuities in the Roman epigraphic tradition, especially in the period of interest here (from the beginnings to the first Punic War). This presumably reflects rapid and practically unconstrained change prevailing over any attempts to standardize written, including epigraphic, forms and to disseminate conventions. It would be interesting to speculate on the social, cultural, and political background to this. These discontinuities are certainly regrettable for us: as I tried to illustrate in the first part of this chapter, there is a surprisingly large number of early Latin inscriptions reflected in Greek and Latin literature, many of which may be taken seriously as lost inscriptions. Unfortunately, by the time the educated and interested reporters of these literary inscriptions came to put their documents on record, it was too late.

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Notes:

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⁽¹⁾ I am excluding Aristotle's reference (*Politics* 1280^a36) to agreements (σύμβολα) concerning trade between the Carthaginians and the Etruscans; cf. Cornell (1995) 212, Di Fazio (forthcoming) n. 3.

(²) On these matters, see Walbank (1957–79) ii. 330–47.

(³) On the chronology, and on the historicity of the consuls named, see Walbank (1957–79) i. 339–40 and, for a robust and convincing defence of Polybius, Cornell (1995) 210–14, who well adduces the Etruscan–Punic bilingual agreement from Pyrgi of c.500 BC; this connection is well discussed and developed also by Colonna (2010).

(⁴) This designation, however vague and even misleading (in referring to the Forum rather than the *comitium*), remains, I think, usual, certainly among linguists. Among historians and archaeologists the inscription is often called ‘the *Lapis niger* inscription’, or even just ‘the *Lapis niger*’, which has in its turn misled many into supposing that the inscribed *cippus* is the ‘black stone’. I am grateful to John Briscoe for discussion of this point.

(⁵) Various dates (from the seventh to the fourth century) have been assigned both to the Forum *cippus* and to the ‘Duenos’ vase. Of course, even if one agrees on a sixth-century dating, it makes a big difference not only for their comparability with Polybius’ first treaty but also more importantly for their historical interpretation whether they are regarded as products of the early Republic or of the ‘Etruscan’ Regal period, perhaps as much as fifty to seventy-five years before the Republic. On the archaeological and historical context of the Forum inscription, see e.g. Coarelli (1983–5) i. 161–88; Carafa (1998) 128–31. I venture nevertheless to use these inscriptions to illustrate the difficulties of reading sixth-century Latin inscriptions and the radical changes in the Latin language between the sixth and the second century; this ‘discontinuity’ and the consequent ‘threshold’ of comprehensibility of very early Latin documents in the Classical period are themes well treated by Untermann (1988). I am grateful to Tim Cornell for help and references on the questions of dating here.

(⁶) And for comparison later, when we touch on early letter-forms.

(⁷) For example, line 2 *sakros* (Classical *sacer*), 2–3 *esed* (Class. *erit* or *esset*), 5 *recei* (Class. *regi* ‘king’ dat. sg.), 10–11 *iouxmenta* (Class. *iumenta* ‘teams of animals’), 15 *iouestod* (Class. *iusto* abl. sg.). Broadly and in detail on the epigraphy and interpretation of this inscription, see Coarelli (1983–5) i. 178–88; Gordon (1983) 78–80; Wachter (1987) 66–9; Vine (1993) ch. 1; Hartmann (2005) 109ff.; Wiseman (2008) 2–4; Ampolo (2009) 16–21; and Prosdocimi (2010) 387–97, all with further references.

⁽⁸⁾ For bibliography on the dating of the Duenos inscription to the seventh, sixth, fifth, and even fourth century, see Radke (1981) 198 n. 2. Colonna (1979), comparing similar objects and texts from other traditions, is still indispensable on Duenos. Carafa (1998) 130, reconciling stratigraphy with epigraphic considerations, follows Cristofani (1990) 20ff. in regarding Duenos as slightly older than the Forum inscription. Most recently, Prosdocimi (2010) 382, 391 dates Duenos to 580/570 and the Forum inscription to a little before 500.

⁽⁹⁾ Including notably, among many others, Rix (1985) esp. on the last word 'tatod', and Vine (1999) esp. on line a 'mitat' and line c 'meinom', who between them also give effective reviews of the scholarship on the Duenos inscription. For earlier bibliography on Duenos, note also Radke (1981) 197–8 n. 1.

⁽¹⁰⁾ On this, see Briscoe (2008) 233, 239–43, who infers (243) from the 'deliberate reflection of the language of the *senatus consultum*' (in particular, the repeated use, highlighted at the start of Table 7.1, of 'nolo' (*ne uel-*) + pf. inf. to express a prohibition) that Livy 'must have had access to the text, and since he did not himself consult archival material, it follows that he was using a source writing in Latin, and not, or at least not solely, Polybius'. On the very limited extent to which Livy permits his Latin to be coloured by archaic language, see Untermann (1988) 437–45, on the *SC de Bacch.* in particular 439–40.

⁽¹¹⁾ The terms of the Senate's decrees became known to Romans and Italians of the day, as to us, in inscribed form, but, as John Briscoe reminds me, they entered the historiographical tradition from the *acta senatus*. To that extent, then, they are an early and important example of 'secondarily inscribed' texts, one of the topics of the second part of this chapter.

⁽¹²⁾ This is purely for illustrative purposes: even apart from the question where to draw the line at the end of the Republic, there are surely many inscriptions of uncertain date in other volumes of *CIL* that are in fact Republican. I am grateful to Tim Cornell for discussion of this point.

⁽¹³⁾ On the text and its interpretation at this point, see Oakley (1997–2005) i. 384–5. Livy repeats himself at 7. 3. 6 ('*rarae per ea tempora litterae erant*').

⁽¹⁴⁾ On the potential written documents, including especially the Pontifical tables, to which Livy refers, see Oakley (1997–2005) i. 24–8.

Livy is quoted by Plutarch, *On the Fortune of the Romans* 13 (Mor. 326a).

(¹⁵) On the identity of this Clodius, see Ampolo (1983b) 9–10 n. 2.

(¹⁶) Cf. Speyer (1971) 138. On the other hand, Speyer probably over-interprets in taking Livy to allude in his Preface to the existence of forgeries, in the phrase (§6) ‘uncorrupted historical records’ (‘incorrupta rerum gestarum monumenta’), which is probably rather a general reference to sound records of all sorts. With reference to a much earlier period, before 449 BC, Livy states (3. 55. 13) that consuls had been in the habit of suppressing or falsifying *senatus consulta* (‘quae antea arbitrio consulum supprimebantur uitiabanturque’).

(¹⁷) Other ‘low counters’ of surviving Latin inscriptions include Radke (1981) 100 and, on balance (but cf. n. 19 below), Poucet (1989).

(¹⁸) See especially Ampolo (1983b); Cornell (1991), (1995), (2005); Oakley (1997–2005) i. 24–8.

(¹⁹) So, with the figures above from *CIL*, compare (e.g.) Cornell’s much higher estimate (1995) 103–4 of seventy Latin inscriptions from the period before 400 BC. Cornell argues strongly (1995) 104 and 421 n. 76 that writing was important and widely used in both public and private spheres already in the first three centuries of the City’s existence. With reference to the same period, Poucet (1989) 287 gives both counts: ‘une dizaine’ in ‘les grands recueils’, but some seventy in more detailed inventories including more recent discoveries. However, with regard to the high count, Poucet expresses scepticism (1989) 289–90 not merely about the dating of Latin inscriptions before 400 BC, but even about identifying them as Latin. He emphasizes (286–7) the extent to which early Latin literacy lagged behind Etruscan (which can boast, on the same sort of low/high counts as those given for Latin above, 200/~1,000 inscriptions from before 400 BC).

(²⁰) Cf. Poucet (1989) 296: ‘chaque notice est un cas d’espèce’. In the event, Poucet (293–308) is more principled. He is in general highly suspicious of the literary tradition, even for the period beginning with the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, by which time it is generally agreed that literacy had reached Rome—although he is in principle more inclined to accept statements about early treaties and dedications than those about political or administrative documents.

⁽²¹⁾ I owe references to above all (in chronological order) Stein (1931); Radke (1981) 100–5; Ampolo (1983*b*); Poucet (1989) 293–300; Cornell (1991) 27 n. 63; Oakley (1997–2005) i. 34–5, with further refs.

⁽²²⁾ I therefore regretfully pass over in silence the Sibylline books, the ‘linen books’ (*libri lintei*), the ‘notebooks of the kings’ (*regum commentarii*, Cic. *Rab. Perd.* 15), and the various documents produced by the college of pontiffs; for a brief survey of these and others alongside the reports of early inscriptions, see Poucet (1989); Prosdocimi (2010) 370–3.

⁽²³⁾ The identification is found in other Christian writers, too. Cf. e.g. Tertullian, *Apologeticus* 13. 9.

⁽²⁴⁾ = *ILS* 3472 SEMONI | SANCO | SANCTO DEO FIDIO | SACRVM | DECVRIA SACERDOT | BIDENTALIVM. On this case, see Radke (1981) 104–5, with nn. and references on p. 211. More economically, but in spite of the word order, Lommatzsch (the editor of *CIL* I²) proposed to identify Justin’s inscription with the surviving *CIL* VI 567 SEMONI | SANCO | DEO FIDIO | SACRVM.

⁽²⁵⁾ On the other hand, I should perhaps make it clear that I do not mean in this paragraph to dispute Poucet’s strictures ((1989) 293–4 and nn. 34–5) against *literal* belief in the *details* of these and the many other literary accounts of the transmission of writing from Greece to Latium.

⁽²⁶⁾ Clearly, two languages are used in the Punic-Greek bilingual inscription set up by Hannibal at Lacinium, which Livy describes (28. 46. 16) as being ‘in Punic and Greek letters’ (cf. the start of section 1 above). For an excellent discussion of the discovery of Numa’s chests and the burning of his books, see Briscoe (2008) 480–5, with further references (including Gudeman (1894) 141–3; note also Poucet (1989) 296). Briscoe relates (484) the bilingual inscription(s) on the second chest to the fact that half Numa’s books were in Latin and half in Greek. On this episode and its significance in later pagan and (esp.) Christian writers, note the rich and suggestive article by Willi (1998), with emphasis (143, 149, 172) on the ready acceptance in 181 BC of the chests and their contents as genuine.

⁽²⁷⁾ Cf. Plin. *Nat.* 35. 17 with Stein (1931) 33.

(²⁸) The source for this is Servius (Danielis) on *Aeneid* 8. 564: ‘quam Varro Libertatem deam dicit, Feroniam quasi Fidoniam’. In the speculative form of the name printed here, note: the digraph eta + digamma for representing /f/; the Oscan modified version of iota used for writing raised long /ē/ and the use of upsilon for writing long /ō/. For details, see Radke (1981) 104, with nn. and references on p. 211. (On the divinity Feronia, see D.H. 2. 49. 5.) I owe the suggestion of the Volscians to Massimiliano Di Fazio.

(²⁹) This may again go back to Varro, who derives (fr. 153 Funaioli) the name of the god ‘Consus from counsels’ (‘Consus a consiliis’). Again, for details, see Radke (1981) 101–2, with nn. and references on pp. 209–10.

(³⁰) The letter sade, usually transcribed Š, represented some sort of sibilant sound, but looked exactly like the (later) four-stroke Latin ⟨M⟩ (at this very early period, Latin ⟨M⟩ had five strokes). Note, however, that there is no attested instance of the use of sade in a Latin inscription.

(³¹) On ‘Ma(e)nates’ / ‘Ša(i)nates’, see Lejeune (1951) 220–4, originally commenting on the Venetic theonym *Šainas*; Radke (1981) 102–3, with nn. and further references on pp. 210–11; and most recently Grandazzi (2008) ii. 693–4, a reference I owe to Tim Cornell (to whose review of Grandazzi, forthcoming in *AJPh*, I also refer). The quotations from the Twelve Tables (esp. Festus, pp. 426–8, 474 Lindsay) contain also the form *forcti* or *forctes* (alongside *sanati* / *sanates*), which has been compared with another unexplained Latin ethnonym in Pliny’s list (*Nat.* 3. 69), *Foreti* (on which see Grandazzi (2008) ii. 688–90). Note, however, Crawford’s ((1996) ii. 591) scepticism: ‘that two named peoples of Latium should appear in the middle of the section of the Twelve Tables dealing with procedure is very unlikely’.

(³²) In support of the spelling ⟨FOSTL-⟩ for Faustulus, Tim Cornell (pers. comm.) adduces a coin of Sex. Po[mpeius] Fostlus of the later second century BC (Crawford 235 1c), showing Pompeius’ earlier namesake Faustulus, the foster-father of Romulus and Remus, discovering the wolf and the twins.

(³³) On the institution of the Salii, see Liv. 1. 20. 2–3, with Ogilvie (1965) 98–100; 37. 33. 6–7, with Briscoe (1981) 337–8; D.H. 2. 70; Plu. *Num.* 13. On the ancient traditions and other speculative connections, note now Prosdocimi (2010) 421–46.

⁽³⁴⁾ The twenty-one fragments (notably Var. *L.* 6. 49, 7. 26–7; Fest. p. 222L.; Terentius Scaurus, *Gramm. Lat.* 7. 28 Keil) and eight testimonia are conveniently collected, with bibliography, in Morel et al. (1995) 2–9. On the forms quoted and their interpretation, see (always with due caution) Radke (1981) 115–23.

⁽³⁵⁾ As does Cicero, at *de Orat.* 3. 197.

⁽³⁶⁾ It seems reasonable to suppose that the *libelli* contained the words of the *carmen* and, perhaps, at least one ‘stage-direction’ to the performers of the *carmen* (in the phrase containing the app. third-person form *aduocapit* ‘he will call upon’): see Scheid (1990) 616–17, 620–1.

⁽³⁷⁾ For detailed discussion and (to my mind) much too confident interpretation of most of the *carmen*, see the classic treatment of Norden (1939) pt. 2, and more recently Radke (1981) 106–14 and Scheid (1990) 616–23, 644–6, both with extensive bibliography.

⁽³⁸⁾ Untermann (1988) 441–5 (with special reference to the vow of a *uer sacrum* at 22. 10. 1–6 and the prayer of P. Cornelius Scipio at 29. 27. 2–4 before his landing in Africa) shows very effectively how religious language in direct speech (prayers, vows, ritual formulae) is the one domain in which Livy admits early Latin words, phrases, even complete utterances to his otherwise thoroughly Classical language.

⁽³⁹⁾ The earlier version of this part of the ritual (*Iguv. Tab.* 1a. 1–2), inscribed in the ‘national’ Umbrian alphabet (closer to the Etruscan in its letter-forms and their use), does not specify the birds to be observed, and uses a quite different phrase (‘pernaies pusnaes’) to refer to the one augural side and the other. It is probably going too far, however, to suggest that the later Umbrian version, quoted in (10), reflects assimilation of the *Latin* phraseology alluded to in Plautus’ parody. There is nothing in the Umbrian alphabet corresponding to *merstu* (which occurs fifteen times in *Iguv. Tab.* 6a), but with *parfa... dersua* compare 1b. 13 ‘parfam tesvam’. On all these words, see Untermann (2000), s.vv., with discussion and bibliography. On another Umbrian–Latin correspondence, involving the *acta* of the arval brethren (see p. 184), see Vine (1986) esp. 115–17.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ See the convincing discussion of Cornell (1991) 31–2 & n. 82 on the historical reality of the compiling and inscribing of the Twelve Tables.

⁽⁴¹⁾ If they were no longer important enough to be learned by heart (Cic. *Leg.* 2. 59, quoted above), they retained, in Powell’s words ((2005)

123), 'their symbolic position in, as it were, the backdrop of Roman legal culture', and, as he further notes, were still the subject of serious legal, not merely antiquarian, commentaries in the second century AD.

(⁴²) It may be the case also in the ancient *carmina* that genuinely older forms are preserved in the (literary) tradition of the Salic hymn than in the epigraphic rendering of the arval hymn. Things are too uncertain to say for sure.

(⁴³) I paraphrase Momigliano's definition of the antiquarian, quoted by Cornell (1995) 2, as 'the type of man who is interested in historical facts without being interested in history'.

(⁴⁴) Paul. *Fest.* p. 411L. '*stlocum* pro *locum* et *stlitem* pro *litem* dicebant'. Quint. *Inst.* 1. 4. 16 'quid *stlocum stlites* que?'

(⁴⁵) The form *stlitibus* here is reported by the sixteenth-century French Humanist Marc Antoine Muret 'from an old manuscript' ('e libro uetere').

(⁴⁶) So, e.g. *CIL* I² 583, 7 (*lex Acilia de repetundis*, 122 BC) 'quanti eius rei slis ae[stumata erit]', and (abbrev. *sl.*) I². 15 (c.130 BC ?) 'Cn. Cornelius Cn. f. Scipio Hispanus pr. aid. cur. | q. tr. mil. II Xuir sl. iudik. Xuir sacr. fac.', the title of one of the Scipionic epitaphs, on which see n. 65 below and associated discussion.

(⁴⁷) *Grammatici Latini* 6. 12 Keil 'frequenti transcriptione aliquid mutarunt...tamen retinent antiquitatem'.

(⁴⁸) As Powell observes ((2005) 143), Cicero would have known at least the forms SEI (for *si*) and IOVS (for *ius*) from relatively recent inscriptions.

(⁴⁹) For details and further examples, see Powell (2005) 132–44, here at 144; cf. Untermann (1988) 431–2, 434–6.

(⁵⁰) E.g. 3. 6 nom. sg. *populos*, 3. 6–7 nom. pl. *minoris, censoris* (with *-īs* (< *-ēs*), 3. 7 pl. 3 impv. *relinquonto*, and 3. 8 the false archaism *appellamino* (wrongly intended as pl. 3 pass. impv.); see Powell (2005) 137, 139–42.

(⁵¹) I express it in this way in order to include the future or subjunctive stems in *-s(s)-* of the types seen in e.g. *clepsit, habessit, locassint*, and the (probably falsely archaic) *-sc-* stem of the verb 'to be' seen in *escit, escunt*, all of which forms have Classical endings.

⁽⁵²⁾ On this persuasive view of Powell's, Cicero's orthography would have been in line with that of Republican legal inscriptions, which in these respects never lagged far if at all behind contemporary everyday educated norms; for examples, see Powell (2005) 125 n. 17.

⁽⁵³⁾ Cf. e.g. Cic. *Leg.* 2. 22 'sacrum qui clepsit rapsitue parricida esto', with *XII t.* 8. 2 'si membrum rupsit...talio esto' (cf. Powell (2005) 135; Untermann (1988) 433-4).

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Cf. e.g. Cic. *Leg.* 3. 9 'ast quando consules magisterue populi nec escunt', with *XII t.* 5. 7 'ast ei custos nec escit'. Note that Cicero seems to have misunderstood the use of *ast* in the Twelve Tables; see Untermann (1988) 433-4, Powell (2005) 136-7.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Untermann (1988) 429-37, in his penetrating and richly illustrated treatment of Cicero's use of archaic Latin in the *De legibus*, also distinguishes sharply between orthography/morphology and syntax/vocabulary, and similarly characterizes (436-7) Cicero's representations of how an Old Latin text had to look as partial and sporadic, *and* moreover inconsistent.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Servius, *Geo.* 3. 29 speaks of 'rostratas' (pl.), one in the rostra, one in front of the circus ('unam in rostris, alteram ante circum').

⁽⁵⁷⁾ Cf. *Punica* 6. 665-6 'alto | ante omnis mersa Poenorum classe' (the first sinking of a Carthaginian fleet at sea), with PRIMOS...CLASEIS POENICAS OM[NIS]...IN ALTOD MARID...[MERSET]. Note, however, that the key word ('merset', sank) is a restoration!

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Such as acc. pl. CLASEIS, NAVEIS, abl. sg. NAVALED, and possibly DICTATORED (although the third-century form '[c]osoled' [*CIL* I² 19] offers a parallel for a third-declension consonant-stem abl. sg. in -ED). See further Wackernagel (1919) and Wachter (1987) 360.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ Such as CVM (for the archaic preposition COM, conjunction QVOM), PRAEDA (for PRAIDA—indeed, the consistent use of ⟨AE, OE⟩ for ⟨AI, OI⟩), EIS (for EEIS), IN (alternating with archaic EN), MAXIMOS (beside [MAX]VMAS), VIQVE and (app. abl. sg.) JOQVE (beside the abl. sg. forms in -d), initial ⟨C⟩ rather than usual ⟨K⟩ in the name cartaciniensis alongside a consistent avoidance of the letter ⟨G⟩ (which was almost certainly available by 260 BC). See further Wachter (1987) 360-1.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ See Gordon (1983) 124-7 with the important addition of Wachter (1987) 359-61.

⁽⁶¹⁾ So e.g. one might quote *Troilus and Criseyde* 2. 22–3 as ‘You know too that in form of speech is change | Within a thousand years’ (for ‘Ye knowe ek, that in forme of speche is chaunge | Withinne a thousand yer’).

⁽⁶²⁾ In fact, in the Calatinus quotation, the manuscripts of both Ciceronian works agree perfectly, even in beginning not ‘hunc unum’ (a conjecture) but ‘unicum’ (‘unocum’ in part of the trad. of *Fin.*).

⁽⁶³⁾ *CIL* I² 8–9; tomb of the Scipios, via Appia, Porta Capena; late third century? On the comparison between the elogia of Calatinus and the son of Barbatus, see Wachter (1987) 321 and for earlier bibliography *CIL* I², p. 379.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ Or: ROMANE, i.e. Classical ‘Romani’ (Romans).

⁽⁶⁵⁾ On the cultural and literary-historical aspects of the elogia of the Scipios, see Zevi (1970); Coarelli (1972); Wachter (1987) 337–40; van Sickle (1987); Millar (1989) 138–9; Cornell (1995) 359 and 466 n. 35; Flower (2006) 160ff.; McDonnell (2006) 33ff.; Wiseman (2008) 6–7, 236; some of these references I owe to Daniele Miano.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ Although my discussion is brief and summary, for convenience I reproduce both *titulus* and *elogium* for both father and son (*CIL* I² 6–7 and 8–9):

[L·C]ORNELIO CN·F·SCIPIO

CORNELIVS · LVCIVS · SCIPIO · BARBATVS (—) GNAIVOD ·
PATRE

PROGNATVS · FORTIS · VIR · SAPIENSQVE — QVOIVS · FORMA ·
VIRTVTEI · PARISVM[A

FVIT — CONSOL · CENSOR · AIDILIS · QVEI · FVIT · APVD · VOS
— TAVRASIA · CISAVNA

SAMNIO · CEPIT — SVBIGIT · OMNE · LOVCANAM ·
OPSIDESQVE · ABDOVCIT

[L] CORNELIO L F SCIPIO

AIDILES · COSOL · CESOR

HONC · OINO · PLOIRVME · COSENTIONT · R[OMAI

DVONORO · OPTVMO · FVISE · VIRO

LVCION · SCIPIONE · FILIOS · BARBATI

CONSOL · CENSOR · AIDILIS · HIC · FVET · A[PVD VOS

HEC · CEPIT · CORSICA · ALERIAQVE · VRBE

DEDET · TEMPESTATEBVS · AIDE · MERETOD

(⁶⁷) On the date, including detailed comparison with the epitaph of this Scipio's father, L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, cos. 298 (*CIL* I² 6-7), see above all Wachter (1987) 301-42 and Kruschwitz (1998), who after carefully assembling usable *termini post* and *ante*, dates the father's inscription to the period 'ca. 270 bis vor 150' and the son's to 'ca. 230 bis ca. 150', and like Wachter sees no reason to regard the son's as older than the father's; for older bibliography, note in addition to these two works also Gordon (1983) 80.

(⁶⁸) Namely, *hunc* for *honc*, *-um* for *-om*, *-ae* for *-ai*, *-ss-* for *-s-* between vowels.

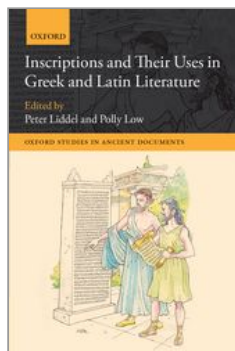
(⁶⁹) Three of the 'modernisms' in the Barbatus inscription (*-us* for *-os*, *-it* for *-et*, vowel 'weakening' in *subigit* (**subagit*) are attested in inscriptions from before the death of the son of Barbatus, and the fourth (*u* for *ou* in *Lucius*) may be plausibly so dated.

(⁷⁰) An appeal to literary generic conventions has been used also by Coarelli (1996) to explain the apparent discrepancies of substance between the Barbatus *elogium* and the historical narrative of Livy 10. 12. 3-8. I owe this reference to Tim Cornell.



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Inscribed Epigrams in Orators and Epigrammatic Collections

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter deals with three issues which might be partly interconnected: it discusses the problems relating to inscribed epigrams quoted by classical orators; investigates the use of the earliest collections of inscriptions; and attempts to determine their organisational principles. Essentially, it addresses the following questions: from what source(s) do the Athenian *rhetoires* active at the end of the fifth and throughout fourth century bc quote epigrams; do they rely on an autopsy of the stones, or do they make use of written collections, or should we reckon with combination of both? The cumulative evidence suggests that Athenian orators of the fourth century did indeed consult and use collections which contained inscribed epigrams. Furthermore, given that these collections included public epigrams which dealt with locally significant historical events, it is suggested that their organisational principles follow those of local historiography and geography (this is implied by titles such as *epigrammata Attika*, *peri ton kata poleis epigrammaton*, etc.). Finally, based on observations on the use of these collections and their

structure, the chapter draws wider conclusions about the status of epigram as a historiographical genre in fourth century bc.

Keywords: epigram, oratory, epigraphical collections, epigrammatic collections, local historiography

1. Introduction: aims and questions

The aim of this chapter is to investigate possible references to the earliest epigrammatic collections,¹ and, taking into account their structural principles,² to throw more light on their early reception.³ To do this, I will address three related issues: first, I will discuss the problems relating to inscribed epigrams quoted by classical orators in order to determine whether one can plausibly suggest that it is among them we find the first users of epigrammatic collections.⁴ Then I will move on to **(p.198)** discuss the earliest collections of inscriptions, and finally, I will briefly re-examine Reitzenstein's (and to certain extent Boas's and Hauvette's)⁵ remarks on the local 'epigrammatic schools'⁶ in the Classical and early Hellenistic period.

Essentially, I will try to discuss the following three issues:

1. The problem of identifying the first users of early epigrammatic collections is notoriously difficult. Here, I will examine the use of epigrams by classical orators and will tentatively suggest that we should recognize the earliest attested readers of these collections in the context of public courts of law of the late fifth and fourth centuries BC.
2. Since the earliest epigrammatic collections are essentially epichoric in nature, being, as they are, organized on the principle of interest in local history and geography (and, *ipso facto*, mythology), I will ask: can we or, perhaps, should we, link their production with the earliest 'epigrammatic schools' assumed or suggested by the scholars mentioned above?
3. Since 'local epigrammatic schools' of the Classical period have been an elusive concept in scholarship since the nineteenth century, I will ask on what kind of evidence their existence is based.

2. Inscribed epigrams quoted by classical orators

When it comes to quotations of or allusions to poetry, the classical orators are in principle no different from historians such as Herodotus or Thucydides,⁷ at least as far as the habit of including poetic material in their narratives is concerned. As is the case with most of the extant pre-Hellenistic literary sources, in speeches one finds a significant number of direct quotations and allusions to poetry.⁸ Given that study of poetry, language, rhythm, and style was an essential part of an orator's education,⁹ being a key training component in perfecting one's elocution and diction, this fact is hardly surprising: it is only logical that we hear of orators writing treatises on poetry and poets.¹⁰ However, what might make one raise an **(p.199)** eyebrow are the actual texts the orators chose to quote: I suppose not everyone would have imagined that inscribed epigrams are quoted (almost) as often as Homer in the speeches.

In spite of the similarities speeches share with other prose genres, there are also some quite notable differences: the most important one concerns the very particular status of quotations within texts of speeches, which is a consequence of a rather idiosyncratic textual tradition. The first and foremost problem when investigating the poetic texts included in speeches is the one concerning stichometry: studies of stichometry of Attic orators are rare, partly incomplete, and in desperate need of updating. The few extant investigations are studies concerned with Demosthenes, whereas Aeschines and Lycurgus, who are most prolific suppliers of poetic quotes among the classical orators,¹¹ are lacking stichometric investigations altogether.¹² This situation is most unfortunate since it presents a significant obstacle to any attempt to study the use of inscribed epigrams (or any other documents) in orators.¹³

A second significant problem is that, in addition to allusions to and quotations of poetry which were an integral part of the body of their speeches, the ancient orators at times had poetic texts read out by a court official, a *grammateus*.¹⁴ Obviously, this circumstance only stresses the need for stichometric investigations which would help clarify what exactly, in terms of quotations, was in the body of the archetype, and what should be investigated with particular scrutiny.¹⁵

Before we proceed with the analysis of the inscribed epigrams, let us gain an overview of the poetic quotations in general, and see which orators quote which texts and where (Table 8.1).¹⁶

It is noteworthy that the epigram with its five quotations figures so prominently on the list of poetic texts adduced by the orators: it is in a shared second place, together with Homer and Hesiod, or even beating Hesiod and equalling Euripides and Homer.¹⁷ Interestingly enough, it was during one year that all of the speeches quoting epigrams were delivered, if not even during one summer of 330, and it is **(p.200)**

Table 8.1. Poetic material in orators

	Homer	Hesiod	Tyrtaeus	Solon	Sophocles	Euripides	epigrams	anon. ^a
Lycurgus	1 ^b		1 ^c			1 ^d	2 ^e	2/3 ^f
Aeschines	4/5 ^g	4 ^h				3 ⁱ	2 ^j	
Demosthenes		1 ^k		1 ^l	1 ^m	2 ⁿ	1 ^o	2 ^p

Notes:

(^a) Under the heading ‘anonymous’ I gather non-epigrammatic references; some of the epigrams (all of them are actual verse-inscriptions), are quoted anonymously by the orators, even though all of them, except the one quoted by Demosthenes, have been associated, some more convincingly than the others, with Simonides of Ceos.

(^b) Lycurg. 103: Hom. *Il.* 15. 494–9.

(^c) Lycurg. 107: Tyrt. B. No. 10, consisting of 32 lines. ll. 30–2: the question whether or not these lines should be excised is still debated; for a convincing attempt to harmonize conflicting views, see Faraone (2005) 322.

(^d) Lycurg. 100: E. *Erechtheus* 812 N, no fewer than 55 lines are quoted.

(^e) Lycurg. 109: *EG Sim.* XXIIb followed by *EG Sim.* XXI.

(^f) Lycurg. 92, 132: composed by the ‘poets of old’. Boegehold (1985) 133 suggested that one should recognize a further poetic quotation in 149 where δοῶν καδίσκοιν κειμένον form two-thirds of an iambic trimeter (he compares the verse to Euripides’ *Erechtheus* and tentatively suggests *Palamedes*). For a rejection of the idea, see Worthington (2001) 302–3.

(^g) Four cases are clear, one is not: Aeschin. 1. 144: Hom. *Il.* 18. 324–9; Aeschin. 1. 148: *Il.* 18. 333–5; Aeschin. 1. 149: *Il.* 23. 77–9; Aeschin. 1. 150: *Il.* 18. 95–9. In addition to these instances, in 1. 128 Aeschines mentions φήμη δ’ εἰς στρατὸν ἦλθε and briefly remarks that it comes from the *Iliad* (καὶ

τὸν Ὅμηρον πολλάκις ἐν τῇ Ἰλιάδι λέγοντα πρὸ τοῦ τι τῶν μελλόντων γενέσθαι); there is no such verse there: the closest parallel would be αἶψα μάλ' ἐς στρατὸν ἐλθεῖ (*Il.* 4. 70; 24. 112; 24. 566). For the epic material in Aeschines, see Ford (1999).

(^h) Aeschin. 1. 129: Hes. *Op.* 763–4; the same verses are quoted also in: Aeschin. 2. 144; Aeschin. 2. 158: *Op.* 240–1; Aeschin. 3. 135: *Op.* 240–5.

(ⁱ) Aeschin. 1. 128: E., an unknown tragedy; Aeschin. 1. 151: *Sthenoboea* Fr. 671–2 N.; Aeschin. 1. 152: *Phoenix* Fr. 809 N.

(^j) Aeschin. 3. 184–5: the three Eion epigrams, *EG Sim.* XL; Aeschin. 3. 190: the epigram on the democrats from Phyle; this epigram is missing in the *EG*, but it is discussed in *FGE* anon. CXIV, pp. 419–21 (fragments of the stone survived; see *CEG* 431).

(^k) D. 19. 243: Hes. *Op.* 763–4 (the same verses quoted by Aeschines, see n. h).

(^l) D. 19. 255: Sol. *Eunomia*.

(^m) D. 19. 247: S. *Ant.* 175–90.

(ⁿ) D. 19. 245: E. *Phoenix* Fr. 809 N; (the same verses quoted by Aeschines, see n. i); D. 18. 267: E. *Hec.* 1.

(^o) D. 18. 289: *FGE* anon. CXXVI.

(^p) D. 18. 267; two lines from unknown tragedies.

just as remarkable that we find epigrams exclusively in the context of court speeches. Chronologically, the first epigrams to be read out in the Athenian courtroom are the ones embedded in the surviving speech by Lycurgus. Just four sentences after he has quoted thirty-two lines of Tyrtaeus (in 107), Lycurgus quotes two of the most famous epigrams of the Persian Wars (109):

τοιγαροῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡρίοις μαρτύρια ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τῆς ἀρετῆς
αὐτῶν
ἀναγεγραμμένα ἀληθῆ πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας,
ἐκείνοις μένφ
ὦ ξεῖν', ἄγγειλον Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε
κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων πειθόμενοι νομίμοις, (EG Sim. XXIIb)
τοῖς δ' ὑμετέροις προγόνοιςφ
Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶνι
χρυσοφόρων Μήδων ἐστόρεσαν δύναμιν. (EG Sim. XXI)

(And so over their graves a testimony to their courage can be seen, faithfully engraved for every Greek to read: to the Spartans: 'Go tell the Spartans, you who are passing by, | that here obedient to their laws we lie.' And to your ancestors: 'Athenians, guarding Greece, subdued in fight | at Marathon the gilded Persians' might.')
(trans. Burt (1954), modified)

(p.201) Perhaps only a few weeks or, at most, months later,¹⁸ the Eion epigrams and the epigram on the democrats from Phyle were quoted by Aeschines (3. 183–5, 190) in the Athenian court:¹⁹

οὗτοι δεῦρο ἀφικόμενοι τὸν δῆμον ἤτησαν δωρεάν, καὶ ἔδωκεν
αὐτοῖς ὁ δῆμος τιμὰς μεγάλας, ὥς τότε ἔδόκει, τρεῖς λιθίνους
Ἑρμᾶς στήσαι ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ τῶν Ἑρμῶν, ἐφ' ᾧτε μὴ ἐπιγράφειν
τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἐαυτῶν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δήμου δοκῇ
εἶναι τὸ ἐπίγραμμα. ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ποιημάτων
γνώσεσθε. ἐπιγέγραπται γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ τῶν Ἑρμῶν. (FGE
Sim. XL):

(XL b) ἦν ἄρα κάκεῖνοι ταλακάρδιοι, οἳ ποτε Μήδων

παισὶν ἐπ' Ἡϊόνι, Στρυμόνος ἀμφὶ ῥοάς,

λιμόν τ' αἶθωνα κρατερόν τ' ἐπάγοντες Ἄρηα

πρῶτοι δυσμενέων εὖρον ἀμηχανίην.'

ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἴ

(XL c) ἡγεμόνεσσι δὲ μισθὸν Ἀθηναῖοι τάδ' ἔδωκαν

ἀντ' εὐεργεσίας καὶ μεγάλης ἀρετῆς.

μᾶλλον τις τάδ' ἰδὼν καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἐθελήσει

ἀμφὶ ξυνοῖσι πράγμασι μόχθον ἔχειν.'

ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ ἐπιέγραπται Ἑρμῆϊ

(XL a) ἔκ ποτε τῆσδε πόλεως ἅμ' Ἀτρείδῃσι Μενεσθεύς

ἠγεῖτο ζάθεον Τρωικὸν ἅμ' πεδίου,

ὅν ποθ' Ὅμηρος ἔφη Δαναῶν πύκα χαλκοχιτώνων

κοσμητῆρα μάχης ἔξοχον ἄνδρα μολεῖν.

οὕτως οὐδὲν ἀεικὲς Ἀθηναίοισι καλεῖσθαι

κοσμητὰς πολέμου τ' ἀμφὶ καὶ ἠνορέης.'

ἔστι που τὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὄνομα; οὐδαμοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ δήμου.

(When they came home they asked the people for a reward, and the democracy gave them great honour, as it was then esteemed— permission to set up three stone Hermae in the Stoa of the Hermae, but on condition that they should not inscribe their own names upon them, in order that the inscription might not seem to be in honour of the generals, but of the people. That this is true, you shall learn from the verses themselves; for on the first of the Hermae stands written: 'Brave men and daring were they who once by the city of Eion, | Far off by Strymon's flood, fought with the sons of the Medes. | Fiery famine they made their ally, and Ares on-rushing; | So they found helpless a foe stranger till then to defeat,' and on the second: 'This, the reward of their labour, has Athens bestowed on her leaders; | Token of duty well done, honour to valour supreme. | Whoso in years yet to be shall read these lines in the marble, | Gladly will toil in his turn, giving his life for the state.' And on the third of the Hermae stands written: 'Once from this city Menestheus, summoned to join the Atreidae, | Led forth an army to Troy, plain beloved of the gods. Homer has sung of his fame, and has said that of all the mailed chieftains | None could so shrewdly as he marshal the ranks for the fight. | Fittingly then shall the people of Athens be honoured, and called |

Marshals and leaders **(p.202)** of war, heroes in combat of arms.’
Is the name of the generals anywhere here? Nowhere; only the
name of the people.)²⁰

In 3. 190–1 Aeschines then quotes a further one:

ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἀποπλανῶ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν
ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ὃ ἐπιγέγραπται τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τὸν
δῆμον καταγαγοῦσιν οἱ

‘τούσδ’ ἀρετῆς νεκα στεφάνοις ἐγέραιρε παλαίχθων

δῆμος Ἀθηναίων, οἳ ποτε τοὺς ἀδίκους

θεσμοῖς ἄρξαντας πόλιος πρῶτοι καταπαύειν

ἤρξαν, κίνδυνον σώμασιν ἀράμενοι.’

ὅτι τοὺς παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἄρξαντας κατέλυσαν, διὰ τοῦτ’
αὐτοὺς φησιν ὁ ποιητὴς τιμηθῆναι. ἔναυλον γὰρ ἦν ἔτι τότε
πᾶσιν, ὅτι τηνικαῦτα ὁ δῆμος κατελύθη, ἐπειδὴ τινες τὰς γραφὰς
τῶν παρανόμων ἀνεῖλον.

(But lest I lead you away from the subject, the clerk shall read to
you the epigram that is inscribed in honor of the band from Phyle,
who restored the democracy. ‘These men, noble of heart, hath the
ancient Athenian people | Crowned with an olive crown. First
were they to oppose | Tyrants who knew not the laws, whose rule
was the rule of injustice. | Danger they met unafraid, pledging
their lives to the cause.’ Because they put down those who ruled
unlawfully, for this cause the poet says they were honoured. For
then it was still in the ears of all men that the democracy was
overthrown only after certain men had put out of the way the
provision for the indictment of men who propose illegal
measures.)²¹

The last epigram to be quoted by a classical orator in the Athenian
court was the one which Demosthenes used to reproach Aeschines
mentioning his many transgressions, while rejecting Aeschines’
accusation of performing poorly as a general (18. 289–90):

λέγε δ’ αὐτῷ τουτὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὃ δημοσίᾳ προείλεθ’ ἡ πόλις
αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράψαι, ἵν’ εἰδῆς, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ σαυτὸν
ἀγνώμονα καὶ συκοφάντην ὄντα καὶ μιάρων. Λέγε.

‘οἶδε πάτρας νεκα σφετέρως εἰς δῆριν ἔθεντο

ὄπλα, καὶ ἀντιπάλων ὕβριν ἀπεσκέδασαν·^ῥ
 ἡμαρνώμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος† οὐκ ἐσάωσαν
 ψυχάς, ἀλλ' Αἴδην κοινὸν ἔθεντο βραβῆ,
 οὐνεκεν Ἑλλήνων, ὥς μὴ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες
 δουλοσύνης στυγερὰν ἀμφὶς ἔχουσιν ὕβριν.
 γαῖα δὲ πατρίς ἔχει κόλποις τῶν πλεῖστα καμόντων
 σώματ', ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς ἐκ Διὸς ἦδε κρίσις·^ῥ
 μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν
 ἐν βιοτῇ μοῖραν δ' οὐ τι φυγεῖν ἔπορεν.^ῥ

ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, [καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ] 'μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεῶν
 καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν'; οὐ τῷ συμβούλῳ τὴν τοῦ κατορθοῦν τοῦς
 ἀγωνιζομένους ἀνέθηκεν δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς. τί ο (p.203)
 ὦν, ὦ κατάρατ', ἐμοὶ περὶ τούτων λοιδορεῖ, καὶ λέγεις ἃ σοὶ καὶ
 τοῖς σοῖς οἱ θεοὶ τρέψειαν εἰς κεφαλὴν;

(Read for his benefit the epitaph, which the state chose by public vote to inscribe upon their monument. Even from these verses, Aeschines, you may learn something of your own callousness, and malignity, and brutality. Read. 'Here lie the brave, who for their country's right | Drew sword, and put the insulting foe to flight. | Their lives they spared not, bidding Death decide | Who flinched and lived, and who with courage died. | They fought and fell that Greece might still be free, | Nor crouch beneath the yoke of slavery. | Zeus spoke the word of doom; and now they rest | For spent with toil upon their country's breast. | Gods err not, fail not; God alone is great; | But man lies helpless in the hands of fate.' Do you hear this admonition, that it is the gods alone who err not and fail not? It attributes the power of giving success in battle not to the statesman, but to the gods. Accursed slanderer! Why do you revile me for their death? Why do you utter words which I pray the gods to divert to the undoing of your children and yourself?)²²

The chronology of events to which epigrams refer can be roughly parallelized to the sequence of speeches: Lycurgus invokes the events of 490 (Thermopylae) and 480 (Marathon); Aeschines of 476-ish (Eion, with disputed date) and 403/2 (Phyle), whereas with his quotation of

the Chaeronea epigram, Demosthenes recalls the events that took place just eight years before the speech was delivered (338).

In terms of their geographical distribution—that is, the physical location of the epigrams, consider Table 8.2. We are dealing with: (a) two city monuments; (b) one Athenian epichoric verse-inscription; and (c) two epigrams from outside Attica.

Four out of five verse inscriptions are also known from further sources (Table 8.3).

As Tables 8.2 and 8.3 demonstrate, two epigrams are attested in sources preceding the orators (Herodotus' quotation of the Thermopylae epigram (7. 228) and *CEG* 431, the late fifth-century Athenian epigram for the democrats of Phyle). However, it is remarkable that in the case of the epigram from Herodotus,²³ there is a significant textual variant. Unfortunately, the fragmentary state of *CEG* 431 renders it impossible to establish whether there are any discrepancies between Aeschines' version of the epigram and the verse-inscription.

Interestingly enough, three epigrams (the two quoted by Lycurgus and the one quoted by Demosthenes) were set up outside the city of Athens (*EG Sim.* XXI; *EG Sim.* XXIIb; *FGE anon.* CXXVI). This raises the question, where do the orators quote them from? It is quite peculiar, to say the least, that four out of five epigrams quoted by Athenian orators did not make it into the *Anthologia Palatina* or *Anthologia Planudea*; and the one that did, did not accomplish this thanks to its presence in the speech: the collector clearly plucked *EG Sim.* XXIIb from Herodotus, not Lycurgus.²⁴

(p.204)

Table 8.2. Locations of epigrams

Lycurg. 109	<i>EG Sim.</i> XXI	Marathon, Attica ^a
Lycurg. 109	<i>EG Sim.</i> XXIIb	Thermopylae ^b
Aeschin. 3. 184–5	<i>FGE Sim.</i> XL	Athens, Agora (Stoa of Herms) ^c
Aeschin. 3. 190	<i>FGE anon.</i> CXIV	Athens, Metroon ^d
D. 18. 289	<i>FGE anon.</i> CXXVI	Chaeronea, Boeotia ^e

Notes:

(^a) There is some discussion about this: in spite of suggestions based on interpretations of an entry in Suda (s.v. Ποικίλη), *pace* Jacoby (1945), I fully support Page's view, that the epigram comes from the Soros, especially since the new evidence seems to testify that IG I³ 503/504 is not a city memorial for the Marathonomachoi, or at the very least, not a memorial for Marathonomachoi *only*, as was argued by a number of scholars (a fact that could have presented a—conquerable—obstacle in assigning the epigram from *Leocrates* to the Soros). For a full discussion, see *FGE*, pp. 226–7 and esp. 229: 'I continue, therefore, to believe that the epigram quoted by Lysurgus, and his particular version of it, is a copy of an inscription posted beside the casualty-lists on the Soros at Marathon in 490 BC.' *Pace* M. Jung (2006) 120 with n. 185: 'Page, S. 225–231, [hat] nachgewiesen, dass das Epigramm nicht aus dem fünften Jahrhundert v.Chr. stammen kann, sondern erst im vierten Jahrhundert v.Chr. erstellt wurde.' Page does not state this anywhere, but argues for the opposite throughout.

(^b) Even those who challenge Herodotus' use of sources and try to discredit his references by asking how many *stelai* were set up in Thermopylae by Herodotus' day (three, as he reports (7. 228), or five, as Strabo does (9. 4. 2)) agree that *EG Sim. XXIIb* was set up on the battlefield. See West (1985) 288–9 v. Pritchett (1985) 169 and (1993). I have suggested a solution to the perceived inconsistency with the number of *stelai* in Petrovic (2004).

(^c) Aeschin. 3. 183: ὁ δῆμος τιμὰς μεγάλας, ὥς τότε ἔδοκει, τρεῖς λιθίνους Ἑρμᾶς στῆσαι ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ τῶν Ἑρμῶν...On the Stoa of Herms and the question of its identification, see Wade-Gery (1933) 89–90, and now Robertson (1999) 167–72, who argues that the Stoa of Herms is a later name for the Stoa Basileios.

(^d) Aeschin. 3. 187: ἐν τοίνυν τῷ Μητρώῳ [παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον] ἦν ἔδοτε δωρεὰν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγοῦσιν, ἔστιν ἰδεῖν. These words begin to introduce the psephisma, which was displayed in the Metroon; cf. scholia in xLS manuscripts (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), Dilts (1992) 149: Μητρώῳ] ἐνταῦθα ἔκειτο τὰ δημόσια γράμματα...ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἱερῷ... ἀνάκεινται γεγραμμένοι οἱ ἀπὸ Φύλης τὸν δῆμον καταγάγοντες. Aeschines does not explicitly state where the epigram was displayed; the fragments of the decree with the epigram were found on the site of the Metroon (c.two–three letters of each verse): cf. *CEG* 431.

(^e) This is the least straightforward case since it ties in directly with the problem of the authenticity of the epigram, i.e. the question of whether it is genuine or spurious: see *FGE* 432–3, and further below. What matters currently is that at least some lines of this epigram are bound to be genuine, since one line is picked up by Demosthenes himself (18. 290) in the speech (l. 9: ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, [καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ] ‘μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν’).

Table 8.3. Epigrams from orators attested elsewhere

Lycurg. 109 XXI	<i>EG Sim.</i>	Aristid. 28, 63; Sch. Aristid. 46. 118; Suda s.v. Ποικίλη
Lycurg. 109 XXIIb	<i>EG Sim.</i>	Hdt. 7. 228; D.S. 11. 33. 2; Str. 9. 4. 16; <i>AP</i> 7. 249; Suda s.v. Λεωνίδης
Aeschin. 3. 184–5	<i>FGE Sim.</i> XL	Plu. <i>Cim.</i> 7. 4; Apostol. 8. 69, 410; Arsen. 28. 34, 29. 3; Tz. schol. in Lyc. 417
Aeschin. 3. 190	<i>FGE anon.</i> CXIV	<i>CEG</i> 431

In order to address the problem of the orators’ sources, it is first necessary to differentiate between the epigrams the orators themselves inserted in the text of their speech, and the epigrams that were supposed to be read out by the clerk (λέγε or a reference to *grammateus*). This is necessary because poetic texts were at times treated in the same way as documents, and hence pose the same problems: which ones were included in the archetypes, and which ones were inserted into a speech by later, often indiscriminate copyists? Obviously when the quotation constituted part of the speech, interpolation at a later stage was much less likely. It is therefore **(p.205)**

Table 8.4. Performers of epigrams

Lycurg. 109	<i>EG Sim.</i> XXI	No λέγε; followed/preceded by comments on historical context and identifying physical context: <i>read out by the orator (?)</i>
Lycurg. 109	<i>EG Sim.</i> XXIIb	No λέγε; followed/preceded by comments on historical context and identifying physical context: <i>read out by the orator (?)</i>
Aeschin. 3. 184–5	<i>FGE Sim.</i> XL	No λέγε; followed/preceded by comments on historical context and identifying physical context: <i>read out by the orator (?)</i>

Aeschin. 3. 190	<i>FGE</i> anon. CXIV	<i>Read out by the clerk,^a not stated where the epigram comes from^b</i>
D. 18. 289	<i>FGE</i> anon. CXXVI	<i>Read out by the clerk,^c followed/preceded by comments on historical context and identifying physical context</i>

Notes:

(^a) Aeschin. 3. 190: ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ὃ ἐπιγέγραπται τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τὸν δῆμον καταγαγοῦσιν .

(^b) See Table 8.2 n. d

(^c) D. 18. 289: λέγε δ' αὐτῷ τουτὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὃ δημοσίᾳ προεῖλεθ' ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράψαι, ἵν' εἰδῆς, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ σαυτὸν ἀγνώμονα καὶ συκοφάντην ὄντα καὶ μιάρων. Λέγε.
The words ὃ δημοσίᾳ προεῖλεθ' ἡ πόλις imply a publicly organized contest for an epigram; see the remark by Page *FGE*, 432–3 and the argument and sources on such competitions analysed in Petrovic (2009).

necessary to try to establish which epigrams were read out by a clerk and which ones were read out by the orator (Table 8.4).

The textual tradition seems to indicate that the epigrams read out by orators tended to be included in the text of the speech from the moment of publication. All three epigrams presumably read out by the orators (Lycurgus and Aeschines) show up in all the manuscripts handed down to us, which is certainly not the case with all documentary and literary material orators adduced.²⁵ in consequence, the epigrams quoted by Lycurgus in *Against Leocrates* ought to have been included already in the archetype of the speech.²⁶ The same should be true of the much-debated Eion epigram: all extant manuscripts of Aeschines' *Ctesiphon* contain the epigram, and the consistency of variants in the textual tradition is remarkable. Therefore, it appears necessary to accept its authenticity, or at least the presence in the archetype, as well.²⁷

(p.206) How about the epigrams which were read out by the clerk? The first case (*FGE* anon. CXIV quoted by Aeschines in 3. 190) appears to be simple: the epigram appears in all manuscripts with minimal variation and shows as little variation as the epigrams read out by the orators themselves.²⁸ Much more difficult is the case of *FGE* anon. CXXVI, quoted by Demosthenes in 18. 289. Like Aeschines, Demosthenes both quoted poems himself and had a clerk read them

out. In the first case, quotations are embedded in the speech and constitute an original part of the text (speeches 18 and 19).²⁹ At the same time, and in the same speeches, we note no fewer than three instances of Demosthenes quoting poetic texts preceded by a lemma: 18. 289 (the Chaeronea epigram), 19. 247 (S. *Ant.* 175–90) and 19. 255 (Sol. *Eunomia*, Fr. 3D). These texts could not have been included in the old stichometric edition, and to make things worse, they are not present in the two main manuscript traditions (S and A *ante correctionem*), which would imply that by late antiquity there were editions of Demosthenes' speeches 18 and 19 both with and without poetic quotations.³⁰ Hence the doors for *suppositicia* were wide open: the only anchor for the imagination of a copyist who moonlighted as an amateur poet were the words Demosthenes uttered after the epigram has been read out (D. 18. 290): ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, [καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ] 'μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν' (Do you hear this admonition, that it is the gods alone who err not and fail not?).³¹

3. Orators' sources and early epigrammatic collections

Now that we have established that four out of five epigrams quoted by the orators belong to the archetype of our texts, it is time to enquire about the sources of the epigrams. The fact that *FGE* anon. CXIV was read out by a *grammateus* is evidence for the existence of copies of the poem (be they made for this purpose only or not).³² Furthermore, the existence of significant divergence in *lectiones* of **(p.207)** *EG Sim.* XXIIb (and *EG Sim.* XXI) allows for the assumption of two distinct traditions. Consider XXIIb: in Herodotus, *Palatine Anthology* and in Suidas we find ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι (obedient to their commands), whereas πειθόμενοι νομίμοις (obedient to their laws) is found in Lycurgus, Diodorus of Sicily, Strabo, and Constantine Porphyrogenites.³³ Whether XXIIb entered the *Palatine Anthology* directly from Herodotus is difficult to say. In my opinion however, this is less likely than the assumption of a fifth-century BC collection of Simonides' verse-inscriptions which was so convincingly argued for by David Sider: the *Sylloge Simonidea* appears to me to be the likelier source that provided the epigram for the collector.³⁴ Hence, if it could be demonstrated that Lycurgus was using some sort of a collection of verse-inscriptions as a source for the inscriptions set up in the plain of Marathon and in the pass of Thermopylae,³⁵ can one make the same argument for Aeschines, who was quoting the inscriptions that were set up in the immediate vicinity of the place where the speech was delivered (Metroon, 'Stoa of Herms')? In the case of the epigram for the democrats from Phyle (Aeschines 3. 190), our hands are tied: the only

extant source for this epigram other than Aeschines is the (very) fragmentary remains of *CEG* 431, which do not allow much speculation.

Autopsy would appear as the logical and perfectly suitable explanation, were it not for an 'obnoxious distich'³⁶ (*FGE Sim.* XL (Eion epigrams) a 5–6), and the incorrect (or at least uncomfortable) sequence of the poems in Aeschines which defies both logic and suitability: the epigram is attested in further sources which **(p.208)** seem to belong to an independent tradition,³⁷ and it displays the same problems. Further on, Aeschines was not the only one to present this epigram in an Athenian court, since it was apparently first quoted by Leptines.³⁸ Leaving the problem of sequence aside, if the epigram *FGE Sim.* XLa, as many argue, was expanded by two lines in the literary tradition, then we are left with little choice but to presume that there was some sort of widely accepted justification for this expansion, otherwise the discrepancy between the inscription as it was to be seen on the herms, and the version that circulated in book-form, would have caused many a problem for those adducing either version.³⁹

Be that as it may, the cumulative evidence suggests that Athenian orators of the fourth century did indeed consult and use collections that contained inscribed epigrams. The fact that Demosthenes 18. 289 is spurious should not launch us into exaggerated scepticism when it comes to the authenticity of the rest of the epigrams: in three out of five cases the assumption of authenticity seems reasonable; in one, the evidence does not allow us to go either way.

By way of conclusion, I will now move to a more speculative part of this investigation and will ask which kind of a written source could have been used by the orators of the fourth century for their quotations of epigrams.

First, one should emphasize the change in the 'epigrammatic habit', as it were, between the orators of the late fifth/early fourth century and those of the second half of the fourth century: why do we lack evidence for Isocrates', Lysias', and Andocides' quotations of inscribed epigrams, whereas Lycurgus, Aeschines, and Demosthenes, as we saw, quote them as frequently as Homer?

Part of the answer, I believe, is perhaps to be seen in a development of a new type of epigrammatic collection that included public epigrams of historic interest, and whose emergence one should date in the fourth century BC.⁴⁰ To put this **(p.209)** bluntly, the emergence of collections of epigrams that were organized on the basis of interest in the local

history roughly coincided with the increasing habit of recording copies of public documents in more than one medium.⁴¹

Possibly already during Ephorus' day, and certainly from the time when Craterus assembled the Ψηφισμάτων συναγωγή ('Collection of Decrees'),⁴² coinciding with the rise of interest in local history (local chronicles) and following the heyday of Attidography,⁴³ we note collections of epigrams with titles such as:⁴⁴

(a) ἐπιγράμματα Ἀττικά ('Attic epigrams': Philochorus of Athens; fourth/third centuries BC)⁴⁵

(b) περὶ ἐπιγραμμάτων ἐν Χαλκηδόνι ('On the epigrams in Chalcedon': Neoptolemus of Parium; third century BC)⁴⁶

(c) ἐπιγράμματα Θηβαϊκά ('Theban epigrams': Aristodemus of Alexandria; second/first century BC)⁴⁷

(d) περὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις ἐπιγραμμάτων ('On the epigrams found in cities': Polemon Periegetes; second century BC)⁴⁸

Evidence suggests that these collections included public epigrams that dealt with locally significant historical events,⁴⁹ as well as with prominent individuals (**p.210**) (apparently both citizens and mythological ancestors) and their achievements. One further factor that may have contributed to the development of such collections, simultaneous with the increased interest in collecting inscribed documents and writing local histories, is the rise of poetry, especially of narrative hexameter epic, dedicated to local themes, from the late Classical period onwards.⁵⁰ This fact, combined with the local schools of epigram postulated by Reitzenstein⁵¹ especially for, but not limited to, Peloponnesus and Propontis (περὶ τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων ἐν Χαλκηδόνι) seems to tie in neatly with the titles of both local epic poetry and the local epigrammatic collections.

In this sense I turn now to a tentative suggestion, followed by some more general and wider observations. If we were to speculate about the form and content of such epigrammatic collections, perhaps it might be possible to recognize a mirror image of *epigrammata Attika*, *Thebaica* etc. in a papyrus long neglected and recently commented upon by David Sider:⁵² *P. Oxy.* 31. 2535 (Leuven Database of Ancient Books 4378) provides the text of *FGE Sim.* III, followed by what can only be described as historical commentary.⁵³ The papyrus, a first-century AD copy of a Hellenistic original,⁵⁴ is peculiar in terms of its content, since extant epigram collections did not include commentaries of such a nature. Perhaps it was a similar kind of a collection that would supply

an orator both with the text of an epigram and with the background information concerning historical events.⁵⁵

Be that as it may, there are several issues that emerge from these preceding observations. If the epigrammatic collections were used as a matter of course by the mid-fourth century BC, and were most probably in a reasonably wide circulation already in the fifth century BC, then the status of the epigram as an inscriptional genre and its importance for the communities that used it as a medium of commemoration need to be thoroughly reassessed. We were long since aware of epigram's long history, but its status as one of the earliest *historiographical* genres (and it surely belongs to the earliest written media used to record a community's sense of the past) and especially its impact have seldom been stressed with enough emphasis. On the contrary, epigram's *ad occasionem* nature and its fundamental materiality have often been perceived as essentially detrimental forces that have seriously limited its impact and status. What this survey, together with further **(p.211)** cumulative, and some spectacular emerging⁵⁶ evidence, suggests is that the impact of pre-Hellenistic historical epigrams was hardly limited owing to its being confined by its medium, or its 'written-ness', as some argue. Even though epigram, as a historiographical genre, was indeed often used as a (relatively) instantaneous medium, a community used to record its particular view of a significant past event in a monumental and/or sepulchral context, orators' use of epigrammatic collections suggests both that epigram was very early on capable of escaping the confines of its original medium and that its impact was one that could have lasted for centuries, providing Greek communities with a moral compass, historical anchor, and an object of aspiration for generations to come.

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Notes:

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⁽¹⁾ Essential on early epigrammatic collections: Cameron (1993) 1–18; Pordomingo (1994); Gutzwiller (1998) 20–36; Argentieri (1998); Parsons (2002) 115–22.

⁽²⁾ I have tackled this topic in Petrovic (2007a) 92–5; see esp. Tsagalis (2008) 52–5.

⁽³⁾ Bing (2002) discusses some of the relevant material on these issues.

⁽⁴⁾ Even though the epigrams are quoted in literary sources preceding orators (both Herodotus and Thucydides quote epigrams), it is difficult to discern their sources; see p. 198 and Petrovic (2007b). As for orators being the first users of epigrammatic collections: to my knowledge, this has been suggested twice in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, albeit without systematic analysis, and has since been either refuted or, more often, ignored. The first one to suggest that we should identify Lycurgus and Aeschines as the first users of an epigrammatic collection was Reitzenstein (1893) 112–13 and again in *RE* VI 79; the same idea in regard to Aeschines has been reiterated by Wade-Gery (1933) 94 on *FGE Sim.* XL. The earliest identifiable collections that contained epigrams, or at least collections attributed to the earliest poets, are those assumed for Anacreon (see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1913) 142 with n. 2 on *AP* VI 142) and argued for Simonides (Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1913) 211). On the date of *Syll. Sim.*, see Sider (2007a) 113–30. An intimation towards the idea of both early reception and early collections containing epigrams is already in Preger (1889) 5–6 (Thucydides reading *FGE Sim.* XXVIa in Charon's ὥποι Λαμψακηνών); cf. on this also Jacoby (1949) 164.

(⁵) Reitzenstein (1893); Hauvette (1896); Boas (1905).

(⁶) By 'epigrammatic schools' I mean the notion of regional workshops (as first postulated by Reitzenstein (1893) 121), not poetic traditions (i.e. Peloponnesian v. Ionian); on the latter, see Rossi (2001) 47; Parsons (2002) 122-8.

(⁷) On Herodotus and poetry: Rosenmeyer (1982) 239-59; Marincola (2006), with further literature and list of poets quoted by Herodotus, 26 n. 5. On Herodotus and written sources: Hornblower (2002) 374-86. On Thucydides and poetry: V. Jung (1991). On inscriptions in Thucydides, including poems: Hornblower (1987) 88-92; Meyer (1970); Müller (1997); and cf. also Pritchett (1975) 54 n. 20.

(⁸) For an overview of inscribed epigrams in pre-Hellenistic authors, see Petrovic (2007b) 49-68; Livingstone and Nisbet (2010) 30-45.

(⁹) On the programme of rhetorical education, see the classic article by Wilcox (1942), and Poulakos (1997) 93-104. On orators and poetry, see in particular North (1952); Perlman (1964) 156-60; Ober and Strauss (1992) 250-8.

(¹⁰) Perlman (1964) 160: Antisthenes wrote on Homer (D.L. 6. 15-18); Alcidas wrote Μουσείον, discussing Homer and Hesiod (Alcidas, *Soph.* 1); Zoilos was nicknamed Ὀμηρομάστιξ (Homer-whip), because of his discussions of the epics (Suida, s.v. Ὀμηρομάστιξ).

(¹¹) See Perlman (1964) 161-3. The extant quotations from poetry are found in Demosthenes *On the Crown* and *On the Embassy*, Lycurgus' *Against Leocrates*, and Aeschines 1-3.

(¹²) Aeschines 1. 119-54 and Lycurgus 83-110, 131-3. Is the reason why there is no information about the '*stichoi*' of the orators other than Demosthenes that their speeches do not have stichometric marks?

(¹³) With regard to the authenticity of the documents transmitted in speeches, see Drerup (1898). Mirko Canevaro is currently addressing some of the related problems in his Ph.D. at Durham.

(¹⁴) This facilitated the planting of spurious testimonies in the process of transmission. On this, see Drerup (1898). See p. 205 below.

(¹⁵) I am grateful to Mirko Canevaro who pointed out to me that stichometry in Demosthenes is consistent among the manuscripts with stichometric marks except for minor variants, but it does not admit the presence of the documents. The only cases in which some of the

documents are likely to have been included from the start are D. 23 and D. 24. Standard references on this are (still): Graux (1878); Christ (1882); Drerup (1898).

⁽¹⁶⁾ Table 8.1: poetic material in orators is based on combined results of Dorjahn (1927) and Perlman (1964); Perlman does not take into account Dorjahn, and neither take notice of the findings of Burger (1887) and (1892) or Drerup (1898), which were also consulted.

⁽¹⁷⁾ There are five quotations of Hesiod, but four passages, since Aeschines and Demosthenes use the same quotation; the same is true of Euripides (see Table 8.1 nn. h, i, k, and n); cf. Perlman (1964) 162–4.

⁽¹⁸⁾ Lycurgus' *Against Leocrates* precedes the showdown between Aeschines and Demosthenes in the summer of 330; see Petrie (1922) pp. xxix–xxx who argues for the summer of 330 (he calculates 338 BC minus 8: 'more than five years' of Leocrates' stay at Megara [*Leoc.* 21, 45] plus two years of his stay at Rhodes, which then justify *Leoc.* 45: ὀγδόω ἔτει τὴν πατρίδα αὐτῶν προσαγορεύων'). Harris (2001) 195 with n. 1 argues for early 331. Be that as it may, Aeschines 3. 252, delivered after *Against Leocrates*, makes clear reference to the case brought forth by Lycurgus.

⁽¹⁹⁾ *EG Sim.* XL and *FGE anon.* CXIV.

⁽²⁰⁾ Text and translation after Adams (1919); for some minor textual variants from Adams (1919) and a comprehensive apparatus, see Dilts's (1997) Teubner edition. The epigrams, or parts of them, are quoted in three further sources with some significant variations (discussed shortly): Plu. *Cim.* 7; Apostol. 8 69a; Arsen 29. 3; Tz. schol in Lyc. 417. The interest of the scholiasts who commented on Aeschin. 3. 183–5 is limited to explaining individual words, such as toponyms and city locations (Stoa, Metroon) and does not comment on the source of the epigram (see Dilts (1992) 148–9 on 3. 183–5 and 150 on 3. 190).

⁽²¹⁾ For text, translation, and scholia on this passage, see n. 20.

⁽²²⁾ Text and translation follow Vince and Vince (1926); see Dilts's (2002) OCT), with a number of modifications.

⁽²³⁾ *EG Sim.* XXIIb 1.2: ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι Hdt., AP, Suid.: πειθόμενοι νομίμοις Lycurg.; D.S.; Str.; Const. Porphy. See Petrovic 2007a esp. 6–7.

⁽²⁴⁾ See n. 23 for the textual tradition.

(²⁵) Normally, an orator would hand over the material he intended to present in court to the *grammateus* in advance in order to save time, as the texts read out by the *grammateus* did not count against the orator's time allowance. On this, see Rhodes (2006) 722 on *AP* 67 iii; on the duties and the appointment of the *grammateus*, see also Rhodes (2006) 604–5.

(²⁶) P. J. Rhodes made the following point *per e.-litt.*: *Against Leocrates* includes among its documents *martyriai* (20, 23, 24), *synthekai* (24), *proklesis* (28), *psephismata* (36, 114, 118, 120, 122, 125, 146), the *horkos* of the *epheboi* (77), the alleged *horkos* of Plataea (81), *nomos* of the Spartans (129), and the text of none of these except the two *horkoi* is included in the manuscript text of the speech. But there are verses apparently quoted directly by Lycurgus himself as part of his own speech, which are included in the manuscript text of the speech and are not preceded by λέγε or anything similar (92, 103, 109, 132). However, the speech from Euripides' *Erechtheus* (100) and the long extract from Tyrtaeus (107) perhaps were among the documents read by the secretary: they again are not preceded by λέγε, but they are preceded by much more of an introduction than the short verse quotations.

(²⁷) This poem was exceptionally well known in fourth-century Athens (λόγος προχείρος is how D. 20. 112 refers to the herms and the request of Athenian generals); it is quoted both by Aeschines and Plutarch (Plu. *Cim.* 7), in the same (inconsequent) sequence. The literature on the Eion epigrams is vast; I have profited from discussions of this epigram in Wade-Gery (1933), *FGE* 255–9 and Osborne (1985), and especially from Bing (forthcoming). One of the most pressing questions concerning this verse-inscription is the problem of the sequence of individual epigrams, which seems illogical; see Bing (forthcoming). As for the archetype, both branches of speeches 2 and 3 (k (thirteenth/fourteenth century) to f (tenth) and i (thirteenth)) contain the epigrams in the same sequence.

(²⁸) Dilts's 1997 Teubner edition notes that manuscripts a (thirteenth century) and g (fifteenth century) omitted the lemma ἐπίγραμμα; apart from that, the word order πόλεως πρώτοι in l. 3 of the epigram is rendered as πρώτοι πόλεως in βf and πόλιος, the Ionic form, is given in k.

(²⁹) D. 18. 267 (anonymous quotation); 19. 243 (Hesiod, *Op.*); 19. 245 (Euripides, *Phoenix* Fr. 809 N). See p. 200.

(³⁰) I owe several clarifications of the textual situation concerning Demosthenes to Mirko Canevaro, and Dilts's (2002) edition: S is either late ninth or early tenth century, A is tenth; F and Y, however, both contain the epigram. But all of this seems rather irrelevant in this case, since all four, S, A, F, and Y, contain readings that can be paralleled to quotations from antiquity. Page, *FGE*, 433, rightly stresses that this 'is not of much importance' and discards the epigram on the basis of assessment of style.

(³¹) Page, *FGE*, 433, delightfully remarks that 'this rugged line is the only strong one in the epigram, a stone of some price mounted in a cheap setting'. For a refutation of authenticity, see esp. Wankel (1976) 97-115.

(³²) Wade-Gery (1933) 94, perhaps somewhat too emphatically: 'No one will suggest that Aeschines copied the poems straight from the Herms.' Equally emphatically against this, see Jacoby (1945) 196.

(³³) That Lycurgus was using an edition independent of the tradition that led the epigram to the *AP* is further supported by his quotation of the Marathon epigram (*EG XXI*). Lycurgus has χρυσοφόρων Μήδων ἐστόρεσαν δύναμιν, whereas Aristid. 28, 63 renders this as Μήδων ἐννέα μυριάδας, only to be outdone by Sch. Aristid. 46. 118 and Suda s.v. Ποικίλη with Μήδων εἴκοσι μυριάδας. All three are obviously drawing their version from the collection which also contained *EG XXIIa*, which served as a source of inspiration for the contaminated version of *EG XXI* (Hdt. 7. 228 ~ *AP* 7. 248), v. 1: μυριάσιν...τριακοσίαις (this is evident not least because Aristid. 28 renders both contaminated versions in 28. 63 (*EG XXI*) and two passages further, in 65 (*EG XXIIa*)). On the Spartan epigram in Lycurgus, cf. Hauvette (1896) 68, who develops an interesting if very unlikely argument that the text of the inscription was changed (see Stuart Jones (1897) 171 explicitly rejecting the idea: '[it is a] simple inference that the doctored text circulated in the time of Lycurgus'). With more nuance, Reitzenstein (1893) 108-19.

(³⁴) The reason why I remain sceptical about a collector taking over the series directly from Herodotus is that not all of the verse-inscriptions quoted by Herodotus made it to *AP* or *APL*; further on, two out of three inscribed epigrams quoted by Thucydides were left out by *AP*, as well (*FGE Sim.* XXVIa and b). The third one is *FGE Sim.* XVIIa ~ *AP* 6. 197 (Pausanias' epigram on Delphic tripod), which was quoted by five further sources, and, interestingly enough, paraphrased by Aristides in 46. 175. For an excellent discussion of the date of the *Syll. Sim.*, see Sider (2007a) 118-19 (although the reference to Petrovic (2007a) 91-2

mentioned there on 118 with n. 19 seems to report that I am not inclined to accept a fifth-century date for the *collection* of Simonidean verse-inscriptions: by all means I am. However, I am not inclined to accept an early date for an *anthology* of Simonidean epigrams.).

(³⁵) For the locations of epigrams, see Table 8.2. For Lycurgus, see also Reitzenstein (1893) 112 (with a reference to early, but confident as ever, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's (1880) *Kydathen* 207 A): 'Eher ist es denkbar, dass beim Übergang in die Buchsammlung der unklare Ausdruck durch einen allgemein verständlichen ersetzt wurde und schon Lykurg aus dem Buch zitiert, wie später Strabon.'

(³⁶) Quoted by Page in *FGE* 256 as Jacoby's words in *Hesperia* 15, 1944, 185ff., but refers actually to Jacoby (1945). Obnoxious, because it renders the epigram formally anomalous, which in turn led some to the assumption that these verses are spurious.

(³⁷) See Plu. *Cim.* 7 with *FGE* p. 257. Plutarch quotes the epigram either from Ephorus, or from a Hellenistic *Life of Cimon*. Reitzenstein (1893) 113 assumes that Plutarch and Aeschines did indeed use the same source, but that the source underwent several *recensiones* between the fourth century BC and the first century AD.

(³⁸) D. 20. 112 (trans. Vince (1930), slightly modified): 'Then they have a well known story ready; that even at Athens in former generations men who had rendered great services met with no recognition of this sort, but were content with an inscription in the Hermes-Stoa. Perhaps indeed the inscription will be read to you.'

(³⁹) See Page *FGE*, 258–9.

(⁴⁰) Livingstone and Nisbet (2010) 40–1 with n. 53 states that the lack of epigram-quotations in the late fifth-century/early fourth-century orators may be not so much a trend as a reminder that ‘two bodies of work are not comparable’. The reason should be that Demosthenes and Aeschines were *rhetoires*, politicians active in the assembly, and their surviving political speeches were ‘records (accurate or not) of actual performances on public stage’. Livingstone then points out that three early orators I am alleged to mention in Petrovic (2007*b*) 58–9, and which I labelled, for sake of convenience, fifth-century as opposed to fourth-century orators, namely Antiphon, Lysias, and Isocrates, constitute special cases: Livingstone points out that Antiphon was a *rhetor* as well, but his political speeches did not survive. Lysias ‘was a metic, and thus not a direct participant in Athenian politics’. Isocrates, finally, did write political speeches, but in fictive forms and did not perform in live debates. From this, he concludes: ‘it is therefore perfectly possible that political orators of the early fourth (and indeed fifth) century *were* [italics in original] in the habit of quoting inscribed epigram: we simply lack evidence one way or the other.’ While I recognize the validity of Livingstone’s encouragement to place a stronger emphasis on the performative context of the evidence examined, there are nevertheless several objections to his argument and the conclusion. First, there is a misrepresentation of one rather significant point: I did not and do not mention Antiphon, precisely because his political speeches do not survive. But I did and I do mention Andocides (Petrovic (2007*b*) 58), whose speech *On the Peace with Sparta* does survive: a political speech, and indeed, a speech delivered on the public stage in the early fourth century BC—without quoting epigrams; Livingstone does not take Andocides into account. Unless we claim Andocides to be yet another exception and portray him too as incomparable to Aeschines and Demosthenes, it is patent that we do *not* ‘lack evidence one way or the other’. Furthermore, the fact that Lysias was a metic does not render him incapable of including epigrams in the speeches he has written for others, who did perform them on the public stage. Why does the *Funeral Oration*, whether written by Lysias or not, abstain from exploiting inscribed epigram, when the context of the performance and the nature of the speech would have been ideal for such a practice? Why do all the forensic speeches Lysias has written on public causes—and, notably, on topics very comparable to the speeches of Demosthenes and Aeschines which do quote epigrams—not make use of epigrams? Because they were not performed by Lysias himself on the Athenian public stage seems a rather fragile argument. What of the epideictic speech (*Olympic Oration*) that was performed by Lysias (outside Athens)? For these reasons, I still maintain that there

indeed is a change in trends between the two generations of orators when it comes to the use of inscribed epigram in speeches.

⁽⁴¹⁾ By collections I mean simple structures in the sense of Argentieri (1998) 5: ‘nei *libelli* l’organizzazione non avveniva per *generi*, ma per *contenuto*’ and Parsons (2002) 115–21, not structurally ambitious anthologies. On earliest stages of epigrammatic anthologies concerned with local historiography, see Petrovic (2009) 216.

⁽⁴²⁾ Cf. Higbie (1999) 46; Sickinger (1999) 176–82; Bodel (2001) 41; *FGrH* 342 and *Plu. Arist.* 26. 1–4. I am grateful to J. K. Davies for encouraging me to look more closely into Ephorus’ use of literary sources. What kind of a collection Ephorus has used for the historical verse-inscriptions is uncertain (for an overview of the *Simonidea* there, see Flower (1998)), but it would seem logical to assume that he used *Syll. Sim.* or some sort of a collection that included historical verse inscriptions as he quotes both the Eurymedon epigram (*EG Sim.* 46) and Thermopylae inscriptions; see Sider (2007a). For the opposite (and partly outdated) view, see Jacoby (1945) 196 with n. 138.

⁽⁴³⁾ Sickinger (1999) 178–9.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ See Petrovic (2007a) 52–4.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ *FGrH* 328 T 1; Harding (1994) 32–4; Keen (1998) 377–8; Gutzwiller (1998) 25, 51.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ *FGrH* 702 F 1; *Athen.* 10. 454f; Cameron (1993) 5; Puelma (1996) 130 with n. 29.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ Radtke (1901) 36.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ *Athen.* 10. 436d, 442e (= Frs. 79–80 Preller). Gentili (1968) 42 with n. 4; Cameron (1993) 5; Parsons (2002) 112.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ Several epigrams survive; there can be little doubt that these collections indeed did include epigrams, *pace* Jacoby, *FGrH*, IIIb, Suppl. I, 328, 220ff. and esp. 222.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ On development of local historiography, see Chaniotis (1988); for local epic, see Cameron (1995) 297–300 and 447–53. Consider fourth–third century BC authors such as Rhianus of Crete with titles such as *Messeniaca*, *Achaica*, *Eliaca*, *Thessalica*, with some of the extant fragments clearly dealing with the local and some even recent history; Nicander the Elder with *Aetolica*, *Oetaïca*, *Thebaïca*, *Boeotica* (?); Choerilus (the Elder) with *Samiaca*; Hegemon with *Dardanica*.

⁽⁵¹⁾ Reitzenstein (1893) 121–3.

⁽⁵²⁾ Sider (2007*b*) 5–8.

⁽⁵³⁾ The text accompanying *FGE* III comments on the battle, movements of the army, the honours for the soldiers, the authorship of the poem, the genre of the epigram, and the physical context of the epigram. See Sider (2007*b*) 5–8.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Turner (1966) 14.

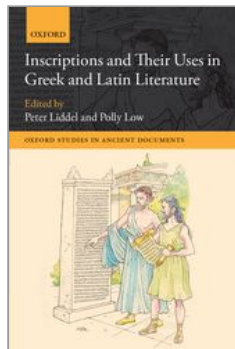
⁽⁵⁵⁾ See Table 8.4, for the orators supplying information on historical background and the physical context. Was the collection used by Plutarch for Athenian historical epigrams, as Wade-Gery (1933) 95 argues, comparable to this type?

⁽⁵⁶⁾ I refrain from discussing here the splendid new Marathon epigram (for ed. pr., see Steinhauer (2004–9)), which appears to have come directly from the Soros.



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Epigraphic Literacy in Fifth-century Epinician and its Audiences

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter concerns the reception of verse inscriptions (epigrams) on dedications in archaic and fifth-century Greece. Literary accounts of reading inscriptions are in short supply, but indirect evidence exists in literature in the form of 'epigraphic literacy', i.e., familiarity with inscriptions, their physical contexts, language, genres, social impact, and religious efficacy. Epinician poetry, for example, contains passages that a poet would not compose and an audience could not appreciate without their sharing expectations about the wording, motifs, and arguments of inscriptions on athletes' dedications and the effects of inscriptions read as monuments were viewed. The chapter gives two examples. Firstly, Pindar's *Olympian* 5 (lines 1–8) alludes to the language of epigrams in its representation of the original victory rites with an echo of the herald's proclamation of the victor's name, father, city, and event. Its opening thus framed performances as ritual reenactments, and epigrams framed encounters with dedications similarly. Epigraphically literate audiences could appreciate that this opening functioned as an epigram framing their interaction with a song-dedication as somehow like one with a dedicated monument. Secondly, *Isthmian* 1 presents itself as a monument bearing the poet's

signature (lines 14–16, 45–6). The functional parallelism to artists' signatures on dedications, sometimes incorporated into epigrams and often with comments on the maker's skill or object's beauty, would call epigraphic practice to mind. The goals were to advertise, neither artist nor poet, but the work as a fine object, and through it to honor god or patron.

Keywords: epigrams, dedications, proclamation, epinician poetry, Pindar, reperformance, artists' signatures, Bacchylides, agalma, megaloprepeia

My broader project concerns the reception of verse inscriptions on dedications in archaic and fifth-century Greece: I seek to recover something of the impact of reading (or hearing) epigrams while viewing ἀναθήματα. Authors of these periods may not offer much help in the form of straightforward accounts of reading inscriptions,¹ but indirect evidence for regular reading and its character does exist. Elsewhere,² I argue that we should take seriously the ways inscribed texts envisage their own reading, for example, in their deictic grammar, and I collect physical evidence showing that masons typically cut inscriptions to attract and accommodate readers. Here, I turn to literature for signs of ‘epigraphic literacy’—that is, familiarity with inscriptions, their physical contexts, genres, language, motifs, social impact, and religious efficacy.³

Poets may have acquired such literacy quite early. The verses Hector imagines uttered by future travellers passing his victim’s grave have been taken as an echo of warriors’ sepulchral epigrams (*Il.* 7. 89–90): ἀνδρὸς μὲν τόδε σῆμα...(this is the marker of a man...)⁴ Stehle suggests that ‘Sappho may have drawn from inscriptional practice’ ways of compensating in written communication for the absence of face-to-face performance, mainly through a ‘rhetoric of address and self-presentation’ and the creation of ‘fictional speakers who use the language of epic and religion with an assumed authority’.⁵ Sappho and epigrammatists foresaw contexts of vocal reading and composed texts to fit them; in comparable **(p.218)** fashion, Hector anticipates a verbal response to a monument from future passers-by, whether or not *Iliad* 7 reflects actual epigrams.⁶

Fifth-century historians were the first to quote specific epigrams,⁷ Herodotus citing the replacement monument for the Athenian victory of 506 BC, for example, and Thucydides describing the younger Peisistratos’ altar.⁸ Neither citation by literate scholars, however, nor sophisticated poets’ epigraphic compositional techniques can support a thesis of widespread familiarity with inscriptions. Sounder evidence comes from passages that audiences could not appreciate fully without sharing the authors’ experience of inscriptions. Epinician poetry provides such passages. At least some audience members must have shared the poets’ expectations about the typical wording of texts on athletes’ dedications, including their key motifs or arguments, and about the effects of reading such inscriptions while viewing victor monuments.

Inscriptions on victor dedications, especially epigrams such as *CEG* 381, framed viewers' encounters with monuments as repetitions of victory ceremonies (base for bronze statue, Olympia, 472 BC):

[Τέλλον τόνδ'] ἀνέθε[κ]ε Δαέμονος υἱὸς | ὁ πύκ]τας,
Ἀρκᾶς Ὀρεσθάσιος, παῖς δ. [∪ ∪ | – ∪ ∪ –].

(Tellôn set up this (statue), Daêmôn's son, [box]er, Arkadian from Oresthasion, boy (i.e. boys' category) [having...?].) (*CEG* 381)

The epigram joins two victory rites and encapsulates a whole ritual sequence: readers represented the victor's dedicatory act even as they spoke anew the elements of the sequence's most emblematic utterance, the herald's proclamation (ἀγγελία), which included the winner's name, his father's, his event and political identity, his age-category (if, as Tellôn, not adult), and often a form of νικάω or something similar as in Ebert's restoration of the pentameter: Δι[ὸς ἄθλον ἐλόν] (...having won the prize of Zeus).⁹ If Ebert is correct, 381 also alludes to the coronation, which the proclamation accompanied, since 'Zeus's prize' was the crown which Tellôn probably offered in an earlier act of dedicating. The epigram represents, and its readers replicated, Tellôn's coronation and dedications—separate activities in fact, but joined and rendered repeatable by the epigram. When read out, it framed approaches to 'this (statue)': the deictic anticipates every viewer's encounter and links it to Tellôn's original ritual act (ἀνέθεκε). The bronze statue was no doubt a beautiful image of Tellôn, possibly depicted after his victory, certainly at rest or calmly advancing, not in action.¹⁰ Especially if he was filleted or crowned, words and statue reinforced each other: the bronze elicited an **(p.219)** emotional response that the inscription framed as a repetition of the excitement of victory and coronation.¹¹

For their part, epinicians framed performances as comparable ritual repetitions, sometimes with echoes of epigraphic language or motifs, often reinforced by images of the ode as an ἄγαλμα, stone, or building of the type that bore inscriptions.¹² Most audiences had experienced inscribed victor dedications more frequently than epinician odes and were certainly aware of their efficacy. The poets—in a spirit of competition with the dominant mode of athletic memorialization, or in an effort to co-opt its efficacy, or perhaps rather recognizing the complex 'interaction between, and mutual dependency of, the two media'¹³—sought to convince hearers that song's reperformative force was as potent as statuary's. At least, one might so interpret Pindar's apparent denial at *Nemean* 5. 1–5 that sculptors' products—ἄγάλματα certainly, but immobile on their bases—perpetuated the proclamation

as effectively as an ode reperformed indefinitely all over the world (διαγγέλλοις' ὅτι...).¹⁴ I say 'apparent' because in fact Pindar does not deny that statues spread the *aggelia* or that he makes *agalmata*.¹⁵ Fearn argues convincingly in his chapter (this volume, Ch. 10) that the poet reflects on the complementarity of statue and ode as modes of commemoration. However we take *Nemean* 5, though, for audiences of epinicians who grasped an allusion to inscribed dedications, a performance frame was enhanced: the heightened and lasting aesthetic, social, and religious impact of statues and other fine monuments with writing on them—or a comparable but different impact—was claimed for performances. And if a performance generated the promised effects in an audience's responses, the frame succeeded.

In its representation of the original rites of victory, the opening of *Olympian* 5 reflects the wording of inscriptions on athletic dedications (lines 7–8): τὴν δὲ κῦδος ἄβρόν | νικάσας ἀνέθηκε, καὶ ὄν πατέρ' Ἄκρων' ἐκάρυξε καὶ τὰν νέοικον δραν (to you (the victor's city goddess, Kamarina) he (Psaumis), having won, set up his luxurious *kudos*, and he heralded his father Akrôn and his new-founded home (city)). 'Having won, he set up' is common in athletic epigrams; here it describes Psaumis' initial dedication of his victory crown at Olympia. The proclamation at Psaumis' coronation is represented ('he heralded'), and its rubrics are spread through lines 3–8. The *aggelia* was repeated every time performers sang the mule cart, Psaumis, Kamarina, the form of νικάω, and Akrôn. In lines 1–3, every performance was presented as dedicatory with the *dexai*-motif, a hymnic echo also found in epigrams: ...στεφάνων ἄωτον γλυκύν...δέκευ (receive the sweet choicest prize of...crowns). The song ('sweet prize') and perhaps, at least at the première, a crown or fillets were offered to the city goddess. Performances (**p.220**) were thus framed as re-enactments of Psaumis' coronation and proclamation, and, at least figuratively or imaginatively, of his rite of dedicating his crown.¹⁶

The framing of *Olympian* 5 as a performed offering and repetition of victory rituals could succeed even for audiences without experience of inscriptions. For the epigraphically literate, however,

the passage opened a wider perspective onto the celebration and commemoration of victory, one that involved dedications, statues, and inscriptions as well as songs, coronations, and rites of offering. For those hearers, the passage would do more than echo an epigram: it would *be* an epigram that framed their interaction

with the song-dedication as somehow like one with a monumental dedication.¹⁷

To the extent the performance elicited a heightened emotional response for its beauty or patriotic reflections on Kamarina, the frame would seem successful, the ode as efficacious as an encounter with, say, the Motya charioteer.¹⁸

Bacchylides 10 also frames performances as re-enactments of coronation, proclamation, and possibly dedication, and it aligns this reperformative efficacy with that of beautiful inscribed dedications. The ode's beauty is highlighted in lines 11–13: it is commissioned to be a Μουσᾶν ἄγαλμα (an *agalma* of the Muses), an object that decorates and exalts through artistry, which, to function properly, must be a ...χάρμα (joy), something that generates *charis*. Bacchylides can hardly have meant his audience to ignore the concrete connotations of *agalma*, the commonest name for the dedication in epigrams: his song is a splendid victory monument, effectively the winner's dedication.¹⁹ *Charis* and related words also appear in epigrams, which framed encounters with dedications as experiences with things that, by their beauty, generate delighted responses, for example, CEG 205 (pillar base for *kore*, Athenian Akropolis, c. 510–500 BC):

Παλάδι Ἀθαναίαι Λύσον ἀνέθεκεν ἀπαρχὲν |
 ἡοῦν αὐτόκτ[εά]νον, ᾧ δὲ θεοῖ χαρίεν. |
 Θεβάδες ἐπ[οίεσεν] ὁ Κῦ[ρ]νο παῖς τόδ' ἄγαλμα.
 (For Pallas Athena Lusón set up a firstfruits offering out of
 his own *kteana* (possessions), to be a *charis*-filled (adjective
 χαρίεις) thing for the goddess. Thêbadês the son of Kurnos
 made this *agalma*.) (CEG 205)

Bacchylides' poem-*agalma* is to 'declare' (μανῶν, 14) the twin Isthmian victories, the coronation, and the double *aggelia*. In describing the coronation, verses 15–18 may also allude to the victor's dedication of his crowns: κῦδος...Ἀθάναις | θῆκας, taken out of this context, could be rendered, 'you dedicated your crowns to Athens'.²⁰ These lines also include two *aggelia* rubrics: the victor's city and his **(p.221)** tribal fellows, the Oineidai, who substitute for family. The now lost winner's name appeared in the fragmentary opening strophe,²¹ and the two events he won at one festival stand at the beginning of the epode, before the proclamation is represented (ἀγκ]άρυξαν, 27).

Bacchylides, then, frames performances as *re*-performances of victory rituals, and the framing could be successful. Certainly, singers re-enacted the double *aggelia*, and audiences became the festival crowd witnessing the coronation, in words at least.²² In addition, the poet's

frame points to an audience's experience at the level of response, an emotional heightening that would move them to participate and approve as did the crowd at Isthmia. Framing typically points, not only to *what* verbal artistry accomplishes in performance, but also to *how* it does so. *Ode* 10 accomplishes this with ἄγαλμα, χάριμα, the rubrics of the *aggelia*, and κῦδος...Ἀθάναις θῆκας, all of which could call epigraphic language to an audience's mind, thereby effectively framing their experience of the sung monument with a sung epigram. As in inscriptions, the first two speak to the aesthetic means of eliciting heightened response; the latter two evoke the emotive force of communal identity, including the patriotism stirred at the game site by the *polis* rubric of the *aggelia* and elicited anew in reading epigrams that reproduce it. Further, Bacchylides joins both sides, aesthetic and social, to another idea that also reflects a way inscriptions frame encounters with dedications.

The 'joy' generated by the *agalma* is 'common for people', ξυνὸν ἀνθρώποισιν (line 12). This reflects the concept of the patron's μεγαλοπρέπεια, 'lavish public expenditure' manifested in the supplying of cultivated forms of κόσμος, or adornment, to city and sanctuary. Kurke studied the phenomenon in Pindar, and she holds that the poet's images of song as monument were generated out of a rich set of ideas concerning *megaloprepeia*, especially that directed towards the city; she focuses on the role of this *kosmos* in reintegrating the victor into the city's social fabric.²³ Details need adjustment, as Fearn and others have pointed out,²⁴ but the concept is important in Pindar and broadly. Classical orators, for example, illuminate the part ἀναθήματα played in the economy of *megaloprepeia*: those who dedicated valuable and beautiful offerings enhanced their social standing by, Isaeus specifies (5. 41-2), conferring *kosmos* on public spaces. Pindar argues that victors' expenditures of wealth, time, and effort, linked to his and the performers' artistry, decorate the city with epinician performances that function as fine dedications do in bringing renown and pleasure to the community and its gods²⁵—or, I should add, in perpetuating the aesthetic and social effects of victory rituals, where city and gods were honoured alongside athlete and family. When epinician framed performance in this way, some audience members probably heard an echo of epigram's framing of encounters with dedications.

The theme of the dedicator's public benefaction of *kosmos* is explicit in CEG 317 on the dedication of Lusistratê, priestess of Demeter (Athens, c. 450 BC). **(p.222)** Readers were probably standing at an entrance of the city Eleusinion,²⁶ a few steps from the Agora, just off the Sacred Way. By naming the dedication προθύρο(ν) κόσμον ἄγαλμα τόδε (this *agalma*, ornament (*kosmos*) of (the sanctuary's) front porch), the text

not only fits the reader-viewer's situation deictically, it calls attention to the location as a prominent cult place and asserts that Lusistratê graced it with an elegant offering. Her good taste is linked to unstinting expenditure: οὐδὲ παρόντων | φείδεται ἀλλὰ θεοῖς ἄφθονος ἐς δύναμιν (she has not spared what was available, but (was) ungrudging toward the gods to the best of her ability). The sentiment evokes the epic world of lavish generosity,²⁷ which, in a *polis* context, could be converted into acts of civic-spirited *megalorepeia*. Similarly, CEG 205 (above) states that Lusôn set up 'a firstfruits-offering from his own possessions (κτέανα)',²⁸ which conjures up the idea that he drew freely from a supply of treasures, normally stored away, but given as gifts and dedications or used on special occasions.²⁹ The cost per se was less important than the expenditure's nature: unsparing, *charis*-filled, producing *agalmata*, characteristic of *megalorepeia*.

Kosmos does not appear epigraphically before Lusistratê's dedication and is not common until the fourth century³⁰ (though the dedication's beauty is); and, beyond δεκάτη and ἀπαρχή, expenditure is rarely mentioned on earlier inscribed dedications. However, artists' signatures frequently appear on earlier dedications, and, when read out, they highlighted a dedicator's *megalorepeia* and conferral of *kosmos* on the sanctuary. They effectively asserted: 'This public-spirited patron commissioned a famous, perhaps foreign, certainly high-priced artist to make this splendid object.'³¹ Epinician too displays signatures. Bacchylides says something about his commission in *Ode* 10 before mentioning the song's anticipated effect as a χάρμα. The text is lacunose, but the poet's signature on his song-*agalma* stands out (line 10): βασιῶτιν...λιγύφθογγον μέλισσαν (clear-voiced island bee).³² I argue that, in part,³³ epinician signatures echoed epigraphic ones and fulfilled the same framing function in performance that artists' signatures did in encounters with dedications: they highlighted the means of generating their intended effect—that is, in the athletic sphere, the reperformance of victory rites. My chief epinician example is *Isthmian* 1, which Kurke analysed for the theme of *megalorepeia*.

An epigraphic signature, typically prominent, is often set off from the dedicatory inscription physically and/or metrically. The prose signature in CEG 366 (Nemea, c. 525 BC) occupies a line of its own, for example, and its direction of **(p.223)** writing (same as the line beneath, not reversed as in the 'false boustrophedon' epigram) drew readers to it as the place to begin.³⁴ In 280 (Athenian Akropolis, c. 440 BC), Krêsilas' signature occupies its own line and is iambic as opposed to the elegiac dedication.³⁵ In 193 (Akropolis, c. 525–510 BC), the dedication is prose, while Antênôr's signature appears in a physically separate hexameter.³⁶ Other verse signatures are merged into dedicatory epigrams, but only

rarely is there no separation between them: for instance, Thêbadês' signature in 205 (above) is a hexameter without a following pentameter, occupying its own line, with letters painted blue as against the distich's red.³⁷

Epinician signatures can likewise be set off in their contexts. Although in performance 'I' would not necessarily be heard as the poet's self-expression,³⁸ *Isthmian* 1. 14-16 can be compared to an artist's, architect's, or craftsman's signature:

ἀλλ' ἐγὼ Ἡροδότῳ τεύχων τὸ μὲν ἄρματι τεθρίπῳ γέρας,
ἀνία τ' ἀλλοτρίαις οὐ χερσὶ νωμάσαντ' ἐθέλω
ἢ Καστορεῖω ἢ Ἰολαοῖ ἐναρμόξαι νιν ὕμνῳ.

(But I, constructing the prize of honour for his four-horse chariot for Hêrodotos, who directed the reins with his hands, not another's—yes, I wish to fit him into a hymn for Kastor or Iolaos.)
(Pi. I. 1. 14-16)

The infinitive ἐναρμόξαι (to fit) continues the metaphor of τεύχων (constructing).³⁹ An additional signature-like passage at 45-6 refers to composing or performing the song as 'erecting (ὀρθῶσαι) a beautiful' something—a monument, one assumes:⁴⁰

...ἐπεὶ κούφα δόσις ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ
ἀντὶ μόχθων παντοδαπῶν ἔπος εἰ-
πόντ' ἀγαθὸν ξυνὸν ὀρθῶσαι καλόν.
(...for it is an easy gift for a skilled (?wise) man, in recompense for labours of various sorts, to speak a good word and erect a beautiful (?memorial) in common (i.e. for the community).) (Pi. I. 1. 45-6)

(p.224) Lines 14-16 constitute a major turning point in the ode's structure, and 45-6 fall within a longer transitional passage. At these key points, the poet—or performer, from an audience's perspective—breaks off what he has been doing and turns to a new task.⁴¹ It is appropriate that structurally important verses present the poet or performers as sculptors or builders, and their tasks as the raising of a monument and fitting together of its pieces. Also important for the parallelism with artist's signatures is that, at these places, performers turned the audience's attention primarily, not to themselves (or the poet) as objects of praise for their expertise,⁴² but to Hêrodotos, his exploits, qualities, and similarity to ancient heroes, and to the necessity of praising him in public. I return to this point later; here let us

continue with the second passage: ‘for a skilled man...to speak a good word and raise up a beautiful’ something.

Pindar’s language can bear more than one interpretation, but audiences probably heard a return to the image of poet or performer as builder or sculptor, here one who erects a monument of ‘good word(s)’. Echoes of inscribed signatures, especially ones that refer to the artist’s skill and in some cases the beauty of his product, would reinforce this impression for epigraphically literate listeners. *CEG* 340ii (the Ptôion, late fifth century), for example, refers to a family of craftsmen: the son who made the tripod ‘learned skill (ἐδάε σοφίαν) from his father’.⁴³ An adjective form of *δάω describes the artist in Euphrôn’s signature in 316 (Piraeus, c. 475–450 BC): οὐκ ἀδαῆς (not without knowledge). *Sophia* occurs, or may do so, elsewhere in signatures,⁴⁴ as does τέχνη.⁴⁵ Intriguing, but sadly fragmentary, is 402, inscribed on the belt of a three-metre-tall stone *kouros* (Delos, c. 600 BC).⁴⁶ The lower pair of lines (no. ii) seems to be a hexametric dedication with a prayer addressed to ‘lord’, presumably Apollo. The upper pair (no. i) seems to be an iambic signature:

(p.225) [-----].ης ποίησεν ἔριν ὁ[-----] |
[-----ἐ]μροτοῖσιν⁴⁷ [-----].
([...?] -ês⁴⁸ made, competition? [...?] among mortals [...?].)
(*CEG* 402i)

One is tempted to see in ἔριν an artists’ competition for standing ‘among mortals’, either generalized rivalry (with the stirring of emulation) or a specific contest.⁴⁹ Hesiod’s craft rivalry at *Works and Days* 11–26 comes to mind. *CEG* 230ii, on a different surface of the pillar from the dedicatory hexameter, offers another tantalizing comment on artistry (Athenian Akropolis, c. 500–480 BC):

[– ◡ (6 letters)] τοῖσι σοφοῖσι σο[φ]ίξεσθ[αι] ατ[◡ --]· |
[ἡδὲ γὰρ] ἡέχει τέχνην λοῖ[ο]ν ἡέχει ◡◡ –].
([?...] for the skilled to practise their skill? [...], | for he
who] has an art has a better [...].)⁵⁰ (*CEG* 230ii)

This may compliment some other skill of the dedicator, as a poet,⁵¹ perhaps, or a potter; but it is at least equally possible that the dedicator was the sculptor who made whatever stood on the pillar, so that 230ii is a kind of extended signature.⁵² When artists are donors,⁵³ signature and dedication can merge, as in 425 (base or pillar capital,⁵⁴ Artemision on Delos, c. 550–530 BC):

Μικκιά[δης τόδ’ ἄγα]λμα καλὸν π[οίησε καὶ] υἱὸς |

Ἀρχερμωσο[φ]ίεισιν⁵⁵ ἡεκηβώ[λῳ] ἰοχεαίρῃ |
[h]οι Χῖοι, Μέλαρος πατρώϊων ἄσ[τυ] λιπόντες].

(p.226) (Mikkiadês [and his son] Archermos, with their skills, [made this] beautiful *agalma* for the far-shooting [arrow-pourer] (Artemis), Chians [who left] their father-city of Melas.)(CEG 425)

The restorations are contested;⁵⁶ but if we accept this text, the artist-dedicators put on display their names, their offering's beauty (ἄγαλμα καλόν), and their individual skills (plural σοφίεισιν⁵⁷).

Mikkiadês and Archermos also displayed their participation in an Aegean artistic milieu: the dedication's provenance is Delos, the sculptors emphasize their Chian ethnicity, the lettering combines Delian and Parian forms,⁵⁸ and the winged sculpture often associated with the base shows Cycladic and Attic stylistic features.⁵⁹ Canonical signatures too can highlight the ethnicity of foreign artists. The signature might appear in the epichoric script of the artist's home territory, while the dedication is in that of the offerant.⁶⁰ The signature can begin with the ethnic, as in CEG 280 (above): Κυδωνιέτας Κρῆσίλας ἐργάσσατο (the Kydônian Krêsilas did the work). In 413 (?Delos, c. 525–500 BC), this assertiveness is extended: το(ῦ) Παρίου(ν) ποίημα Κριτωνίδεω εὖχομαι[αἰ] 'ναι] (of the Parian Kritônidês I boast that I am a product). Employing an artist from abroad redounded to a patron's credit as a cultured participant in a world of high-artistic connoisseurship and international contacts.⁶¹ We might compare Pindar presenting himself as his patron's guest-friend from abroad and the epinician ode as a guest-gift or exotic import.⁶²

It is anachronistic to interpret signatures of sculptors, potters, and painters—even those mentioning the artist's *sophia* or *technê* and linked to comments about the object's beauty—as claims to special standing for artists as creative individuals, though signatures did make status-claims for artists, especially those inscribed on their own dedications.⁶³ The main goal was to glorify not the artist, but the fine object, and through it to honour the god who received it and/or the patron who commissioned, gave, or displayed it. Signatures offer good evidence for the position of the artist in archaic society: his was not a grandiose role, but that of a maker and interpreter with a skill that enabled patrons to give the god the finest offering they could commission and to increase their own prestige. A signature, in **(p.227)** other words, contributed a frame to viewing, one that made claims about the object and the response it could elicit.

We can compare epinician signatures, including passages describing the poet's work as that of a sculptor or builder (often with *τειχίζω*, *τέκτων*, or *τεύχω*),⁶⁴ sometimes termed *σοφός* as at *Isthmian* 1. 45, one who raises a fine song-monument for the *laudandus*. To quote Kurke:

[W]e are much mistaken if we try to claim that the poet glorifies or promotes *himself* by using the image of the *τέκτων*...We must displace the poet as the focus of this imagery and shift our attention to the 'users' of his craft, the patron who commissions the poem and the audience for which it is commissioned...The purpose of this imagery is to glorify not the poet but the product of his craft, the *poem*, and thereby to enhance the status of the victor who commissioned it within his community.⁶⁵

These images, in other words, serve the themes of *megaloprepeia* and *kosmos*. Kurke calls attention to the adjective *ξυνόν* at *Isthmian* 1. 46, the word that, at Bacchylides 10. 12, started me on this line of thought. The poet's task is to raise a beautiful monument of praise that 'belongs in common' to the victor's city and its gods, as well as to the patron himself and his family. Pindar effectively says: 'The ode's due praise of Hêrodotos decorates our city.'⁶⁶ We should treat him as a public benefactor who lavished on the community, not only the fruits of his costly athletic prowess, but also those of this much sought-after poet's skills.' The earlier passage (lines 14–16) would call up an audience's familiarity with the comparable efficacy of monuments as testimonies to their dedicators' *megaloprepeia*. Audience members who caught an echo of epigraphic signatures likely heard in lines 45–6, *ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ... ξυνὸν ὀρθῶσαι καλόν*, a return to that earlier image of poet as maker of a song-monument. They would appreciate more fully than the epigraphically illiterate the claim that the performance was as splendid a *kosmos* as an athletic statue dedication.

If Pindar's images of *Isthmian* 1 as a monument conferring *kosmos* on Thebes framed performance as a certain kind of experience, especially for audiences familiar with inscriptions, the frame could be successful—as successful as a dedicatory epigram's and signature's framing of a viewer's gaze at a statue dedicated by Hêrodotos. The beauty of song and statue would elicit heightened aesthetic responses that affirmed claims of beauty and artistry and, indirectly, claims about Hêrodotos' cultured sensibilities and civic generosity. Physical **(p.228)** location in Thebes, Hêrodotos' Theban ethnic in an epigram elsewhere when read by Thebans, and the praise of Thebes in the ode⁶⁷ would stir patriotic responses. Viewers and audiences would be inclined to admire, not begrudge, Hêrodotos' achievements, to accept them as good for the city.⁶⁸ And the rubrics of the *aggelia* shouted by heralds as Hêrodotos

was crowned at Isthmia would be repeated when the ode was sung, just as when an epigram was read, although the poem spreads them out in non-epigrammatic fashion.⁶⁹ Inscription and ode framed encounters and performances as re-enactments of the coronation;⁷⁰ and re-enactments happened, in words and in emotional responses.

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Notes:

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⁽¹⁾ Bing (2002); but cf. Hdt. 1. 187 with Meyer (2005) 38–47.

⁽²⁾ Day (2010) ch. 2. See also Baumbach et al. (2010) chs. 2 (T. A. Schmitz), 3 (M. A. Tueller), 4 (G. Vestrheim), and 13 (R. Wachter); Livingstone (2011); Livingstone and Nisbet (2010) 22–30; Meyer (2007).

⁽³⁾ For broader Greek discourses about textualities, see Steiner (1994).

⁽⁴⁾ Ps.-Plu. *Vit. Hom.* 2. 215. See Scodel (1992); but differently Bing (2002) 49–50; Day (1989) 27; Elmer (2005) 1; Ford (1992) 131–71; Svenbro (1993) 16, 53.

⁽⁵⁾ Stehle (1997) 311, 316.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. Meyer (2005) 53–6. In similar language, Theognis anticipates a verbal response to his seal (lines 19–23); see Ford (1985).

⁽⁷⁾ Pindar may quote *IG I³ 503/504* (*CEG* 2–3+) at *P.* 1. 74–5, but the restored text he allegedly quoted is not secure (*SEG* 51. 44).

⁽⁸⁾ Hdt. 5. 77. 4 (*CEG* 179), Th. 6. 54. 7 (*CEG* 305). As to whether Herodotus cites inscriptions from autopsy or hearsay, compare West (1985) with Pritchett (1993) 144–91; cf. Bing (2002) 54–6; Livingstone and Nisbet (2010) 30–45; Petrovic (2007); Rhodes (2001) 143. Thucydides, with his comment on its state of preservation, surely quotes *CEG* 305 from autopsy.

⁽⁹⁾ Ebert (1972) 64–6 no. 14. See further Kurke (1993) 142–5; Wolicki (2002) 70–80.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Deduced from the statue's footprints; see Ebert (1972) 65.

⁽¹¹⁾ More fully at Day (2010) 199–228. The idea is explicit later, e.g. in *CEG* 823, 827, 844.

⁽¹²⁾ Cf. Steiner (1993) 167–79, also Biles (2011). For framing, see Day (2010) Index s.v.

⁽¹³⁾ Morgan (2007) 230 n. 67.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Cf. Thomas (2007) esp. 149–52, who compares *I.* 2. 44–6. See also Steiner (1993) 159–64; (1994) 94–9; (2001) 251, 259–65; and further

Angeli Bernardini (2000) 30; Ford (2002) 93–130 (esp. 119–23); Loscalzo (2003) 150–60; O’Sullivan (2003).

(¹⁵) Pfeijffer (1999) 101.

(¹⁶) Cf. Kurke (1993) 137–41, who associates *kudos* with crowns. Cf. *O.* 4. 10–12, 8. 9–10, 9. 112, 13. 29–30; *P.* 12. 1–6; *N.* 8. 13–16, also *N.* 5. 54 (with Steiner (1993) 163). For caution about the dedication of crowns in epinician, see Neumann-Hartmann (2009), who graciously shared her manuscript ahead of publication.

(¹⁷) Day (2010) 62–3, also 201–3.

(¹⁸) Dedicated between twenty and thirty years earlier than *O.* 5; see Bell (1995).

(¹⁹) Cf. *B.* 1. 184 (with Maehler (2004) 111 on line 4), also 5. 4 and *Fr.* 20B. 5. To be sure, Bacchylides’ ode is not *simply* a monument; for its ‘motion, sound, activity, presence, joyful festivity, and glory’, see Ford (2002) 125–6.

(²⁰) Cf. *O.* 5. 7–8, previously mentioned.

(²¹) Maehler (1982) ii. 181.

(²²) For the fragmentary opening, cf. *Ode* 2. 1–3.

(²³) Kurke (1991) 163–94 (quotation 167; esp. 187–92), followed by Steiner (2001) 272–3.

(²⁴) Fearn (2007) 150 n. 169; cf. e.g. Thomas (2007) 149–52.

(²⁵) Cf. Steiner (1993) 166 on *N.* 2. 6–8.

(²⁶) Miles (1998) 66.

(²⁷) Cf. χαριζομένη παρεόντων at *Od.* 1. 140 = 4. 56 = 7. 176 = 10. 372 = 15. 139 = 17. 95.

(²⁸) Cf. *CEG* 242 *adn.*, 251, 264, also 774.

(²⁹) Cf. *Pi.* *N.* 9. 32.

(³⁰) e.g. *CEG* 767 (cf. 773, 866, differently 643) and 796 (cf. 775, probably 875, differently 865. 5).

(³¹) Cf. Viviers (2006) 152: ‘Un tel a dédié cette œuvre et l’a commandée à un tel.’

⁽³²⁾ Line 39 alludes to a poet's (so Maehler (1982) ii. 189–90, but perhaps equally a sculptor's) *sophia* and relationship to the Charites.

⁽³³⁾ This qualification acknowledges the tradition of poetic seals as declarations of ownership or authorship by a maker concerned with fixing a text; cf. n. 6 above, Rutherford (1997) 46–8 (poetic seals as framing devices; cf. Hutchinson (2001) 356–8 on B. 3. 96–8); Steiner (1994) 86–91. Osborne (2010) 237–8 sees a deeper similarity between artists' signatures and poets' seals; cf. n. 63 below.

⁽³⁴⁾ Jeffery (1990) 44, 50, 173 (no. 7). The epigram calls the dedication κ]αλὸν ἄγαλμα.

⁽³⁵⁾ Cf. *CEG* 192 and 419, also 402i (but n. 46 below). Marcadé (1953–7) provides an image of Krêsilas' signature (i. 62, taken from Loewy (1885) no. 47), and many others; cf. *DAA* 133.

⁽³⁶⁾ The signature's two lines are separated from the dedication's by empty space, and their stoichedon rows are further apart. Cf. *CEG* 324, 340, 388, also 867 = 429a.

⁽³⁷⁾ Day (2010), fig. 8. In *CEG* 316, the signature is marked by punctuation and constitutes an added pentameter; in 334, it begins the second verse, following punctuation, but it does not complete the verse, the last two words of which begin a dedicatory formula. Hansen suggests that in 334, as well as 205 (but he punctuates differently), 388, and 418, artists were co-dedicators. There may be no physical separation between dedication and signature in 306, 329, and 426. Cf. Viviers (2006) 146, 152.

⁽³⁸⁾ At *N.* 3. 3–5, the chorus are τέκτονες of the celebration; see Svenbro (1976) 190.

⁽³⁹⁾ Cf. Loscalzo (2003) 124; Steiner (1993) 166–7 n. 29 (an equestrian monument envisaged); and, for construing the text, Bury (1892) 13–14. Besides Kurke (1991), see more generally Loscalzo (2003) 121–60; Svenbro (1976) 186–93. Cf. *O.* 6. 1–4, *P.* 3. 112–15 (poets as τέκτονες σοφοί), 6. 1–18 (a treasury of songs is built, τετείχισται), 7. 1–4 (cf. *Fr.* 194. 1–3), *N.* 8. 13–16, 46–8 (song as *agalma* dedication and commemorative stone of the Muses).

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Cf. Kurke (1991) 188–9; Loscalzo (2003) 123.

⁽⁴¹⁾ Other key structural transitions, which Kurke (1988) calls 'break-off formulas', and which explicitly introduce (or create the expectation of)

direct praise of the victor or his family, include the beginning of the final prayer that Hêrodotos 'build' (τεύχοντ[α], 67) honour for his city with greater victories. Cf. Bundy (1962) 36, 45, 47–8, 53–69, 76–7; Thummer (1968–9) i. 122–8; ii. 12, 15, 20, 23, 30, 33.

⁽⁴²⁾ See Kurke (1988), differently.

⁽⁴³⁾ For τέχνη in a similar context, see Ebert (1996) 25–9 no. 2 (*SEG* 48. 545). If such a statement or a patronymic located the artist in a known tradition, both object and patron gained prestige; cf. Viviers (2006) 148.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ *CEG* 26, 252 (but cf. *IG* I³ 761, and *sophia* may be the dedicator's as in *CEG* 270), 306 *adn.* (but *IG* I³ 949), and Anon. 105b *FGE* (Paus. 5. 25. 10). Cf. *CEG* 406, if the artist is ἀσκητὸς παλα[, perhaps παλά[μαις], for which see Simon. 63 *FGE*.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ *CEG* 192 *adn.*, and see n. 43 above.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Delos Museum A2464. I follow Hansen, whose understanding of the extant content holds, though the association of a second inscribed fragment (A7648, not joining A2464, but to be placed some distance to its right) complicates any effort at restoration and calls his metrical reconstruction into question; see Gruben (1997) 282–6 (*SEG* 47. 1220). At least twenty letters separate the extant letters of the upper pair of lines on the second fragment from those of the corresponding lines on the first (*CEG*'s 402i); and of course, the text may have run some distance to the left of 402, perhaps all the way around the kouros' waist. Moreover, the second fragment shows line 2 (continuing verse 2 of *CEG*'s 402i) turning the corner and continuing downward, apparently at the belt's clasp; this line perhaps merged into the first of the two lines in the lower band (402ii). The epigram was thus quite long and apparently written as one text.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ The next letter, the last surviving of the line on A2464, can represent η, h, or ἡε/ἡη. Gruben (1997) 284 suggests, ---] πρότοισιν ἡ[νεγμένος, with reference to placing first in a contest or competition; but the *mu* seems clear.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ Gruben (1997) 284–5 suggests Εὐθυκαρτίδ]ης; cf. *DVA* 820.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ Peek (1956–7) 571 no. 17 (*SEG* 19. 508), suggests ἔριν ὁ[ρίνας?]. However, cf. *CEG* 324, 399.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ *IG* I³ 766 prints restorations in the text (but cf. *CEG adn.*): [ἔσθλόν] ...κ]ατ[ὰ τέχνην]|...λόι[ο]ν' ἡέχ[ει βίοντον] (A fine thing (it is) for...their

skill according to an art, for he...has a better life (or living)).' Cf. *DAA* 224, Friedländer and Hoffleit (1948) 124 no. 134.

(⁵¹) Cf. *CEG* 270, with Biles (2011). In his seal, Theognis refers to himself as σοφιζομένω (line 19).

(⁵²) In craftsman dedications (cf. Keesling (2003) 69–75; Tanner (2006) 155), the social dynamic may be altered, but not the religious or aesthetic ones: the artist-dedicator (if that is the situation in *CEG* 230) emphasizes the taste, skill, and craft-success put into the god's gift. Viviers (2006) 152–3 notes that artist-dedicators effectively present themselves as commissioning themselves. The lost word ending in E at the beginning of the dedicatory hexameter (230i) may be the name of a woman who dedicated (*epsilon* as *êta*), but scholars have considered that incompatible with the content of 230ii; see *CEG adn.*

(⁵³) Maker-dedicators refer to their *sophia* also in *CEG* 291 and 387; cf. 252 *adn.* We may overstate the number of maker-dedicators: (1) ποιέω may be used as a verb of dedication (cause to be made; cf. Keesling (2003) 73–4; Umholtz (2002) 264 n. 14) rather than shorthand for 'made and dedicated' (*CEG* 262, ?329 *adn.*) in e.g. *CEG* 187, 211, 307, and 327; (2) the expression 'making (it) with (his) hands' in *CEG* 348 indicates a maker-dedicator, but Keesling (2003) 231 n. 49 suggests that 'with (his) hands' in *CEG* 236 (and perhaps 280a) 'could be a reference to the dedication of the profits from a craft'. For artists as co-dedicators, so that ποιέω could carry both senses ('make' and 'dedicate'), see n. 37.

(⁵⁴) Often associated with a winged female statue found nearby, Athens, National Museum 21; see Ridgway (1986) 265; Keesling (1995) 188–94.

(⁵⁵) I.e. Ἀρχερμο(ς) σοφίησιν.

(⁵⁶) See Scherrer (1983); also *SEG* 33. 633, *CEG* II, page 304. Most scholars accept σο[φ]ίησιν; Scherrer's (22–3) *thêta* for *omikron* (a small circle inside the main one) and restoration of two letters in the space given to *phi* here seem untenable, although my informal examination of the stone, aided by C. Geggie, was inconclusive. See Ridgway (1986) 262 (citing Scheibler (1979) 20–2, who takes the figure as Nikê) for the idea that the offering marks a 'victory in an artistic competition'; cf. *CEG* 402i above.

(⁵⁷) *CEG adn.*, citing 291.

(⁵⁸) Jeffery (1990) 294–5.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ Stewart (1990) i. 116.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ E.g. *CEG* 380, 388. In 198, an apparently Athenian woman's (Keesling (2005) 414) dedication by Archermos shows Ionic letter-forms. Cf. Luraghi (2010).

⁽⁶¹⁾ Cf. Viviers (2006) 148, 153.

⁽⁶²⁾ E.g. *P.* 2. 3–4, 67–8. Cf. *B.* 13. 221–6 and his emphasis on his island heritage at 3. 98, 5. 9–12, 10. 10. See further Kurke (1991) 85–107, 135–59.

⁽⁶³⁾ Cf. Duplouy (2006) 187–9; Tanner (1999) 142–7, 158–64; (2006) 141–58; Viviers (2006) esp. 149–50, 154. It is equally anachronistic to view a signature only as a means of identifying an atelier in the art market. Osborne (2010), though affirming the signature's role in drawing attention to a work's efficacy, argues that it could make 'the sculptor more than just an adjunct to the patron' (247); he compares a poet's *sphragis* (237, with my nn. 33 and 65).

⁽⁶⁴⁾ For τεύχω in epigraphic signatures, see *CEG* 857 = 425a (*SGO* 03/07/02) and Ebert (1996) 25–9 no. 2 (*SEG* 48. 545). In fourth-century epigrams, the verb appears: (1) in signatures (*CEG* 635. 7, added hexameter); (2) to describe the act of those responsible for erecting a grave marker (548. 9, 624, ?667, and cf. [?τυκ]τόν in 698; also, from the late sixth century, 57 and possibly 106, and perhaps to be restored in 152 of the seventh century); and (3), perhaps most interestingly here, in signatures by the poets who composed the epigrams (819. 13 [added pentameter], 888. 19).

⁽⁶⁵⁾ Kurke (1991) 193–4. Viviers (2006) 146, 150–4, arguing that signatures offer evidence for the patron's influence on specially commissioned vases and statues, speaks in similar terms (150): 'Il serait toutefois opportun, comme pour bon nombre de questions liées à l'artisanat antique, de tenter un déplacement du centre de gravité de nos interprétations du producteur vers le consommateur, de l'artisan vers le client.' Osborne (2010) warns against carrying this too far and ignoring the communication between maker and viewer as integral to that between patron and viewer (or work and viewer).

⁽⁶⁶⁾ Kurke (1991) 188–9 cites Schol. *I.* 1. 46 (61c; Drachmann (1927) 207): κόσμος γάρ ἐστι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν τὸ περὶ να γινόμενον ἐγκώμιον. Cf. *Pi. Fr.* 194.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ The opening sequence (lines 1–13), Iolaos' role in the myth (16–31), and the prayer at the end (64–7).

(⁶⁸) As good as military service, Pindar argues (line 50).

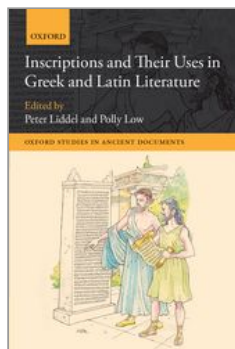
(⁶⁹) City's name in line 1, victor and event in 14, father in 34.

(⁷⁰) At 10–12, the crowns of Theban winners at Isthmia are said to have conferred κῦδος (cf. 50) on Thebes, at 21 and 28–9 the heroes' crowns are highlighted, and at 65–7 we find a prayer that the victor win future crowns and thus confer honour on Thebes; still, no act of dedicating tokens of the present victory appears as in *O.* 5 and *B.* 10.



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Kleos Versus Stone? Lyric Poetry and Contexts for Memorialization

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Abstract and Keywords

It is generally thought that the lyric poets were hostile to materialist as opposed to kleos-driven, orally delivered, forms of commemoration. However, an investigation of certain test-cases, as well as a broader view of the relation between lyric poetry and other artistic forms of commemoration, shows that the issue is in need of further clarification and modification. This chapter offers a contextually-nuanced interpretation of the available evidence for the inscribing of archaic and classical poetry on stone. The following issues are discussed: what account should we give of the relation between lyric poetry and epigraphy? What account are we to give of the nature of materialistic metaphors in lyric poetry; what contexts need we supply for such poems? And what of the corollary, the use of the orally-inspired language of kleos in epigraphic texts? Are there specific contextual conditions which invite a particularly close relationship between material and non-material forms of commemoration? What forms did inscriptions of non-epigrammatic texts take, and what functions did they have? Key texts include Simonides 581 PMG (on Kleoboulos of Lindos) and 531 PMG (the memorial for the Spartan war-dead). The aim is to produce a coherent account of the social and cultural impact of

such interfaces between poetry and epigraphy, as well as art, as not only rival, but also complementary, and sometimes combined, modes of commemoration: part of a broader appreciation of ways in which archaic and classical Greeks thought about themselves, their dead, their gods, and their pasts.

Keywords: lyric poetry, kleos, renown, commemoration, Simonides, competition

The challenge of contextualization is once again central to studies of Greek lyric poetry, but is beset with methodological obstacles, not all of which have successfully been overcome.¹ It is, however, much more important that we take up this challenge than that scholarship revert to more narrow philological concerns, especially ones that produce results that look untenable in the light of increasing contextual awareness. In an area of scholarship so strongly rooted in a traditionally philological *modus operandi*, the contextualizing turn is daunting, because of the range of material, and the range of expertise, potentially required to do justice properly not only to the chosen methodology, but also to the poetry as one small part of the variety of ways in which ancient Greek culture liked to express itself and articulate its thoughts and ideologies.

The contextualizing manoeuvre involves a drive towards specificity, in terms of sensitivity to the specifics of individual times and places, and to the aspirations and aims of the different representative media. Rather than to think of 'lyric poetry' purely as the set of texts in our editions that we can study thanks to Hellenistic scholarship, it invites us to study specific poems (and often fragments of poems) in relation to what we know from other comparative evidence about the societies, individuals, and cultural settings for and in which the individual poems were composed.

(p.232) The contextual manoeuvre might also invite us to be more 'media-savvy', in the sense of being aware of how lyric poetry might relate to, engage with, or fit more generally into discourses in which other artistic media operate. Victory odes are a key subject, and some interesting and thought-provoking work has begun to engage with issues concerning the relationship between Pindar's victory odes and Greek statuary, though there is still a good deal of room for debate about the exact nature of the relation between Pindar and material culture.²

The aim of this discussion is to provide some greater detail about one particular aspect of the relationship between lyric poetry and other representative media, by asking contextual questions of some familiar 'purple passages' from the great choral lyric poets, with an eye on the relation between lyric poetry, sculpture, and associated epigraphic texts, and the specific circumstances in which the poetry of commemoration comes into close contact with alternative material modes of projecting fame. Inscriptions are important for this agenda of contextualization because the written word set up in material form, when attached to a commemorative monument—for example, a victory statue, a *tropaion*, or a funerary statue or *stèle*—was a highly significant and perhaps primary means (in a period before portrait

sculpture) by which the subject is identified and a specific connection between object and viewer is generated.³ The inscription is thus a fundamental part of the material object, crucial for its mode of engagement with viewers.⁴ It comes as no surprise that the language of Pindaric epinician poetry is truly 'epigraphically literate' (as Joe Day argues in Ch. 9 of this volume). Moreover, of specific interest is the fact that the choral lyric poet Simonides was also a celebrated writer of epigrams preserved on stone; though debate concerning Simonidean authorship still rages, the fact of the existence of a long tradition associating Simonides with this form of poetic composition attests to his elevated position within its history.⁵

From this perspective, inscriptions are important at a basic level because they may help to fill out and add to our appreciation of the ways in which literary texts—in this case lyric poems—engage with or respond to art. At a richer, more contextualizing level, a realization of the importance of inscribed texts in Archaic and Classical Greek material culture may help to deepen appreciation of the communicational strategies of the variety of commemorative art-forms (including poetry), in a range of contexts in which art and text are juxtaposed, for a variety of purposes and for a variety of consumers.⁶

As Jim Porter has recently observed, '[t]he monumental pretensions of Greek lyric poetry are a well-known phenomenon, but they are also tricky to describe, **(p.233)** combining as they do both cool distance from the object-world and interested rivalry'.⁷ The majority of scholars working on this topic have been rather unwilling to allow the choral lyric poets to bridge a notional divide between materialist as opposed to oral/poetic forms of commemoration, preferring to take certain apparently polemical texts out of context to suit their own literary histories.⁸ However, over a number of years Deborah Steiner has challenged the scholarly orthodoxy on this issue.⁹ More recently Jim Porter has produced a comprehensive and sophisticated attempt to explain the crossovers between the materiality of art, the textuality of literature, and the history of aesthetic appreciation in classical antiquity, with much that is suggestive for future contextual readings of Archaic and Classical lyric poetry.¹⁰ In what follows I build on some of the insights of Steiner and Porter, and others, and investigate a number of key texts, to strengthen the case for the lyric poets' immersion in and interaction with the broader world of commemorative monuments and their inscriptions, and the positive consequences we can draw from such interrelationships.

We are not talking simply about the relation between, for example, ‘Simonides and Art’ when we talk about the relation between lyric poetry and material media. For we need to be talking about the relationship between Simonides on the one hand and ‘Art+Text’ on the other. Whenever we think about commemorative monuments in stone or bronze, we also have to think about the (often poetic) inscriptions that accompanied them. Particularly in the case of Simonides, poet of epigrams as well as choral lyrics, but also for his younger contemporaries Pindar and Bacchylides, it would therefore be hazardous to suppose in the abstract that these poets were automatically hostile to other artistic media, about which, at the very least, they—and indeed, perhaps more importantly, their patrons—would have known a great deal.

I would like to turn first to two well-known examples from Simonides. The first is the Midas Epigram and the Simonidean response to it. The second is Simonides’ Thermopylae poem. The overall view put forward here is that, although at first glance these texts might seem to confirm the view that Simonides (and by extension Pindar and Bacchylides) are always, as if by definition, trying to outdo or reject the rival claims of alternative forms of commemoration (i.e. the art+inscriptional text of commemorative sculpture), matters are more complex, and the poets’ reactions are contextually nuanced and not straightforwardly, if at all, negative.

Simonides’ reaction to the Midas Epigram by Kleoboulos of Lindos represents an anti-materialist extreme, it has seemed. The texts are as follows:

χαλκῇ παρθένος εἰμί, Μίδα δ’ ἐπὶ σήματι κεῖμαι.
 ἔστ’ ἂν ὕδωρ τε νάη καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ τεθήλη,
 ἡέλιος τ’ ἀνιῶν λάμπη, λαμπρά τε σελήνη,
 [καὶ ποταμοὶ γε ῥέωσιν, ἀνακλύζη δὲ θάλασσα,]
 αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένουσα πολυκλαύτῳ ἐπὶ τύμβῳ,
 ἀγγελέω παριοῦσι, Μίδας ὅτι τῇδε τέθαπται.

(p.234) (I am a maiden of bronze, and I rest upon Midas’ tomb. So long as water shall flow and tall trees bloom, and the sun rise shining, and the shining moon, [and rivers flow and the sea toss up its waves,] remaining on this very spot, over this much-lamented tomb, I will announce to those who pass that Midas is buried here.)

τίς κεν αἰνήσειε νόῳ πίσυνος Λίνδου ναέταν Κλεόβουλον
 ἀενάοις ποταμοῖς ἀνθεσί τ’ εἰαρινοῖς

ἁελίου τε φλογὶ χρυσέας τε σελάνας
καὶ θαλασσαιῶσι δίνης ἀντιθέντα μένος στάλας;
ἅπαντα γάρ ἐστι θεῶν ἥσσω· λίθον δὲ
καὶ βρότεοι παλάμαι θραύοντι· μωροῦ φωτὸς ἅδε βουλά.

(Who if he trusts his wits would praise Kleoboulos who dwells in Lindos for setting against ever-flowing rivers and the flowers of spring and the flame of the sun and the golden moon and the eddies of the sea the force of a *stèle*? For all things are weaker than the gods; and stone even mortal hands can shatter; this is the devising of a fool.)
(Diogenes Laertius 1. 89-90 and Simonides 581 *PMG* trans. Ford 2002: 105)

It has been argued by some that Simonides' reaction against the force of mere stone is a direct and generalizable rebuttal of the claim that an inscription can guarantee immortal fame.¹¹ However, the context in which Simonides' point about 'the force of stone' is made is one in which the poet is criticizing the work of an earlier poet and sage, Kleoboulos: this means that the epigraphic habit is not itself the subject of the attack. Rather, as I shall argue, it is Kleoboulos' literary efforts that are subject to critique.¹² Simonides' poem ridicules Kleoboulos' by playing back for posterity Kleoboulos' allusions to the power and longevity of nature, and exploiting their literary force: Kleoboulos' ἔστ' ἂν ὕδωρ...νᾶη (so long as water shall flow, line 2) is glossed by Simonides with ἀενάοις ποταμοῖς (ever-flowing rivers, line 2): standing at the head of Simonides' list, ἀενάοις (ever-flowing), while it is elsewhere used non-figuratively of water, is an adjective often used figuratively in choral lyric, and is, as we shall see, associated directly with poetic *kleos* by Simonides himself in another very prominent location.¹³

Essentially, therefore, Kleoboulos' poem is not up to the difficult task that has been set. The Midas poem could have worked, and might have avoided the Simonidean critique, if it had taken a different approach and avoided a literal use of language that for Simonides, and Pindar and Bacchylides, could be figuratively transformed and used metaphorically, often to denote the temporally transcendent claims of poetic *kleos*. Simonides submits Kleoboulos' poem to a literary critique since, though both commemorative poetry (whether inscribed or not) and commemorative monuments might make authoritative claims to **(p.235)** permanence, for Simonides, Kleoboulos has not taken the opportunity to use those more intangible poetic techniques of *kleos* to enhance and extend the memory of the Midas monument in a skilful fashion. On a stronger reading, the Midas Epigram fails, for Simonides, not because sculptures and epigraphic texts are somehow naturally

inferior to ‘the organic, natural, proper, because not inscribed, poetry of *kleos*’ (itself a suspect notion given what we know about the significance of the poetics of *kleos* in inscribed epigrams),¹⁴ but because the sage Kleoboulos is not that good a poet, and because Simonides knows better. Or, to take a middle position, we might suggest that Simonides’ critique attacks Kleoboulos’ wild claims about the longevity of stones, and as such is an attack on Kleoboulos’ throwaway deployment of epigraphy, but not an attack on epigraphy in general. Stones and their associated epigraphy are, for Simonides, an extreme example of the kinds of thing that are ‘weaker than the gods’, that can be broken even by the hands of men (lines 5–6). But the statement that ‘*all things* are weaker than the gods’ invites us to take a long view on the potential impermanence of metaphors and non-inscribed poems also.¹⁵ As a poet of both inscribed and non-inscribed verse, Simonides was ideally placed to reflect on the nature of *kleos* and the variety of means on offer for patrons and artists to make commemorations for posterity.

The Kleoboulos example is not therefore to be taken as good evidence for the view that Simonides saw himself seriously challenged by, or superior to, all literary epigraphy or statuary, though it does use Kleoboulos’ epigraphic text as its point of departure for the critique. Rather, the text offers what should be seen as a rather *ad hominem* piece of poetic one-upmanship against an earlier rival, especially when we recall the known fact that Simonides himself was a composer of literary epigrams.

One such example is the epigram preserved in Herodotus celebrating the Spartan Megistias who fell at Thermopylae, a text that of all the Simonidean epigrams has the best chance of being authentic,¹⁶ *Epig.* VI. It is in this context that we should bring in Simonides’ famous lyric piece for the Spartan war-dead at Thermopylae:

[τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων]
 εὐκλεῆς μὲν ἂ τύχα, καλὸς δ’ ὁ πότμος,
 βωμὸς δ’ ὁ τάφος, πρὸ γόνων δὲ μνᾶστις, ὁ δ’ οἴ[κ]τος
 ἔπαινος·
 ἐντάφιον δὲ τοιοῦτον οὐτ’ εὐρὼς
 οὔθ’ ὁ πανδαμάτωρ ἀμαυρώσει χρόνος.
 ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ὅδε σηκὸς οἰκέταν εὐδοξίαν
 Ἑλλάδος εἴλετο· μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Λεωνίδας,
 Σπάρτας βασιλεύς, ἀρετᾶς μέγαν λελοιπῶς
 κόσμον ἀέναν τε κλέος.

(p.236) ([Of those who died at Thermopylae,] well-famed is their fate, and fine their fall. Their tomb is an altar; for lamentation they have remembrance; groaning is praise. They are wrapped in such a shroud as neither stain nor all-subduing time will darken. This shrine for worthy men has as its attendant the esteem of Greece. Leonidas, too, bears witness, the Spartan king, who has left behind a great ornament of his excellence and an ever-flowing fame.)
(Simonides 531 *PMG* trans. Ford 2002: 110)

Quintessentially Spartan in its use of the traditional Tyrtaeian mode of exhortation to celebrate a pre-eminent example of Spartan heroic values in action, this text—presumably an excerpt from a longer *thrênos* (dirge)¹⁷—has frequently been taken as one in which Simonides pushes the superiority of poetic *kleos* as a vehicle for commemorating pre-eminent virtue by co-opting materialist metaphors; as such it may seem to pave the way for Pindar’s own use of architectural and sculptural metaphors to claim the superiority of his own form of commemoration over and against those of his artistic rivals in other media. One might be drawn to think, for example, of the analogy with the opening of Pindar’s *Pythian* 6, and its rather, to our ears, Shakespearean idea of ‘Not marble nor the gilded monuments | Of Princes shall outlive this pow’rful rhyme’ (Sonnet 55, lines 1–2).

However, the argument developing here is that such an interpretation of the poetic use of artistic or materialist metaphor not only underinterprets the poetic evidence, but also offers an unbalanced and unrealistic view of the contexts of patronage; more will be said concerning Pindar in due course: first, more on Simonides and the Spartans. In view of the Simonidean epigrammatic background, we should not think that this poem rejects the world of material commemoration in favour of a figurative take of the poet’s own. That would risk disrespecting the actual materials of commemoration by which the Spartans chose, or might in the future choose, to commemorate their war-dead. Simonides is surely using the material trappings of suitably grand, heroic, funerals—and associated material strategies of commemoration—as the point of departure for his own different, but complementary, take on the Spartan war-dead and what their loss means.¹⁸ To quote Anne Carson, from her acute observations on the complex syntax of this poem, ‘[t]he aligned words do not refute or replace one another, they interdepend’;¹⁹ the meaning of the phrasing is created through the interrelation of concepts, not through the prioritization of one side (‘poetry’/*kleos*) over the other (‘material culture’/*erga*). We might also argue, with Carson, that **(p.237)** Simonides’ words are, in part at least, a response to the paradoxical

prospect of material commemoration in Sparta despite the absence of actual bodies, since Herodotus 7. 228 tells us that no corpses were recovered from the battlefield.²⁰

It would surely have been dangerous or at least artistically counterproductive for Simonides to have demeaned the actual materials of funereal commemoration in favour of poetic, metaphorical analogues. Simonides' metaphorical *entaphion* (line 4) (which we have to render in English as something like 'shroud') is left unspecific here, with its literal connotation left to be filled in and instantiated by, for instance, the high esteem for the dead that Spartans may feel, and through the enormous sense of loss that the poem conjures up, guaranteed and preserved by Simonides' poetic *kleos*. Andrew Ford surely goes too far when stating that the poem of Simonides is insistent 'that these heroes' commemoration is not to be associated with any monument or ritual':²¹ for Simonides' choice of these metaphors reveals how the poet is using literal trappings of funereal commemoration and potential heroization as his point of departure, not to outdo them, but to emphasize and explore what they actually *mean* through the figurative medium of poetry.²² Furthermore, an interpretation of the final three lines which saw the *kosmos* that Leonidas leaves behind as a transcendental form of *kleos* opposed to any material ornament (in the form of commemorative sculpture, for example)²³ would produce a rather restricting sense for the 'and' (τε) in the final line; it is surely possible that Leonidas and the Spartans together left both material and non-material forms of renown for posterity—with Simonides' poem playing a central role in the construction of that renown.²⁴

The paradoxical presence—or indeed absence—of (the now dead) Leonidas in the final lines of this poem (μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Λεωνίδας, | Σπάρτας βασιλεύς, 'Leonidas, too, bears witness, the Spartan king', lines 6-7) also warrants further scrutiny. The invocation of the dead-and-gone Leonidas as a continually present (both grammatically and cognitively) witness to the Panhellenic prestige of the 300 is arch and, at least on first viewing, incongruous. Yet we might want to suppose that precisely what Leonidas leaves behind in the final line—what that 'great ornament' actually consists of, what these words symbolize—is left deliberately open, with the pairing of *kosmon* (ornament) with *kleos* (fame) opening up **(p.238)** the prospect of both material and poetic media and modes of reception (poetic performance/transmission and viewable/legible monuments).²⁵ A text like this, where the gap between figurative language and literal description is very slim by design, may well reveal a conceptual contact zone where a definition of glory as enacted through verbal delivery and aural reception (*kleos*) is no longer

the only option, when other media, in particular naturalistic sculptures with their inscribed bases indicating their subjects of praise, are making increasingly persuasive and powerful claims. In fact, there is a strong possibility that Simonides is actually cuing his audiences and readers in to epigrammatic *kleos* as well as that associated with both choral lyric and epic poetry, since, as we know, *kleos* is a term that Archaic poets of epigrams were themselves using to figure the memorialization both of their poems and the monuments or dedications associated with them.²⁶ Perhaps the most well-known exploration of this materialist-poetic juxtaposition in the language of funereal commemoration comes in Thucydides.²⁷ But it is clearly much older.²⁸

Poets such as Simonides (whose Thermopylae poem is in any case a natural forerunner of Pericles' funeral oration)²⁹ worked for patrons who liked to be commemorated not only orally in poetry but also visually through sculpture and their associated inscriptions. And it may be possible that late Archaic and early Classical *thrēnoi* by poets such as Simonides contained more focused awareness of the overlapping concerns of poetry and plastic art, in the commemoration of the dead, than other poetic forms devised for other contexts—though we should not push this point too far, and of course we know—as we will see shortly—that other contexts of commemoration also provided the background for other investigations of the relations between visual art and poetry.

The question of precisely what Leonidas leaves behind for posterity, a question that Simonides' poem opens up, engages with other conceptual possibilities and choices that Spartans might make in the future in addition to poetic commemoration, such as the erection of monuments and sanctuaries honouring the war-dead and King Leonidas.³⁰ It is this openness that, I suggest, provides the poem's ultimate point, and its power. The choices of material commemoration are left open for the Spartans in addition to the poetry that they have already received; this openness—and ensuing scholarly debates about the existence of various commemorative monuments and their relevance to the conception of this poem³¹— is **(p.239)** in fact matched by the way in which Simonides underdetermines the performance context of this poem, and in so doing opens it up to a wide range of possible receptions, as guaranteed by the fluid conception of *kleos* as 'ever-flowing'. Simonides' achievement is to deconstruct not only the boundaries between material and poetic means of commemoration, but also between epichoric and wider contexts for them. The genius of Simonides' complex use of language in this poem was to use poetry to elaborate on and to further intensify, rather than challenge, dismiss, diminish, or ignore, the meaning for Spartans of the

rituals they performed or might in the future perform for their war-dead. Moreover, Simonides' text, and thus Simonides' Spartans, become transcendentally ubiquitous—Leonidas simply *is* everywhere to bear witness—because of the poem's openness to the potential of reception of Spartan fame across and through a variety of media.³² In this case the issue of contextualization cannot be one of performance locations, but becomes one of thought-worlds: the poem is compelling in the way it makes all who read or hear it, wherever they may be throughout Greece, almost *become* Spartan, able to imagine or feel what it is like to experience intense grief and immense national pride at one and the same time.

With complex pieces of evidence such as this, conditions of patronage are important: it would seem to be unwise to imply that a poet such as Simonides was arrogantly offering a vision of poetic *kleos* or bust, which would be unfair on him and unfair on his patrons, especially—as in the case of Simonides' Spartans—when it is the proper commemoration of war-dead that is at stake. 'Proper' of course begs important questions about funerary ideology, and, more broadly, about the relation between commemorative monuments and *polis*-ideologies across Greece in this general period.³³ I would, however, suggest that Simonides' highly distinctive take on funerary discourse in this poem should be seen as an attempt to shape Spartan funerary ideology, with the aim of transforming Sparta and her war-dead into a paradigm of heroism for all of Greece to admire and emulate.

This issue of patronage now takes us to Pindar, Bacchylides, and epinician poetry, and thus to athletic contexts of commemoration. It is no longer sufficient to say that Pindar utilized artistic metaphors from architecture and sculpture simply because these evolving media were challenging poets' traditional roles in **(p.240)** the enactments of commemoration, and that consequently the poets had to fight back.³⁴ Such accounts put too much emphasis on artistic rivalries and threats, and do not take into sufficient consideration the discrete needs, desires, and circumstances of individual patrons. One alternative approach, more sympathetic to the idea of artistic collaboration and neutral influence across media, has been pursued in Deborah Steiner's readings of artistic metaphors in Pindar.³⁵ However, her synaesthetic exploration of Pindar's materialist metaphors is able neither to provide a fully coherent theory of representation applicable to Pindar and his poetic colleagues nor suitably to distinguish poetry from sculpture in cognitive terms.³⁶ In the present discussion, sensitivity to contexts may help.

In epinician poetry, the long tradition of epigraphic forms of victory commemoration in Archaic and Classical Greece helps to add depth to an appreciation of the relation of poetry to the alternative forms of commemoration. The very antiquity of using epigraphic means to commemorate athletic achievement, an issue covered nicely by Rosalind Thomas,³⁷ makes us aware that the lyric poets would have been very used to, and indeed brought up with, a tradition of alternative modes of commemoration. Poets were very familiar with the practice of inscribing stone objects at Panhellenic sanctuaries, both as a means for the sanctuaries themselves to keep prestigious lists of victors, and as dedications by victors themselves, as well as the use of bronze plaques for associated purposes.³⁸ The poets in fact provide a variety of examples that allude to such alternative means of commemoration.

Most straightforwardly, in a catalogue of the local victories of the great *periodonikês* Diagoras of Rhodes, Pindar can refer directly to the keeping of inscribed records of victors at a sanctuary:

ὅ τ' ἐν Ἀργεὶ χαλκὸς ἔγνω νιν, τὰ τ' ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ
 ἔργα καὶ Θήβαις, ἀγῶνές τ' ἔννομοι
 Βοιωτίων,
 Πέλλανά τ' Αἴγινά τε νικῶνθ'
 ἐξάκις· ἐν Μεγάροισιν τ' οὐχ ἕτερον λιθίνα
 ψᾶφος ἔχει λόγον.

(p.241) (The bronze in Argos came to know of him, as did the works of art in Arcadia and Thebes, and the ancestral games of the Boeotians, and Pellana; and Aegina knew him victorious six times, while at Megara the stone record holds no other account.) (Pindar, *Olympian* 7. 83-7)³⁹

Pindar is also able to ape the style and language of dedicatory inscriptions in the encomiastic frames of victory odes: see, for instance, the praise of Praxidamas of Aegina in Pindar's *Nemean* 6, and the epigraphic language there which possibly alludes directly to the wording of the inscription on the base of the statue that Praxidamas dedicated in the sanctuary at Olympia.⁴⁰

The epinician poets were also aware of their patrons' use of alternative plastic means of commemorating their achievements, which often included epigraphic poetic texts. See, for instance, the encomiastic frame of Bacchylides 3 for Hieron of Syracuse, which alludes to and praises Deinomenid dedications at Delphi:

βρύει μὲν ἱερὰ βουθύτοις ἑορταῖς,
βρύουσι φιλοξενίας ἀγυιαί·
λάμπει δ' ὑπὸ μαρμαρυγαῖς ὁ χρυσός,
ὑψιδαιδάλτων τριπόδων σταθέντων
πάροιθε ναοῦ, τόθι μέγ[στ]ον ἄλσος
Φοίβου παρὰ Κασταλίας [ρ]εέθροις
Δελφοὶ διέπουσι.

(The temples abound in feasts where cattle are sacrificed,
the streets abound in hospitality; and gold shines with
glinting light from lofty elaborate tripods set up in front of
the temple where the Delphians tend the greatest
sanctuary of Phoebus by the streams of Kastalia.)
(Bacchylides 3. 15–21 trans. Campbell, Loeb, adapted)⁴¹

When this familiarity with monumental dedications is coupled with the obvious point that poets would not want to upset patrons (or potential patrons), it would be an odd choice for epinician poets to decide to risk attacking the tastes of their patrons by being outwardly hostile to elite material culture.

Let us therefore turn to some further pieces of evidence. First of these is the well-known opening of Pindar's *Nemean* 5:

Οὐκ ἀνδριαντοποιός εἰμ', ὥστ' ἐλινύσονται ἐργά-
ζεσθαι ἀγάλματ' ἐπ' αὐτὰς βαθμίδος
ἑσταότ'· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάσας
ὀλκάδος ἔν τ' ἀκάτῳ, γλυκεῖ' αἰοιδά,
στεῖχ' ἀπ' Αἰγίνας διαγγέλλοισ', ὅτι
Λάμπωνος υἱὸς Πυθέας εὐρυσθενῆς
νίκη Νεμείοις παγκρατίου στέφανον...

(p.242) (I am no sculptor, one to fashion stationary
statues that stand fixed to the same base. No, on board
every ship and in every boat, sweet song, go forth from
Aegina and spread the news that Lampon's mighty son
Pytheas has won the crown for the pankration in Nemea's
games...) (Pindar, *Nemean* 5. 1–5)

This opening has frequently been seen as the best evidence for Pindar's strong antipathy towards sculpture.⁴² However, when the poet, or rather chorus in performance, state that they are no makers of statues that are to stand immobile on bases, they are not denouncing this rival medium: from a performance perspective, a dancing and moving chorus may be drawing a contrast between their motion and statues that are standing still, in a performance location where statues are perhaps also visible.⁴³ Yet there is more to this opening than a contrast between static statues and mobile dancers. Patrick O'Sullivan, in his discussion

of this opening, is right to point out that Pindar is referring to 'two areas particularly associated with Aigina: its sea-faring and statuary'.⁴⁴ But he then goes on to suggest that, in so doing, Pindar 'would be treading a fine line in exploiting one famous Aeginetan activity—the nautical imagery that frames the ode—at the expense of another'—that is, the statuary.⁴⁵ Such a tactic would seem highly counterproductive. As Pausanias knew from the associated epigraphic testimony still visible in his day, and as we know now too, Aegina was the home of very prominent and successful sculptural workshops in the Archaic and Classical periods, whose artists were responsible for some of the most pre-eminent commemorative monuments visible at the Panhellenic sanctuaries of Olympia and Delphi.⁴⁶ Of the forty-three victors' statues set up at Olympia before 400 BC where the artist's ethnic is known, eight are by Aeginetan artists, a total second only to Argos.⁴⁷ We might therefore suggest that Pindar is doing something more subtle in *Nemean* 5 than openly undermining the prestige of a celebrated Aeginetan craft, and therefore putting at serious risk his chances of receiving future commissions from one of the most victory-hungry of all Greek nation-states, whether or not Lampon and his family commissioned commemorative sculptures themselves.⁴⁸ A way in for us to discover what Pindar might be doing is provided by Barbara Kowalzig, in a discussion of the relation between Aeginetan myth, choral lyric poetry, and Archaic and Classical trade.⁴⁹ She well observes that Pindar is not simply praising Aeginetan sea-faring in the opening of *Nemean* 5, but praising Aegina's maritime economy.⁵⁰ And we now know that one of Aegina's greatest exports was sculpture. So when we hear Pindar saying that he is 'no maker of statues, but that his song travels across the sea', the immediately arresting and **(p.243)** seemingly anti-sculptural stance is being undercut. Aeginetan sculpture, as Pindar and his audiences know, handily deconstructs the neat opposition that this bald opening sets up, since Aeginetan sculpture also travels around the Greek world making Aegina and Aeginetan commerce famous, as famous as the athletes that Pindar and that sculpture commemorate.⁵¹ At the same time, we can agree that Pindar is having his cake and eating it (as usual, we might think), successfully managing to carve out a distinctive position for his own form of commemoration, 'a poetic fantasy useful for the purposes of self-promotion'.⁵² To this extent, we might agree further that 'Pindar's comments come in a context where the efficacy of visual media is open to dispute',⁵³ especially during the early fifth century when the economics and contexts of burgeoning artistic patronage, technological developments in skilled bronze-casting, and the repercussions of continuing developments in the representation of the human body in sculpture, would have been affecting both visual artists and poets

alike.⁵⁴ However, Pindar, perhaps rather like Simonides as we saw earlier with the Thermopylae poem, is composing poetry for patronage while at the same time commenting on, testing the limits of, and pushing the boundaries of his own discipline through musings on the status and significance of other commemorative media that are themselves highly responsive to socio-cultural dynamics⁵⁵—though this is an issue that warrants further investigation beyond the scope of the present discussion.⁵⁶

(p.244) We can agree with Pindar in *Nemean* 5 that statues do ultimately stand still, fixed to their bases, but this does not make them irrelevant or lacking in impetus throughout Greece, and this is not what Pindar is saying. Pindar recognizes that a sculpture without a base would be literally meaningless, precisely because those bases carried the important inscribed labels identifying their subjects, allowing viewers to make connections between signifier and signified.⁵⁷

Pindar's heightened self-consciousness about art *tout court* should be appreciated on its own terms, as a way in to full appreciation of his work not only in context but also as verbal art. Pindar's metaphors from material culture do not help us to see him transcending the world of things or exchanging it for a world of ideals;⁵⁸ rather, in memorializing his victors, the materiality embedded in his poetic skill reminds us at every turn of how rooted into the contexts of material culture Pindaric poetry really is. It is all the more interesting, therefore, that the majority of Pindar's most prolonged engagements with monuments as part of the essential fabric of contemporary material culture come in the openings of poems.⁵⁹ With *Nemean* 5, the sculptural opening is, I would suggest, deliberately, as well as self-consciously, arresting. Pindar's audiences and readers are being invited to think about poetic and non-poetic forms of art, and about their communicative and aesthetic status, to ask such questions as how immaterial *is* poetry? What exactly is *kleos* and how is it instantiated—in what ways is Pindar's poetic version different from the ways in which sculptors and their sculptures make us feel about, and remember, their subjects? Even here there is no clear dichotomy between poetry and sculpture, as dedicatory inscriptions that accompanied material monuments *already* ask these questions, as they themselves are concerned with the poetics, symbolism, and power of *kleos*. One such example is **(p.245)** provided by *CEG* 344 (Delphic context, c.600–500 BC), which, over fifty years before Pindar's first datable victory ode, is already free to use the concept of *kleos*, whose power and significance derive ultimately from

epic poetry, but was generated in the there-and-then and for perpetuity through the longevity of a stone monument:

τάσδε γ' Ἀθαναίαι δραφεὸς Φαί|εάριστος ἔθηκε
 ἡέραι τε, ἥος καὶ κ|εῖνος ἔχοι κλέφος ἄπθιτον αἶφεί.

(Phaearistos placed these vessels for Athena and Hera, so that he too might have unquenchable fame always.) (CEG 344)⁶⁰

Context matters greatly for the question of the distinctiveness of commemorative sculpture versus that of commemorative poetry, in terms of the relation between the range of performance contexts for the poetry and the dedicatory sites for the sculptures, which implies complementarity rather than opposition or outright hostility. Victory statues and their associated inscriptions gain broader prestige from the site at which they are dedicated, generating meaning and significance through the interplay and association with other nearby monuments, especially at sites such as Delphi and Olympia.⁶¹ In some cases, Olympia was the site where statues could be set up that commemorated a successful career as well as individual examples of excellence.⁶² The more elaborate victory odes, by contrast, which were designed for performance back home rather than at the site of the initial victory, choose to use the specifics of a particular victory as the point of departure for a move into wider ethical and mythological territory. When victory odes do engage with material culture, they do so in carefully crafted ways, and/or with poetic conceits that buy into and fully appreciate the significance of the broader material cultural contexts in which their compositions operated. In the case of *Nemean* 5, this has everything to do with the significance of sculpture for Pindar's contemporary Aeginetans.

This complementarity can be seen through the case of Ergoteles of Himera. Ergoteles is commemorated in Pindar's *Olympian* 12, for winning the Olympic long-distance footrace in 466 BC; this is a relatively short poem that also mentions other previous successes, and charts Ergoteles' move from political unrest in Crete to a successful new home in Sicily:

Λίσσομαι, παῖ Ζηνὸς Ἐλευθερίου,
 Ἰμέραν εὐρύσθενέ' ἀμφιπόλει, σῶτειρα Τύχα.
 τὴν γὰρ ἐν πόντῳ κυβερνῶνται θαοί
 νᾶες, ἐν χέρσῳ τε λαιψηροὶ πόλεμοι

(p.246) κάγοραὶ βουλαφόροι. αἱ γε μὲν ἀνδρῶν

πόλλ' ἄνω, τὰ δ' αὖ κάτω
 ψεύδη μεταμῶνια τάμνοισαι κυλίνδοντ' ἐλπίδες·
 σύμβολον δ' οὐ πῶ τις ἐπιχθονίων
 πιστὸν ἀμφὶ πράξιος ἐσσομένου εὖρεν θεόθεν,
 τῶν δὲ μελλόντων τετύφλωνται φραδαί·
 πολλὰ δ' ἀνθρώποις παρὰ γνώμαν ἔπescen,
 ἔμπαλιν μὲν τέρψιος, οἱ δ' ἀνιαραῖς
 ἀντικύρσαντες ζάλαις
 ἐσλὸν βαθὺ πῆματος ἐν μικρῷ πεδάμειψαν χρόνῳ.
 υἱὲ Φιλάνορος, ἦτοι καὶ τεὰ κεν
 ἐνδομάχας ἅτ' ἀλέκτωρ συγγόνῳ παρ' ἐστία
 ἀκλεῆς τιμὰ κατεφυλλορόησε(ν) ποδῶν,
 εἰ μὴ στάσις ἀντιάνειρα Κνωσίας σ' ἄμερσε πάτρας.
 νῦν δ' Ὀλυμπία στεφανωσάμενος
 καὶ δις ἐκ Πυθῶνος Ἰσθμοῖ τ', Ἐργότελες,
 θερμὰ Νυμφᾶν λουτρὰ βαστάζεις ὁμι-
 λέων παρ' οἰκείαις ἀρούραις.

(I beseech you, daughter of Zeus the Deliverer: watch over
 strong Himera, saviour Fortune. In your hands over the
 ocean swift ships are steered, as on dry land so too are
 speedy wars, and assemblies where decisions are made. Up
 and down, up and down as they cut through wind-tossed
 lies, men's hopes are battered. No mortal man has ever
 found a faithful sign from the gods concerning an action to
 come: men's instructions about the future are blinded.
 Many things for men occur contrary to expectation: to
 some things turn out contrary to joy, and others
 encountering hateful sea-squalls exchange deep good for
 pain in short compass. Son of Philanor, even the honour
 due your feet would have shed its leaves without glory, like
 a fighting cock left indoors at a kinsman's hearth, had not
 strife, which sets man against man, deprived you of your
 homeland of Knossos. But now, garlanded at Olympia,
 Ergoteles, and twice at Delphi and Isthmia too, you feel in
 your hands the warm waters of the Nymphs, back home in
 land that belongs to you.) (Pindar, *Olympian* 12)

Revelling in the richest epinician diction, Pindar uses the bald details of
 victory sparingly as the shining testament to Ergoteles' extraordinary
 turn in fortune that has brought him to success and to Himera.⁶³ The
 figurative richness on offer here enables Pindar to express what it must
 feel like for Ergoteles to have lived through such great reversals of
 fortune and come out victorious, with the victories listed at the end
 seemingly secondary to the main focus of this piece, even as they are
 central to it and fundamental to its very existence.

After this, the inscribed bronze plaque for the sculpture of Ergoteles at Olympia may seem rather flat:

Ἐργοτέλης μ' ἀνέθηκε Φιλάνορος ἀγλαὸς υἱός],
 Ἑλλανας νικῶν Πύθι[α δις δόλιχον]
 καὶ δὺ' Ὀλυμπιάδας δ[ύο δ' Ἴσθμια καὶ Νεμέαι δίς],
 ἡμέραι ἀθάνατον μν[ᾶμ' ἀρετᾶς ἔμεναι].

(p.247) (Ergoteles, glorious son of Philanor, set me up, victorious over the Greeks twice at Delphi in the long-distance race, and twice at Olympia, twice at Isthmia and twice too at Nemea, providing for Himera an immortal commemoration of excellence.) (*SEG* 11. 1223a = *CEG* 393; Olympia Mus. B2488)⁶⁴

Yet the commemorative function of the plaque is different from that of Pindar's poem, since the dedication was made to commemorate an overview of Ergoteles' successful achievements at the end of his career; and, more importantly, in situ at Olympia, this inscription, together with its statue (now unfortunately lost), would have set the glories of Himera on the material map of dedications at Olympia for all posterity. When viewed at Olympia, the statue would have been intended to affect viewers in particular ways, with the associated inscription cuing the viewer in to associate the positive emotions they feel when interacting with the sculpted image in front of them with the identity of the victor specified. The richness of diction in Pindar's *Olympian* 12 affects the way we feel and think, drawing us to empathize with Ergoteles' journey to success and to share the glory of his achievements. Ergoteles' Olympic dedication will have been intended to have a similar effect, but in different ways through the manner in which his particular dedication resonated with, and generated meaning by association with, other victory monuments in that very special dedicatory context, as experienced by visitors to the sanctuary.⁶⁵

Pindar's aspirations are as broad as the aspirations and aims of sculptural dedications at sanctuaries such as Delphi and Olympia, but their mechanisms for generating fame are different, as are their contexts—though we might say that for both poetic and plastic media the prospect of successful commemoration into eternity was, ultimately, similarly fragile (especially if, from our perspective, we have read our Callimachus—see Morrison, Ch. 14 in this volume, on Callimachus' take on Simonides' epitaphic poetics). The variety of ways in which significant individuals in Archaic and Classical Greece could be commemorated by poets and sculptors may not, therefore, have been anywhere near as oppositional as is often assumed. Poets can celebrate specific victories if they choose to, but can also commemorate careers

of success, as Bacchylides fragment 20C does in a sympotic encomium for Hieron of Syracuse, even as Hieron had previously commissioned both Pindar and Bacchylides, as well as some pre-eminent sculptors, to celebrate his individual sporting successes in distinctive ways. Sculptors can celebrate both specific successes and complete careers, and in those cases it is the details provided in the associated epigraphic texts that give a factual grounding for the chosen artistic depiction offered by the sculptor.

A pertinent issue to pursue further is the materiality of Pindar's own victory odes, as complex amalgamations of different phenomena: not only visual spectacles as danced performances, and aural delights as songs, but also fixed texts—which we can think of as objects in their own right, from scripts to fix composition **(p.248)** and aid performance, to the cherished heirlooms of the families of the victors they commemorate.⁶⁶ We can see this at issue in another piece of Pindaric evidence, the well-known opening of *Olympian* 10, 'Pindar's most explicit reference to writing':⁶⁷

Τὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκαν ἀνάγνωτέ μοι
 Ἀρχεστράτου παῖδα, πόθι φρενός
 ἔμᾱς γέγραπται· γλυκὺ γὰρ αὐτῷ μέλος ὀφείλων
 ἐπιλέλαθ·

(Read out to me the name of the Olympic victor, the son of Archestratos, where it is written in my mind. For I owe him a sweet song, but I have forgotten.) (Pindar, *Olympian* 10. 1-3)

What is only rarely recognized or commented upon is that the metaphor with which the poem opens is a metaphor taken from the language of epigraphy. See, however, Deborah Steiner on this opening: 'There is no mistaking Pindar's preoccupation with writing in *Olympian* 10. In language unprecedented in the epinician odes...the poet imagines the victor's name in the form of an inscription which he invites an unnamed interlocutor to read.'⁶⁸ That this metaphorical conceit picks up the habit of writing *on stone* (rather than, say, a writing tablet, or part of a business transaction, as some other scholars believed)⁶⁹ is confirmed when we consider that it is precisely in the context of an athletic victory that Pindar 'needs reminding' of the achievement of the victor Hagesidamos. It would be tempting to suggest that Pindar is imagining a scenario in which the victor's name could be read out from the base of a statue dedicated by the victor to celebrate his achievement, though, equally plausibly, we could suggest an official list of victors as the vehicle for Pindar's metaphor. The important point to notice is the way in which the language of the poem, in the first line and a half,

initially leads you to think of a literal inscription (Pindar the biographical figure asking someone to read it out for him—‘the name of the Olympic victor...yes, that’s right, Hagesidamos...I remember now’), with the unfolding word-order providing more and more detail and thus reperforming (as it were) ‘Pindar’s’ process of recollection and reliance on the written text for the information as an initial aid to help him produce the long-overdue composition. However, the last four words of the opening sentence, νόθι φρενός ἐμᾶς γέγραπται (where it is written *in my mind*), finally unveil the poetic, metaphorical, conceit. This conceit takes pride of place within the complex temporal *deixis* of this poem, the first in a series of imagined moments stretching from a time before the composition has even begun, to a time when a performance of the song is envisaged (lines 78–85), to a time when performance has already occurred (line 85) or is actually present and taking place in front of our eyes (lines 93–4).⁷⁰ This complex set of shifts also (p.249) presents us with a way of mapping the complex status of *Olympian* 10 as all of the following: mental conception, object (text), and endlessly rereadable and reperformable poem/song/dance. Within this overall framework, the opening nod to epigraphy as a mode of commemoration should not be overlooked or seen simply as a means of dismissing a rival mode, but rather as an essential part of the whole. Indeed it should be seen as a fundamental part that provides our entry point for not only the whole series of temporal conceits but also an important, though much neglected, aspect of Pindaric poetics: the status of poem as material artefact, a text.⁷¹ The upshot is that the complex combination of allusions to textuality, compositional time, and performance, within an artifice through which the poet’s voice speaks to us in *Olympian* 10, offers a poetics that sets out to explore, and ultimately to undercut, the relation between literacy and orality, ephemerality and permanence.⁷²

Now to conclude. An appreciation of the variety of contexts for commemoration in sixth- and fifth-century Greece, and an awareness of the overlapping as well as divergent concerns of the different artistic media, help us to challenge some assumptions about the outlook of commemorative lyric poets, encouraging us to think as broadly as we can about how texts of different kinds operated within the broad complexity that makes up that diverse cultural milieu. ‘Art+text’, in the form of commemorative sculpture presented along with associated dedicatory inscriptions, carried out the wishes of patrons in ways that were partly complementary with and partly divergent from the means by which lyric poets applied themselves to their own task. As such, any strict opposition between ‘*kleos* and stone’ seems implausible at best. The meanings of individual pieces were generated by context—either

physically with sites of dedications, poetic performances, and the backgrounds and aspirations of particular patrons, or, more intangibly, in terms of what we might call ‘thought-worlds’, the ways audiences and viewers were drawn into thinking about historical individuals through the skills of particular artists, or poets and their texts.

Earlier the question was raised as to whether there existed specific contextual conditions that generated a particularly close relation between material and non-material forms of commemoration. The results provided by the four main poetic test-cases examined here suggest that there may have been specific conditions that prompted particularly close relations, but no definitive pattern emerges. With Simonides’ Kleoboulos poem, the context is primarily one of literary history, with the poet engaging in some self-positioning against the supposedly sage Kleoboulos; in the Thermopylae poem, Simonides muses on the interface between material and non-material commemoration at a time when Sparta was itself likely to have been thinking about the variety of potential ways to commemorate their pre-eminent war-dead. With Pindar’s *Nemean* 5, the important context is Aegina—the homeland of Pindar’s patron Lampon and his victorious son Pytheas—and in **(p.250)** particular Aegina’s fame as a trading nation and home for important schools of sculpture. It is this context that Pindar uses as the basis for an assessment of the relation between epinician poetry and commemorative sculpture: carried out in an arresting fashion, certainly, but not one that would have greatly perturbed Aeginetan patrons. The poetry and commemorative monument for Ergoteles of Himera serve to illustrate ways in which poetry and dedicatory sculptural inscriptions can do complementary work; and it is perhaps best to think of complementarity as the most common manifestation of the relationship, according to which Pindar and his contemporary poets were happy to work alongside visual artists without need for further explicit comment, at least in part because of the ways in which dedicatory sculptures and epinician poems operated with different (though of course overlapping) mechanisms of fame-projection, in contexts that were often different. Finally, the epigraphic point of departure in Pindar’s *Olympian* 10 should be seen as a fundamental part of the poem’s concerns, part of a more general musing on the nature and ontology of Pindar’s poetic productions, qua physical things (literary compositions, treasured heirlooms, memorials to excellence paralleled by other material forms of commemoration) as well as evanescent moments of performance that serve as records of evanescent moments of mortal prowess.

In sum, we need to be sensitive to the fact that oral forms of memorialization governed by the strict etymology of the word *kleos* were, in the heyday of such poets as Simonides and Pindar, not the only means of commemoration available—and indeed we should now be prepared to think that orality is not the best way into a full appreciation of the late Archaic and early Classical poetics of *kleos*. We may also now agree that poets explored attitudes to parallel artistic media in a variety of interesting ways, rather than simply projecting themselves as eternally superior.⁷³

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Notes:

⁽¹⁾ This is not the place to discuss the history of modern scholarship in this area, but a brief outline might be useful. Much of contemporary scholarship on choral lyric is historicist, working with an eye on contexts, while it strives to negotiate a position between sensitive readings of poetry on the one hand, and wider or more specialized forays into contextual specifics on the other; the New Historicist work of Kurke (1991) successfully escaped the formalist cul-de-sacs of the era after Bundy (1961), but if scholars now worry about the problems of New Historicist over-generality (see e.g. my comments at Fearn (2009) 34; cf. Hornblower (2004) 28–33), this is also prompted by awareness of the danger of returning an unreconstructed biographical historicism that provided the necessary background to Bundy's reaction. However, another problem is that if scholars become so fascinated by historical and archaeological contexts, they may risk losing sight of what is peculiar and special about the poetry as poetry, rather than poetry as a means to the end of discovering more about something else, for instance, fifth-century history, culture, ideology, or politics, which it is part of, but a special part of. This is clearly a difficult balancing act, and even where scholars do strive to offer readings that are both contextually and poetically sensitive, the results may not satisfy all. But the challenge is worth accepting nonetheless.

⁽²⁾ See e.g. Steiner (1993), (2001); O'Sullivan (2003), (2005); Smith (2007); Thomas (2007); Athanassaki (2010). See now also Porter (2010), who finds some room to discuss Pindar and Simonides in a (very) broad account of ancient aesthetics.

⁽³⁾ For a positive view of epigraphic literacy and its significance, see Day (2010) ch. 2.

⁽⁴⁾ Though it is important that that connection is negotiated very differently according to dedicatory context, as is recognized in Thomas (2007) 156–7, on the contrast between the inscribed wording on statue bases at Olympia and on the sixth-century Athenian Acropolis.

⁽⁵⁾ On the tradition and history of the Simonidean epigrams, see most recently Bravi (2006) and Petrovic (2007); see also Morrison, this volume, Ch. 13.

⁽⁶⁾ For further discussion of some of the ways in which the relation between art and text can be formulated, see Newby (2007).

⁽⁷⁾ Porter (2010) 520.

⁽⁸⁾ Most recently e.g. O’Sullivan (2003), (2005); Ford (2002) chs 4 and 5; Smith (2007), esp. 92, 109.

⁽⁹⁾ Especially Steiner (1993), (1994), (2001).

⁽¹⁰⁾ Porter (2010).

⁽¹¹⁾ E.g. Thomas (1995) 115: ‘Simonides scornfully proclaims his superiority in the perpetuation of memory in his poem about Kleoboulos, foolish Kleoboulos who thought his fame would be secured by a stone inscription.’ Cf. O’Sullivan (2003) 77.

⁽¹²⁾ Cf. Gentili and Catenacci (2007) 299 ad loc. 7: ‘la polemica di Simonide si concentra sull’iscrizione (il suo autore e le sue parole), che incarna lo spirito vitale della statua ed esprime la pretesa d’immortalità.’

⁽¹³⁾ Simonides: ἀέναόν τε κλέος, 531. 9 *PMG*; Pindar: αἰέναν...τιμάν, *O.* 14. 12; αἰενάου πλούτου, *Fr.* 119. 4. ‘Everflowing’ in the sense ‘eternal’, to be compared with the famous and quintessentially epic *kleos aphthiton* of Achilles (*Il.* 9. 413), alluded to at Sappho *Fr.* 44. 4 and conferred by Ibycus upon Polykrates (*Ibyc.* S151.48), an expression that is itself both a metaphor taken from nature, and could be co-opted onto stone by earlier and contemporary epigrammatists, e.g. *CEG* 2, 344, cf. 459.

⁽¹⁴⁾ See n. 60.

⁽¹⁵⁾ An issue that has been addressed for Roman poetry, from e.g. Horace *Carm.* 3. 30, by Fowler (2000); cf. Porter (2010) 516–17. In this context we should also not forget that the first poetically self-conscious instance of *kleos* in Greek literature flags up impermanence and unreliability: ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν (*Hom. Il.* 2.

486). There is thus no place in Greek literature to which we may go back to extract a notion of poetic *kleos* immune from the challenges and dangers of instability.

(¹⁶) Hdt. 7. 228; Podlecki (1960) 258, Molyneux (1992) 147.

(¹⁷) That Simonides was the acknowledged master of the art of the dirge is shown in the reception of his work by Catullus 38: *maestius lacrimis Simonideis*, 'sadder than the tears of Simonides', line 9. Gentili and Catenacci (2007) 302, following Diodorus 11. 11. 6 who quotes the extant lines, prefer to label the poem as an *enkômion* (cf. also Steiner (1999) 383), though it is probable that Diodorus is not thinking of generic definitions, but of praise, which is not incompatible with funereal song of any kind.

(¹⁸) In this respect my argument is different in nuance from that of Steiner (1999): I choose to emphasize the complementarities and suggestive interrelationships between poetic and material commemoration in Simonides' poem, rather than suggesting that Simonides 'seeks to direct his audience's attention away from the material remains of the dead and the grave which houses them' or indeed that the poem is 'dismissive' in its use of the burial site (Steiner (1999) 383). Such a reading is unable then to account for the rationale behind the conceit, or successfully explain how this strategy would fit with Simonides' ultimate aim, to praise Spartan war-dead.

(¹⁹) Carson (1992) 56.

(²⁰) Cf. Steiner (1999) 383–4, though she sees the Herodotean evidence as the way into her reading of the poem's rhetoric as signifying the replacement of materiality with metaphor, a view that my argument challenges. On the reading of Connor (1979), Paus. 3. 14. 1 suggests that the Spartans did eventually recover the body of Leonidas and erected a monument at Sparta to commemorate him, but this was some time after the circumstances of the composition of Simonides' poem (Connor supports Pausanias' 'forty years' later in favour of a 441/0 BC context for the recovery of Leonidas' remains).

(²¹) Ford (2002) 111.

(²²) Though I believe we ought to be more circumspect with regard to the extent of *deixis* in this poem and not automatically assume that the pronouns τοιοῦτον and ὅδε in lines 3 and 5 are simple and unproblematic pointers to physical monuments and actual ritual: it would be better to think of them as markers instead, or as well, of the

special, metaphorically heightened, language of the poem itself; cf. also West (1975) 309.

(²³) Ford (2002) 111.

(²⁴) And this is precisely the point of Th. 2. 43. 2 (Pericles' funeral oration): not only localized physical monuments projecting fame through inscriptions, οὐ στηλῶν μόνον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ σημαίνει ἐπιγραφῇ, but also intangible, transcendental renown; cf. n. 27. For further elaboration on *kosmos* in epigraphic and monumental dedicatory contexts, see Day, this volume, Ch. 9.

(²⁵) Contrast the argument of Steiner (1999) 386, for whom 'Leonidas'...κόσμος that he has bequeathed (λελοιπώς) finds its materiality undercut by the second element in the series: κλέος...'.

(²⁶) See p. 245 for brief discussion of one such example.

(²⁷) Th. 2. 43. 2–3; cf. also the materiality inherent in Thucydides' notion of his account/history/fixed literary text as a *ktêma es aiei* (1. 22. 4). Further comment on Thucydidean metaphors of epitaphic materiality, with a direct line back to Simonidean usages, in Porter (2010) 463 and 515; cf., more generally, Immerwahr (1960).

(²⁸) On archaic epigrams in particular, see Day (2010) 44–7 following Svenbro (1993), and also handily pointing to the dependency of epigrammatic *kleos* upon the *kleos* of epic.

(²⁹) Bowra (1961) 347–8 already noted the similarity between Simonides' poem and Pericles' funeral oration. Cf. Steiner (1999) 389–91 and (2001) 259; Porter (2010) 475.

(³⁰) A possibility in fact taken up by the Spartans some years later: Paus. 3. 14. 1 with Connor (1979); cf. n. 20.

(³¹) Bowra (1961) 346–7 uses the pronouns in the poem as cues to a Spartan cult context; cf. Gentili and Catenacci (2007) 302; Paus. 3. 14. 1 and 3. 12. 9 for sanctuaries or monuments laid out in central Sparta. *Contra*: Kegel (1962) 28–37; Podlecki (1968) 258–62; West (1975) 309. More generally, Steiner (1999) 394–5. Here we are talking about Spartan monuments, but this should not preclude the possibility of monuments or offerings made in honour of the Spartan war-dead by others: compare Hdt. 7. 228, where, in citing Simonides *Ep.* XXII a and b in addition to *Ep.* VI, Herodotus informs us that the first two epitaphs,

and their *stelai*, were erected by the Delphic Amphictions. See further Petrovic (2010) 212–13.

(³²) And this openness is also likely to have influenced later fifth-century reception of Spartan heroic values—as displayed most spectacularly in Herodotus’ *Histories*.

(³³) Cf. Steiner (1999) 389 n. 36. With Athens, the significance for democratic ideology of monuments commemorating the Persian Wars is a matter of some controversy. However, recent epigraphic findings on both the Marathon Monument and the Callimachus Monument suggest that late-archaic monuments could be used both to commemorate the collective war-dead, and to celebrate significant individuals: Matthaiou (2003) and Keesling (2010)—even if, in the case of Callimachus, this was only possibly since he was now dead (Keesling (2010) 115). For recent general comment on Athenian ideology and funerary epigrams, see Petrovic (2010).

(³⁴) See e.g. Thomas (2007) 154–5, 156–7. It is importantly true that there are direct parallels between the burgeoning art of producing victory odes and the increasingly prominent commissioning and display of bronze commemorative sculptures, with increasingly elaborate inscribed lists of achievements; yet it is not clear that ‘[i]n other words the poets were right to fight their corner in the business of commemoration’ (Thomas (2007) 157) offers a sufficiently nuanced perspective. See also Smith (2007) 109.

(³⁵) Steiner (2001) ch. 5, ‘The image in the text’, esp. 251–2, 259–65.

(³⁶) See e.g. the cognitive and terminological elisions inherent in the following statement: ‘The expressions chosen by Pindar to represent these notional statues and statue bases also incorporate the other attributes that literal monuments ascribe to themselves. Just as the victory image demands the bystander’s attention through its own striking appearance, repeatedly declaring in its accompanying inscription that it is “most beautiful to see”, or more simply *kalon*, Pindar’s musical artifacts are no less visually compelling’ (Steiner (2001) 261).

(³⁷) Thomas (2007).

(³⁸) For the use of bronze plaques at Olympia because of the poor quality of local stone, see Jeffery (1990) 55.

(³⁹) On the sense of ψᾶφος here, see Slater (1969) s.v., Gildersleeve (1890) 191 ad loc.; cf. ΣΣ Pi. O. 7. 158 and 159b (i. 232, 233 Dr).

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Fenno (2003). For further use of epigraphic language in Pindar's epinician poetry, see Day, this volume, Ch. 9, and (2010) 198–228.

⁽⁴¹⁾ Cummins (2010) 4–9. Cf. Day (2010) 29. For the Deinomenid tripod dedications at Delphi, see Antonaccio (2007) 283; Adornato (2008); Scott (2010) 88–9. For the epigraphic text, ascribed to Simonides (*EG* XXXIV), that adorned the base of one of these dedications, see Σ Pi. *P.* 1. 152b (ii. 26 Dr); Jebb (1905) 452–7; Gentili (1958) 72–84.

⁽⁴²⁾ Most recently e.g. O'Sullivan (2003) 79, 81, 83; Ford (2002) 98; Smith (2007) 92, 109 (criticized by Thummer (2008) 299). See *contra* Steiner (1993), though the present discussion proceeds in a different direction.

⁽⁴³⁾ Part of the general thesis put forward in Pavlou (2010).

⁽⁴⁴⁾ O'Sullivan (2003) 82.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ O'Sullivan (2003) 82.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Walter-Karydi (1987); Pollitt (1990) 34, 36–41; Paus. 7. 5. 5, 5. 25. 13, 10. 17. 12, 1. 42. 5, 10. 36. 5.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ Smith (2007) app., 137–8.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ For the ancient scholiasts' biographical interpretation of the opening of this poem, see Σ Pi. *N.* 5. 1a–b (iii. 89 Dr) with Lefkowitz (1981) 51, 58; Pavlou (2010) 1–2.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ Kowalzig (2010).

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Kowalzig (2010) 130.

⁽⁵¹⁾ Cf. the impartial view of Bury (1890) 83–4: 'With this comparison and distinction of the two arts the prelude opens, naturally leading up to the transmission of the present song, proud of its power of motion, to distant lands, that the victor's fame may be diffused throughout the whole Greek world. And with his peculiar skill in causing vivid pictures to rise up out of a word or two, Pindar makes us fancy that he has literally issued from the workshop of some sculptor in Aegina—we think of the famous Onatas who perhaps actually wrought a statue for this same son of Lampon—and is going down to the wharf to embark his song in ships, large argosies and smaller craft about to hoist their sails, bound for distant cities.'

⁽⁵²⁾ Porter (2010) 457; cf. Steiner (1994) 96: 'Pure pragmatism may have dictated Pindar's use and abuse of the artifacts that appear within his songs', though note the important rider: 'But inscribed *agalmata* are not mere foils, and a poetic rather than an economic calculus explains their place in so many of the songs.'

⁽⁵³⁾ O'Sullivan (2003) 85.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Further discussion on developments in sculpture, especially for religious experience, in Tanner (2006) 40–96; also Neer (2010). The dominance more generally of the fifth century BC in the evidence for the dedication of athletic statues at Olympia is striking, as noted by Scott (2010) 197, following Hyde (1921) 374 with statistics garnered from Pausanias. For the commemorative poets, we can add another tension: that between the respective power of the written versus the spoken word. Archaic and classical epigrams, their technology, and their dedicatory contexts, would have provided one significant locus for the tension between literacy and orality (Schmitz (2010) 25–7), though I would seek to defend Pindar (and indeed Simonides) against Schmitz's opposition between 'the written texts of epigrams and the oral, pragmatic texts of lyric poetry', especially since, as Porter (2010) 471 observes, '[t]he lyric poets learn from the epitaphic tradition and they borrow heavily from it, absorbing its motifs, its tensions, and its pretensions'; also Day (2010) ch. 2; and this is a tension that we are aware of Pindar reflecting upon, as will be seen in the discussion of *Olympian* 10; see also Segal (1982) 140; Uhlig (2011).

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Cf. Scott (2010) 198: 'The increase in athletic-statue dedication also coincided with, and was reinforced by, the development of athletic-praise poetry by Pindar, as well as with the increasing importance and notoriety of sculptors who could be commissioned to make these statues.'

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Compare, in a discussion of religious art, Tanner's conclusion at (2006) 96 that '[n]aturalism was more transformationally powerful in its construction of affective meanings in so far as it constructed a more differentiated range of affective meanings than archaic schematism, more precisely adjusted to the particular deity represented in an image, and more effectively appropriating a socialised body and motivational interests of viewers in its construction of affective meanings'; or, on a more recent formulation of the developments in fifth-century sculpture, Neer (2010) 102–3: 'The culmination [of the history of fifth-century sculpture] is not perfection and harmony...but an amplified and expanded rhetoric.' On either of these formulations, if we equate the range of 'affective meanings' or the 'expanded rhetoric' to the diversity

of increasingly spectacular ways in which men's sporting successes could also be commemorated to generate meaning and significance for audiences (and prospective patrons) through commemorative sculpture, it seems highly likely that commemorative poets such as Pindar had a lot to think about.

(⁵⁷) For the fundamental significance of reading dedicatory monuments as 'art+inscription', see Newby (2007) 6 and *passim*; Day (2010); Baumbach et al. (2010) 4 with Raubitschek (1968) 3; Ma (2007) for the Hellenistic period; Lorenz (2010).

(⁵⁸) This is where I find fault with the thesis put forward most recently in Pavlou (2010), that Pindar's contrast between rest and movement in *Nemean* 5 should be seen as a poetic vehicle expressive of Pindar's transcendence of particularities in time and space, 'transcend[ing] material markings and monumental constructs' (14), though she has interesting remarks in conclusion about Pindar's associations with the 'revelatory potential' of sculpture which could be developed further. For a reading of the opening of *Nemean* 5 that emphasizes the *materiality* of Pindar's figurative ships as a conceptual vehicle for the potential fixity of song as script, see Uhlig (2011) 147–9.

(⁵⁹) E.g. *O.* 6. 1–4; *P.* 6. 5–18: on the former, Uhlig (2011) 24–6, for whom '[t]hese material correlates to the poet's epinician odes provided the melic poet with a clear model of how a fixed, material text could offer a permanent commemoration of an athlete's accomplishments' (26). The evocation of ritual at the start of *Olympian* 7 begins with the word 'bowl', φιάλαν; compare also the opening of *Olympian* 10 in this context, discussed below. Even the opening of *Pythian* 1, with its celebrated evocation of the seemingly transcendental power of music, begins with a focus on the materiality of an object, the χρυσέα φόρμιγξ.

(⁶⁰) Cf. Day (2010) 44–7; Svenbro (1993).

(⁶¹) See in particular the recent discussion in Scott (2010), esp. 196–201, of monumental dedications and their contexts within the sanctuary at Olympia: 'Athletic-victory statues...were extremely useful in the fifth century at Olympia to stake a claim both to the powerful achievements of your ancestors and to a polis' rightful place within the sanctuary and on the current world stage' (200).

(⁶²) E.g. the victory statue of the famous early fifth-century *periodonikês* Diagoras of Rhodes was not erected until some years after

his victories, and after the erection of statues of his sons, in order to make a family grouping: Day (2010) 197, Löhr (2000) 61–4; Scott (2010) 199; Rausa (1994) 45–6; Paus. 6. 7. 1–2, *Σ Pi. O. 7 inscr. c* (i. 197–8 Dr).

(⁶³) Excellent discussion of the poem’s language and imagery in Silk (2007).

(⁶⁴) Cf. Jeffery (1990) 246, with *Σ Pi. O. 12 inscrr. a–b* (i. 349–50 Dr); Thomas (2007) 159. Barrett (1973); Hornblower (2004) 77, 158–9, 262; and Silk (2007) 180–1 provide background on Ergoteles, with Paus. 6. 4. 11 for another overview of his career.

(⁶⁵) From Paus. 6. 4. 10–11 we hear that the statue of Ergoteles was set alongside statues for Euanthes of Kyzikos and Kyniskos of Mantinea (by Polykleitos).

(⁶⁶) See further Hubbard (2004) on transmission. An extreme is represented by the inscription, in gold letters, of Pindar’s *Olympian 7* for Diagoras of Rhodes on the Temple of Athena Lindia there: Gorgon ap. *Σ Pi. O. 7 init.* (i. 195 Dr), presumably dedicated soon after the poem’s premiere: Càssola (1979) 99; cf. Fearn (2007) 13 n. 45.

(⁶⁷) Uhlig (2011) 26.

(⁶⁸) Steiner (2004) 282.

(⁶⁹) E.g. Nassen (1975) 221; Kromer (1976) 420; Burgess (1990) 273.

(⁷⁰) On temporal *deixis*, see D’Alessio (2004), esp. 291–2 on *Olympian 10*.

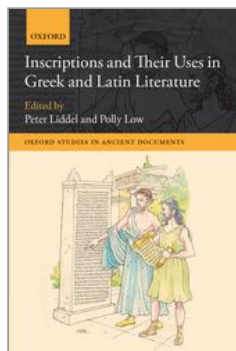
(⁷¹) For more on the relation of Pindaric *deixis* and issues of textuality and voice in Pindar, see now Uhlig (2011), esp. 23–7, with a brief discussion of the opening of *O. 10* (though not discussing the epigraphic quality of the diction).

(⁷²) On these oppositions, see further Segal (1986) 154–7; Porter (2010) 330–47, especially for the potential for Pindaric influence on the later literary self-consciousness of, for instance, Alcidamas and Isocrates—to be read against O’Sullivan (2003), not cited by Porter.

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Inscriptions on the Attic Stage

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Abstract and Keywords

Over the last twenty years, the semantics and dramatic significance of references to writing in Athenian drama, on the one hand, and the importance of space articulation, on the other, have been the subjects of various fruitful studies. Drawing upon both approaches, this chapter explores the role of inscriptions in defining dramatic space, looking both at inscriptions that are physically present on stage and those that are simply imagined or alluded to by characters. Any writing implies a medium or object on which the words are inscribed, but the correlation between the type of writing and the type of object varies. Some media, such as papyrus rolls or wooden tablets, can be used for virtually any record; the medium or sub-stratum that carries these texts is often of little significance by itself. Other inscribed objects, however, have significance independent of their inscriptions, such as tombs or votives to the gods. Between these two poles, there are types of inscriptions that are usually associated with certain kinds of objects, and it is this customary linkage which allows the object to become a metonymy for the text. The text's accessibility and the accepted practice of its circulation also affect this interchange. Concentrating on the plays of Aristophanes and Euripides, the chapter demonstrates the wide range of connotations afforded by inscriptions on stage, from the physical instruments of governance that a comic hero manipulates to enduring records against which the fleeting actions of a tragic character are measured. It also examines the correlation between the inscriptional landscape of Athenian drama and that of the city of Athens.

Keywords: drama, stagecraft, comedy, tragedy, Euripides, Aristophanes, Athens, epigraphic media, governmental institutions

A large number of inscriptions appear on the Athenian stage, providing particularly valuable insight into the ancient audience's perception of inscribed and displayed texts.¹ For fifth-century historians and orators the content of the document was often more important than its physicality, and it is sometimes impossible to know whether, for example, Thucydides consulted the text of a treaty inscribed on stone or copied in a portable medium. Yet in the staging of plays, the physical aspects of inscriptions, which the audience is assumed to have known well, could be used by playwrights as tools for setting a scene, providing characterization, or shaping narrative. For example, the association of certain types of documents and objects that display them served not only as the basis of a comparison or joke, but also as a means of visualizing a character's attitude towards an authority manifested through an inscribed record. By concentrating on the physicality of inscriptions, we gain insight into their dramatic significance as well as the ancients' perception of them.

Here I should briefly clarify what, for the purpose of this investigation, I consider an inscription to be. By inscription I mean any kind of publicly displayed record, document, or other piece of writing that is carried out mostly in enduring media but occasionally also in less lasting materials. A tablet inscribed with, for example, a private letter would not be an inscription, while a tablet inscribed with a muster roll and displayed in the Agora would be. Furthermore, only those documents or records whose epigraphical nature is thematized by the playwright will be treated here. Thus, it is irrelevant for appreciating the reference to the Megarian decree in Aristophanes, *Peace* 609 whether it was ever inscribed or not and so that reference is not dealt with in this chapter. A reference to the same decree in Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 535–7 is of interest, however, because the physicality of the inscription bearing it is played upon. In what follows, I survey occurrences of inscriptions in both comedy and tragedy, arranging different kinds of inscriptions that either appear on stage or are mentioned by **(p.256)** characters by type. In conclusion, I offer general observations on the evidence of drama for the perception of inscriptions.

1. Comedy and satyr plays

References to inscriptions in comedy are numerous. In many instances they stand to represent enforcement of governance or authoritative decisions, and the interaction of the comic character with the inscribed objects may become expressions of his authority or his relationship to the authorities.

1.1. *Horoi*

For the most part, *horoi* in the form of limestone or marble rectangular *stelai* with a brief inscription on the face were employed to mark property, be it public or private. They were meant to protect the integrity of the marked area from encroachment or violation, both physical and religious, one of the manifestations of the latter being the exclusion of certain criminals from the marked area.²

When in the *Acharnians* Dikaiopolis wants to set the borders of his marketplace, which is to be open to all the Peloponnesians, Megarians, and Boeotians provided they trade with him and not with Lamachos, he announces:

Ὅροι μὲν ἀγορᾶς εἰσιν οἷδε τῆς ἐμῆς.

(These are the boundary markers of my marketplace.) (Ar. *Ach.* 719)

As Dikaiopolis comes out he probably carries wooden props in the shape of rectangular *stelai*³ representing the *horoi*, on which the words ὅρος ἀγορᾶς or simply ὅρος may have been inscribed. These *horoi* serve as a material manifestation of the place governed by the laws of Dikaiopolis, the integrity of which is protected by the exclusion of those deemed criminals by him, such as sycophants and denouncers (724-5).⁴

1.2. *Kyrbeis*

Along with *axones*, *kyrbeis* were used for inscribing laws of old, that is, of Solon or Draco or both, but already ancient testimonia are thoroughly confused over their **(p.257)** precise nature and distinction. In modern times, it has been argued that both words refer to different parts of the same device or to one and the same set of objects,⁵ or that they were different devices, either similar or distinct.⁶ References to *kyrbeis* in Attic comedy (and once in a satyr play) appear to be most compatible with the hypothesis that they were vertically positioned, elongated *stelai* topped with a pyramidal cap and inscribed on all sides.⁷ While *kyrbeis* were still enough a staple of the Athenian epigraphical landscape at the end of the century to serve as the basis of more than one joke, they were probably viewed as obsolete, having been eclipsed by the rectangular-shaped *stelai* that had become the norm from the second quarter of the fifth century.⁸

In the *Clouds*, excited at the prospect of his education in the Thinkery of Socrates, Strepsiades imagines himself becoming a list of epithets suited to withstand any lawsuit brought against him. Among other things, he will be a *kyrbis*:

...τοῖς τ' ἀνθρώποις εἶναι δόξω
θρασύς, εὐγλωττος, τολμηρός, ἴτης,
βδελυρός, ψευδῶν συγκολλητής,
εὐρησιεπής, περίτριμμα δικῶν,
κύρβις,...

(...and people will think that I am confident, eloquent, daring, and eager, loathsome, and weaver of lies, inventive in words and polished in lawsuits, a *kyrbis*,...) (Ar. *Nu.* 444-8)

The joke implies excessive and pedantic learnedness in all the intricacies of law,⁹ and may have no explicit physical connotation.¹⁰ Elsewhere, however, we do see exploitation of the physical appearance of the *kyrbis*. Illustrating the obscurity of the tragedian Achaëus, Athenaeus (10. 451d) cites a fragment from his satyr play *Iris*¹¹ and in an attempt to explain it makes an implicit comparison between a *kyrbis* and a Spartan *skytale*, a baton-like object on which a long strip of

leather (**p.258**) was wrapped and then a message inscribed. This, *mutatis mutandis*, suggests that a *kyrbis* was an elongated object covered with inscriptions.

In the *Birds*, we encounter a joke built on both the content of the inscribed laws and the shape of *kyrbeis*. When the Father-beater arrives in Nephelokokkygia desiring to immigrate there, Peisetairos appeals to the ancient law of the birds:

Ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἡμῖν τοῖσιν ὄρνισιν νόμος
παλαιὸς ἐν ταῖς τῶν πελαργῶν κύρβειν.
'Ἐπὴν ὁ πατὴρ ὁ πελαργὸς ἐκπετησίμους
πάντας ποιήσῃ τοὺς πελαργιδέας τρέφων,
δεῖ τοὺς νεοττοὺς τὸν πατέρα πάλιν τρέφειν.'

(But we birds have an ancient law [inscribed] on the *kyrbeis* of the Storks: 'If the father stork provides for all his nestlings and brings them up to be ready to fly out, the nestlings must in turn provide for their father.') (Ar. Av. 1353-7)

Storks were believed to be monogamous and closely attached to their nestlings, and consequently the association of storks with a law, probably Solonic, regarding treatment of parents fits the logic of comedy.¹² Furthermore, the triple repetition of the root *πελαργ-* would perhaps remind the audience of *Pelargikon* which in Athens designated both the Mycenaean walls of the Acropolis and a sacred enclosure below it, and in the play has already been evoked as the name of Nephelokokkygia's acropolis (832). If parts of these walls were wooden,¹³ they probably consisted of sharpened posts bound together, which could attract storks as a convenient place to build nests, and which might remind the audience of *kyrbeis*.

A most intriguing and much-debated reference to *kyrbeis* comes from a small fragment of Cratinus:

πρὸς τοῦ Σόλωνος καὶ Δράκοντος οἷσι νῦν
φρύγουσιν ἤδη τὰς κάχρυσ τοῖς κύρβειν.

((I swear?) by Solon and Draco, on/in whose *kyrbeis* they are now roasting barley.) (Cratinus *PCG* Fr. 300)

Stroud argues that the *kyrbeis* here cannot be of stone, but must be either of wood or metal. If the former, they served simply as fuel, if the latter, as a cooking pot or roasting pan.¹⁴ While both possibilities may be defended,¹⁵ perhaps metal makes for a better joke if the assumption is correct that the most remarkable feature of a *kyrbis* was its pointed pyramidal top. If bronze, such a top would have been hollow, and

turned upside-down it might have served as (that is, could have reminded the audience of) a pot in which barley might be parched or popped.¹⁶

(p.259) In almost all these passages, the perceived antiquity of *kyrbeis* appears to be an intrinsic feature, with connotations varying from ancient authority (*Birds*), to excessive learnedness (*Clouds*), to perhaps even obsolescence (Cratinus *PCG* Fr. 300). Unlike other objects displaying inscriptions, *kyrbeis* are never depicted as being in current use (parching barley notwithstanding), but rather as tokens of olden times or arcane practice (*Clouds*).

1.3. *Dikai*

Lists of cases (*dikai*) to be tried at a given law court were written on wax tablets and posted by magistrates near the entrance gates or alongside the passages leading to the courts. When in the *Clouds* Socrates examines Strepsiades' newly acquired learning and asks him to come up with a means to dismiss a lawsuit brought against him, Strepsiades devises an ingenious solution:

...φέρε, τί δῆτ' ἄν, εἰ ταύτην λαβών,
ὁπότε γράφουτο τὴν δίκην ὁ γραμματεὺς,
ἀπωτέρω στὰς ὧδε πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον
τὰ γράμματ' ἐκτήξαιμι τῆς ἐμῆς δίκης;

(...Come on, what if with this thing [sc. τὴν ὕαλον, piece of glass, v. 768], whenever the clerk enters the case, I would stand to the side towards the sun and melt away the record of my case?) (Ar. *Nu.* 769–72)

Although the lists of law-cases were not meant to be long-lasting,¹⁷ they were public inscriptions that made manifest the authority of the demos.

1.4. *Katalogoi*

In fifth-century Athens, taxiarchs responsible for conscription posted the names of men chosen for an expedition on whitened boards that were set up by the statues of the eponymous tribal heroes in the Agora. The choice, perhaps rotating in theory, was in fact selective and thus unavoidably arbitrary because some men were for a variety of reasons likelier to be chosen than others.¹⁸ The names on the boards were probably inscribed with ink that could be relatively easily erased or scratched off, so that they were susceptible to the abuse of authorities who could change a man's assignment or cancel it all together. In the *Peace*, Koryphaios describes how catalogues might be tampered with:

Ἦνίκ' ἂν δ' οἴκοι γένωνται, δρῶσιν οὐκ ἀνασχετά,
τοὺς μὲν ἐγγράφοντες ἡμῶν, τοὺς δ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω
ἐξαλείφοντες δις ἢ τρίς.

(Whenever they get home, they do unbearable things: some of us they enter (in the muster roll), others they wipe out, cancelling them up and down, two or three times.)(Ar. *Pax* 1179–81)

(p.260) And Demos in the *Knights* promises to put an end to such practices:

Ἐπειθ' ὀπλίτης ἐντεθεὶς ἐν καταλόγῳ
οὐδεὶς κατὰ σπουδᾶς μετεγγραφήσεται,
ἀλλ' οὐπὲρ ἦν τὸ πρῶτον ἐγγεγράψεται.

(Then, no hoplite entered in the muster roll will be transferred to another muster roll through his influence but will remain on the roll that he has been originally assigned to.)(Ar. *Eq.* 1369–71)

In both passages, boards inscribed with muster rolls represent the authority of the magistrates, but far from being means of ensuring security and fairness, they are presented as a convenient way to manipulate the people.

1.5. *Spondai*

Initially a religious libation ceremony conducted by two warring sides and aimed at securing armistice, *spondai* in classical times came to refer to peace agreements that could involve several parties and span several decades. The agreements, probably in abbreviated form,¹⁹ could be inscribed on stone or bronze and installed in central locations for those concerned as well as in Panhellenic sanctuaries. Provisions for the mode and place of inscriptional publication would form part of the peace-treaty itself. When the treaty was denounced, its inscribed copy could be taken down (cf. D. 16. 27) or left standing, perhaps more often so in a Panhellenic sanctuary, especially if the parties concerned had no control over it.²⁰ Thus, Pausanias (5. 23. 4) saw in Olympia a bronze *stele* with a copy of the Thirty Years' Peace concluded between the Athenians and the Spartans in 446/5 which collapsed in 432/1. Some peace agreements may have never been inscribed.²¹ The symbolic value of inscribed treaties, enhanced by their deposition in sanctuaries or other specially designated areas, made interaction with them both on stage and in life particularly charged.

The nucleus of the *Acharnians* is the private truce that Dikaiopolis, the protagonist, obtains with the Spartans. In his quest for a truce, he tastes the wine from three types of *spondai* (which generally resembled perfume flasks, but in his case were comically enlarged to the size of wineskins) that stand metonymically for the three types of peace agreements: five-, ten-, and thirty-year (*Ach.* 178–99). Dikaiopolis likes the last, ratifies its conclusion by a libation, and goes on with arranging and enjoying his life under the new truce. Over 500 verses later and only after he marks his agora with *horoi* (see above), he announces publication of his peace-treaty there:

Ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν στήλην καθ' ἣν ἐσπείσάμην
μέτειμι', ἵνα στήσω φανεράν ἐν τᾷ ἀγορᾷ.

(p.261)

(I will go fetch the *stele* in accordance with which I made peace in order to stand it conspicuously in the agora.) (*Ar. Ach.* 727–8)

Having spoken these lines, he leaves and when he comes back at verse 749 he is likely to be carrying the *stele*, represented by a wooden prop, which he sets down on stage to join the *horoi* already standing there. While the *horoi* mark the area, the *stele* is a physical manifestation of the rules that obtain there—presumably including those that touch on trade with the Peloponnesians and their allies.

Another inscribed peace-treaty, this time not imagined but actual, is mentioned in the *Lysistrata*. After Proboulos and his crew fail to expel the women from the Acropolis, a debate between him and Lysistrata ensues in which she recounts the wives' earlier attempts to learn from and intervene in their husbands' disastrous decisions concerning the state. She starts by recalling a question the women once put to their husbands:

‘Τί βεβούλευται περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν ἐν τῇ στήλῃ
 παραγράψαι
 ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τήμερον ὑμῖν;’

(‘In the assembly today, what was it that you decided to add to the *stele* about the peace-treaty?’) (Ar. *Lys.* 513–14)

Thucydides helps us understand what Lysistrata is talking about.²² The Fifty Years' Peace, usually referred to as the Peace of Nicias, concluded in 422/1 by the Athenians, Spartans, and their allies specified setting up an inscribed record of it in five locations, one of which was the Acropolis in Athens. And so the *stelai* were installed. The stipulations of the peace, however, were never carried out completely, hostilities continued, and none of the parties fully abided by its terms. In early 418, as hostility had been mounting on all sides, the Athenians were persuaded by Alcibiades to add at the bottom of the *stele* on the Acropolis that the Spartans had not kept their oaths.²³ The alteration of the *stele* took place seven years prior to performance of the play, and by mentioning it first in her debate with the Proboulos, Lysistrata has it mark the beginning of the war that the women are trying to stop.²⁴ The reason for such prominence surely is that it was a remarkable and unprecedented event. It has been noted that, had the Athenians denounced the Peace altogether, they could have taken the *stele* down,²⁵ but even if adding the oath-breaching clause to the *stele* did not amount to the annulment of the truce, Smarczyk is right to call it ‘a step toward the resumption of open warfare’.²⁶ Inscribing the amendment, which de facto cancelled the text of the treaty above and turned it into a record of Sparta's perfidy, **(p.262)** was probably intended for the Athenians themselves, whose military moods were being heated and whose astonishing self-righteousness it became evidence for.²⁷

1.6. Psephismata

Of many decrees passed by the Athenians and recorded on papyrus, wood, or some other medium, only a fraction would be inscribed and displayed on stone *stelai* installed in Athens.²⁸ Decrees pertaining to the allies and subjects of the empire were distributed to the concerned

places where some of them were also inscribed on a *stele* in accordance with a provision made in the decree itself. Both in Athens and throughout the empire, published copies of Athenian decrees would manifest the authority of the Athenian demos.

The *Psephismatopolos*, or Decree-seller,²⁹ is the third visitor to Nephelokokkygia to arrive with unsolicited ready-made pronouncements for the newly founded land (after the poet and the oracle-monger). He comes out with a scroll containing copies of Athenian decrees from which he reads a few to Peisetairos. The first one appears to be a parody on a decree, or law, laying down penalties for any citizen of the allied states of the empire who assault an Athenian:³⁰

‘Ἐὰν δ’ ὁ Νεφελοκοκκυγιεὺς τὸν Ἀθηναῖον
ἀδικῇ...’

(‘If a Nephelokokkygian wrongs an Athenian...’) (Ar. Av. 1035–6)

The next is a parody on the so-called Weights, Measures, and Silver Coinage Decree:³¹

‘Χρῆσθαι Νεφελοκοκκυγιᾶς τοῖς αὐτοῖς μέτροισι
καὶ σταθμοῖσι καὶ ψηφίσμασι καθάπερ Ὀλοφύξιοι’.

(‘The Nephelokokkygians are to use the same measures and weights and decrees as the Olophyxians.’) (Ar. Av. 1040–1)

This decree earns the Decree-seller a beating from Peisetairos, and he flees only to come back a few lines later empowered by yet another decree:

‘Ἐὰν δέ τις ἐξελαύνη τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ μὴ δέχη-
ται κατὰ τὴν στήλην’

(p.263)

(‘If anyone drives away the officials [sc. Athenian officials residing in the cities of the empire] and does not admit them according to the *stele*...’) (Ar. Av. 1049–50)

The expression ‘according to the *stele*’ is usually understood as a metonymy for a decree imposing punishment on such offences. But surely the Decree-seller comes out *with* the *stele* from which he is reading, just as before he appeared with a scroll, and now he presses his attack:

Μέμνησ' ὅτε τῆς στήλης κατετίλας ἐσπέρας;
(Do you remember the evenings when you used to crap
over the *stele*?) (Ar. Av. 1054)

At this point, the Decree-seller probably turns the *stele*'s upper side towards the audience exposing birds' droppings—the perennial problem of any monument in the open air³²—both making a crude joke and perhaps referring to a provision against defacing a decree-bearing *stele*.³³ This gesture explains well the reaction of disgust on the part of Peisetairos:

Αἰβοῖ· λαβέτω τις αὐτόν. Οὗτος, οὐ μενεῖς;
(Gross! Somebody grab him! Hey, you, won't you stay?) (Ar.
Av. 1055)

Dunbar comments that the exclamation of disgust, αἰβοῖ, here denotes 'revulsion at the reference to defecation and the blackmailing intention involved',³⁴ but I think that the revulsion is prompted by the actual sight of the bird droppings. As the Decree-seller flashes some unappealing mass on top of the *stele*, Peisetairos makes a threatening movement towards him, causing him to run off, just as the Inspector did before, presumably taking the *stele* with him.

Among visitors to Nephelokokkygia, the Decree-seller is not the only one to make use of writing. The oracle-monger carries a scroll with oracles from which he reads (cf. 974, 976, 980), and the Inspector may be brandishing a scroll with a copy of a decree moved by a certain Teleas authorizing the Inspector's mission to Nephelokokkygia (1024–5). Of the three decrees read by the Decree-seller, only the last one is turned into an inscription, and it represents the last visitor's ultimate attempt to enforce his authority.³⁵ It also marks the cadence in Athens' efforts to bring the newly founded land under her control.

Just as the act of altering an inscribed *stele* forms the point of Lysistrata's reference to the *stele* inscribed with the Fifty Years' Peace, the physicality of an inscribed decree comes into play in Dikaiopolis' account of events leading to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. After giving his interpretation of the causes of the Megarian decree, which prohibited Megarians from trading in Attica, Dikaiopolis tells of the Megarians' appeal to the Spartans to have the decree 'turned around':

(p.264) Ἐντεῦθεν οἱ Μεγαρῆς, ὅτε δὴ 'πείνων βάδην,
Λακεδαιμονίων ἐδέοντο τὸ ψήφισμ' ὅπως
μεταστραφείη τὸ διὰ τὰς λαικαστρίας.

(Then [i.e. in consequence of the *nomoi* made by Pericles] the Megarians, when they were slowly starving away, kept asking the Lakedaimonians to have the decree turned around, the one due to the prostitutes.) (Ar. *Ach.* 535–7)

The wording of Dikaiopolis' account suggests that he alludes to the same story as preserved in Plutarch: after Pericles issued a law prohibiting taking down (καθελεῖν) the tablet on which the Megarian decree was inscribed, one of the Spartan ambassadors said, σὺ δὲ μὴ καθέλῃς, ἀλλὰ στρέψον εἴσω τὸ πινάκιον· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι νόμος ὁ τοῦτο κωλύων (But don't you take it down! Just turn the tablet around—there is no law forbidding that!) (Plu. *Per.* 30. 1).³⁶ Revoking a decree and taking down a *stele* inscribed with it could be described in Greek with the same verb, καθαιρέω (aorist καθελεῖν), which is what Thucydides uses of the same decree (1. 139, 140).³⁷ The *mot* of the Spartan ambassador is based on the equation of these two meanings and juxtaposing it with the verb μεταστρέφω (in Aristophanes) or στρέφω (in Plutarch), which denotes physical 'turning around'.

2. Tragedy

References to publicly displayed inscriptions in surviving tragedy are more sparse than in comedy.³⁸ In Aeschylus' *Septem contra Thebas* the shields of three of the Argive warriors bear images accompanied by words,³⁹ which are 'spoken' by the depicted characters, from whom they are inseparable. These words are not texts of records or documents that had been published on objects, but an intrinsic part of an indivisible 'speaking object', and I hesitate to include them among inscriptions. Surviving plays of Sophocles have no references to inscriptions, and remarkably he employs the word *stele* in its Homeric sense of an uninscribed pillar (S. *El.* 720, 744).⁴⁰ Only in Euripides are a few references to epigraphical writing encountered.

(p.265) 2.1. Epitaphs

Inscribed private grave markers were used by the Greeks from the seventh century on, and in Athens the tradition was particularly strong in the sixth and fourth centuries. For some period in the intervening century, it was eclipsed by commemoration of the war-dead with public monuments set up in the Kerameikos area in Athens and inscribed with casualty lists and epitaphs, the latter often combining a prose record and an epigram. When Hekuba in the *Trojan Women* laments her murdered grandson Astyanax, she imagines an epitaph for him that is reminiscent of the epitaphs for the Athenian war-dead:

τί καί ποτε
γράφειεν ἄν σοι μουσοποιὸς ἐν τάφῳ;
‘Τὸν παῖδα τόνδ’ ἔκτειναν Ἀργεῖοί ποτε
δείσαντες’; αἰσχρὸν τοῦπίγραμμά γ’ Ἑλλάδι.

(And what would a poet write on your grave? ‘The Argives killed this boy once upon a time—out of fear’? This inscription will be a shame for Greece!) (E. *Tr.* 1188–91)

Astyanax’s epitaph is an epigram, and the ποτέ in 1190 would probably be immediately recognized by attentive members of the audience as a common feature of inscriptional epigrams,⁴¹ with which at the time of the play the war-dead were commemorated almost exclusively. Once the model is recognized, however, its subversion becomes apparent. In actual verse epitaphs for the war-dead, reference to the fallen men usually forms the syntactical subject of the epitaph (*CEG* 4, 5, 6, 8, 135),⁴² and their death is modified by a circumstantial participle, such as τελέσαντες ἀγῶνα (having endured the battle) (*CEG* 5), βαρνάμενοι (in battle) (*CEG* 4, 6, probably 135), or τολμήσαντες (having dared) (so-called ‘Metro’ epigram).⁴³ In Hekuba’s imagined inscription, the Argive killers are the grammatical subject of the clause, and the participle modifying the subject is δείσαντες (out of fear). This inversion shifts the emphasis from the victim to the perpetrators, from the grief for Astyanax to reproach of the war-waging Greeks. She imagines not pity for the slaughtered boy but shame on the Greeks to be made manifest through the inscribed tomb.

2.2. Dedication of spoils

Offering spoils of war to gods had always been common practice among the Greeks. At some point in the seventh century it became customary to inscribe such dedications with the name of the dedicant and, especially in the Classical period, with the occasion at which the spoils were obtained. It is this tradition that **(p.266)** Jocasta in the *Phoenissae* has in mind when she tries desperately to reconcile her sons. She appeals to Polyneikes to imagine his victory, should it—heaven forbid—ever come:

πρὸς θεῶν, τροπαῖα πῶς ἄρα στήσεις Διί,
πῶς δ’ αὖ κατάρξει θυμάτων, ἐλὼν πάτραν,
καὶ σκῦλα γράψεις πῶς ἐπ’ Ἰνάρχου ῥοαῖς;
‘Θήβας πυρώσας τάσδε Πολυνείκης θεοῖς
ἀσπίδας ἔθηκε’; μήποτ’, ὦ τέκνον, κλέος
τοιόνδε σοι γένοιθ’ ὑφ’ Ἑλλήνων λαβεῖν.

(By the gods, how will you set up trophies to Zeus? How, having destroyed your fatherland, will you make offerings of incense? And how will you inscribe the spoils by the streams of Inachos? 'Having burnt down Thebes, Polyneikes dedicated these shields to the gods'? Would that you never gain such fame among the Greeks, my son!) (E. *Ph.* 572-7)

The dedication that Polyneikes will have inscribed, Jocasta predicts, will become his κλέος, fame or reputation, among the Greeks. No matter *his* intention, it will be open to the scrutiny and judgement of all the Greeks.

2.3. Oath

Most settlements and agreements would be concluded by an oath in which the oath-taker makes a declaration, calls upon divine powers as guarantors of truth to witness it, and invites curses upon himself should he fail to abide by the terms of the oath. Peace treaties were concluded by an oath, too, and if the treaty was inscribed, so was its oath, as, for example, in the case of the Peace of Nicias (see under *Spondai* at 1.5). In the final part of his *Suppliant Women*, Euripides exploits the practice of taking an oath to seal the terms of an agreement and the inscribing of it as a means to make it eternal.

At the end of the play, Athena instructs Theseus not to allow Adrastus to have the bones of the dead Argives until he swears an oath that the Argives will never move an army against Athens:

ὁ δ' ὅρκος ἔσται μήποτ' Ἀργείους χθόνα
ἐς τήνδ' ἐποίσειν πολέμιον παντευχίαν
ἄλλων τ' ἰόντων ἐμποδῶν θήσειν δόρυ.
ἦν δ' ὅρκον ἐκλιπόντες ἔλθωσιν πόλιν,
κακῶς ὀλέσθαι πρόστρεπ' Ἀργείων χθόνα.

(The oath shall be that never shall the Argives move a hostile army into this land, and if others do so, they take arms to prevent them. If in violation of the oath they march against this city, may the land of Argos perish miserably!) (E. *Supp.* 1191-5)

The oath is to be followed by a sacrifice, described by Athena in detail, in which a certain bronze tripod from Theseus's house is to play a part. Finally, Theseus is to have this tripod inscribed with the oath of Adrastus and deposit it with the god in Delphi:

ἔγγραψον ὅρκους τρίποδος ἐν κοίλῳ κύτει
κᾶπειτα σώζειν θεῶι δὸς ὦι Δελφῶν μέλει,

μνημεῖά θ' ὄρκων μαρτύρημά θ' Ἑλλάδι.

(p.267)

(Inscribe the oaths on the curved hollow of the tripod and then give it to the god in Delphi to keep it safe, as a memorial of the oaths and testimony for Greece.) (E. *Supp.* 1202-4)

The agreement between Theseus and Adrastos is peculiar in being unilateral: by his oath, Adrastos seals the indebtedness of Argos to its benefactor, Theseus, and Athens.⁴⁴ Upon Athena's bidding it is to be made available for all the Greeks to witness, so that the audience of the play, too, is invited to pass judgement on whether the Argives have abided by the oath. It is notable that Euripides chooses a deliberately archaizing way of publication for Adrastos's oath, a bronze tripod as opposed to a *stele* or a plaque,⁴⁵ which at the time of the play⁴⁶ must have been familiar to his audience from the numerous records of alliances that were concluded under oath and publicly displayed.

While this survey of inscriptions on stage has been meant to elucidate how contemporary epigraphical practices were employed and explored by playwrights, there remains the broader question of what, if anything, drama tells us about actual Athenian attitudes to or use of inscriptions. An important question that arises is the degree of literacy that we should attribute to the Athenians. Does the ubiquitous presence of inscriptions on stage attest widespread literacy or were they meant as symbolic expressions of authority and not expected to be read? This, as R. Thomas recently demonstrated, might be the wrong question to ask, for literacy can take different forms and '[i]t is essential to differentiate groups of Athenians and types of literacy'.⁴⁷ Thomas suggests distinguishing types of literacy such as name literacy, list literacy, the literacy of the official, and banking literacy, all of which, while being far from the literacy of the educated elite, would enable an Athenian to participate in the democracy in various ways. The literacy of characters in comedy who interact with inscriptions fits well with the categories outlined by Thomas: in the passages discussed above, an Athenian is presumed to be able to read his name posted in a *katalogos* ('name literacy') or in the list of *dikai* ('list literacy'). He probably could read a boundary-marker's brief inscription and know where and how laws were displayed, not that he would necessarily read them. He was probably familiar with the language of treaties and decrees (indeed he may have voted for them!) and even if on his own he could not write one down ('literacy of the official'), he might have been able to make it out on a *stele*.

The number of such depictions in Athenian drama suggests that the practice of interacting with the ubiquitous inscriptions was conceived as a reflection of the contemporary situation and perhaps a fairly recent phenomenon. Thomas notes that ‘the developing Athenian empire seems to have generated administration and **(p.268)** some documents, possibly rather simple, to achieve better tribute collection’,⁴⁸ suggesting thereby that some (simple) types of literacy may have become more widespread. Inscriptions in drama, especially comedy, seem to be very compatible with this proposition: most of them are concerned with (simple) enforcement of governance and regulations, functions crucial for ensuring the efficiency of the Athenian state both internally and as an empire, which reached a new level of complexity during approximately the very period in which most of the plays featuring inscriptions were performed.

Beginning especially with B. Meritt,⁴⁹ there has been much discussion about the correlation between democracy and the employment of inscriptions. It has since then been argued that although there is nothing intrinsically democratic about writing itself, the practice of setting up public inscriptions was ‘motivated at least in part by democratic ideology in Athens in the Classical period’.⁵⁰ Yet these discussions tend to equate ‘democratic’ with ‘democratic values’ and thus endow it with positive connotations. ‘Athenian public inscriptions do seem to follow a democratic ideal of publicity,’⁵¹ notes Thomas, and Hedrick, in his study of formulae of disclosure in inscriptions, suggests possible democratic values they (or rather some of them) could express: ‘Inscriptions might...be erected to inform citizens, so that they could participate effectively in politics. They might also be intended as confirmations of the laws, so that citizens might be encouraged to observe and honor the laws in their day-to-day behavior. Inscriptions might also be intended as incentives, honors that would produce competition among those who wished to be of service to the democracy.’⁵² While all this is so, there is another side to the ‘democratic’ use of inscriptions, and comedy provides insight into it. Inscriptions might have been erected so that a citizen would report for an expedition, even though he had just returned from one, or be prohibited from doing something that he had been accustomed to do. They might have helped a citizen participate more in governance, but they also might have improved the efficiency with which he was governed, something that perhaps did not always win his approval. Furthermore, the very nature of an inscriptional text as—in theory—authoritative and fixed leaves room for its manipulation by the authorities responsible for fixing it. Indeed, one of the striking features of inscriptions in comedy is how pliable, or even completely falsifiable,

they could be: magistrates change the lists on muster rolls, the Assembly votes for an addition to the *stele* with the Peace of Nicias that destroys the meaning of the text it bears, while the speed with which the Decree-seller gets a *stele* with a decree only emphasizes its insubstantiality. On the other hand, the physicality of the inscribed copy of the Megarian decree allows Pericles to pretend that it cannot be changed and thus to distance himself from responsibility for it.

The tragedies of Euripides attest a very different perception of inscriptions as immutable and enduring. Inscriptions in tragedy never actually appear on stage, but are imagined as projected from the mythological past into the future. In that future they are envisaged as enduring and bearing witness to what they record so that whatever the intention of the doers may have been, the inscription would **(p.269)** allow all Greece—a point stressed in all instances—to pass judgement and perhaps serve justice. They are conceived as carriers of eternal memory, and the genres that appear in tragedy are chosen accordingly. Epitaphs, dedications, and oaths are types of inscriptions that were probably conceived as suitable for the heroic age as much as for contemporary Athens. And although Euripides' employment of inscriptions perhaps reflects the increasing density of the epigraphical landscape of Athens, and the imagined epitaph for Astyanax certainly makes allusion to the contemporary practice of commemorating the war-dead, the features of inscriptions that he brings forward are markedly timeless.

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Notes:

(¹) Over the past couple of decades, attention has been paid to both the use made of inscriptional evidence by ancient authors and the role of inscriptions in Athenian democracy. See e.g. Smarczyk (2006); Petrovic (2007) for the former, and Hedrick (1999); Rhodes (2001); Sickinger (2009) for the latter. Inscriptions in drama are sometimes cited as evidence for a particular kind of epigraphical practice in Athens, but they have never constituted an independent study.

(²) The best introduction to Athenian *horoi* is Lalonde et al. (1991) 5–6; for the exclusion of some criminals from the Athenian Agora, see 10–11; Andocides was one of those so excluded, cf. And. 1. 71, 76.

(³) Olson (2002) 256–7 agrees that Dikaiopolis carries some objects, but wonders whether they could be small wine-jugs representing *horoi*, which Dikaiopolis sets down as he speaks. He does not explain, however, why boundary-markers would be represented by wine-jugs. Starkie (1909) 153 imagines them to be ‘some posts’, and Sommerstein (1980) 105 inserts a stage-direction that Dikaiopolis is ‘bringing out stones with which he delimits an area outside his house’. Stones of any significant size, however, would be heavy to carry.

(⁴) For a possible interpretation of ‘Phasianos’ as a denouncer, see Olson (2002) 258.

(⁵) For a useful overview of scholarly opinion, see Rhodes (1993) 132, who thinks that both terms were used of the same set of objects. The most recent survey of modern theories on the subject can be found in Davis (2011), who argues that *kyrbeis* were shaped as three-sided, free-standing, possibly pyramidal wooden objects.

(⁶) Sickinger (1999) 27 suggests that both were pillar-like objects, but ‘*axones* were set horizontally in a frame, while *kyrbeis* stood upright within a base’. Stroud (1979) argues that *axones* were revolving wooden beams, while *kyrbeis* were standing pillars with a pointed top; see next n.

(⁷) This has been most prominently advocated by Stroud (1979) 42 who gives this definition: ‘a kyrbis was a free-standing, stationary, stele-like object made of either bronze or stone. Some were three-sided, others were four-sided...[T]hey were inscribed...on all three or four surfaces. Ancient speculation on the meaning and origin of the word “kyrbis”... seems largely to have concentrated on the appearance of the top of the monument which was pointed in the shape of a pyramid.’ No mention of *axones* is made in surviving drama, and thus the evidence derived from comedy is of limited use for drawing distinctions between *axones* and *kyrbeis*—both in terms of the shape and content of inscribed laws. While this is an important question, it lies completely outside my investigation.

(⁸) Davies (2005).

(⁹) To borrow from A. Sommerstein’s commentary (1982) 184, it denotes here ‘one who knows more about technicalities of the law than a normal honest citizen might be expected to know’.

(¹⁰) It cannot be excluded, however, that if the *kyrbeis* were indeed narrow pillars capped with a pointed top, the joke had some visual and perhaps obscene component as well.

(¹¹) λιθάργυρος δ' | ὅλη παρηωρεῖτο χρίματος πλέα | τὸν Σπαρτιάτην γραπτὸν κύρβιν ἐν διπλῷ ξύλῳ, (an olpe made of litharge and full of perfume was hanging beside [or from] the inscribed Spartan *kyrbis* on a double peg). The text is that of Stroud (1979) 4; Snell's text in *TrGF* 20 F 19 differs slightly.

(¹²) Dunbar (1995) 656–7.

(¹³) Wycherley (1978) 7–8; cf. Hdt. 7. 142, 8. 51.

(¹⁴) Stroud (1979) 3–4, 37.

(¹⁵) See, however, Robertson (1986) 148–53 who argues that neither wooden nor bronze *kyrbeis* are meant here but rather ancient laws prescribing barley cakes to those dining in the Prytaneion.

(¹⁶) 'Roasting barley in the laws of Solon and Draco' does not need to imply that these laws fell into disrespect in Athens; it could, for example, reflect the fact that the employment of *kyrbeis* had become obsolete and the laws written on them were transferred to another medium. Alternatively, those who were 'roasting the barley' might have been depicted as transgressors. Unfortunately, their identity is completely lost to us.

(¹⁷) One may wonder how long wax would withstand the Athenian sun, cf. Rhodes (2001) 34.

(¹⁸) Andrewes (1981) 1–2.

(¹⁹) For the discrepancies between fuller versions of the documents and their shortened inscribed copies, see Sickinger (1999) 64 with n. 5; Rhodes (2001) 37–8.

(²⁰) See now Bolmarcich (2007).

(²¹) The One-Year Truce of 424/3 reported in detail by Thucydides (4. 118. 1–119. 2) is a likely example. For a recent discussion, see Smarczyk (2006) 504–5.

(²²) First noted by Krüger (1858) 51. For most recent discussion, see Bolmarcich (2007) 481–2.

(²³) Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδου πείσαντος τῇ μὲν Λακωνικῇ στήλῃ ὑπέγραψαν ὅτι οὐκ ἐνέμειναν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς ὅρκοις (upon Alcibiades' advice, the Athenians added to the bottom of the Laconian *stele* [sc. the *stele* displaying a copy of the Peace of Nicias on the Acropolis in Athens] that the Lakedaimonians had not kept their oaths), Th. 5. 56. 3.

(²⁴) Cf. Henderson (1987) 135.

(²⁵) See Andrewes's comments in Gomme et al. (1970) 78. For a different view see Bolmarcich (2007) 481–2, who expresses doubt and argues that taking down a *stele* with a treaty would be 'almost as rare an event' as emending it.

(²⁶) Smarczyk (2006) 506. Notably, the Peace was never formally denounced, and Thucydides' narrative suggests that pretence aimed at its validity was maintained as late as 414 BC, until Athens helped Argos by invading Laconia, Th. 6. 105.

(²⁷) Hornblower (2008) 148 notes that although Alcibiades knew how to upset the Spartans and that some of them may have felt uneasy about what amounted to a charge of perjury, overall it was not much more than point-scoring. In support, he adduces the squabbling exchange over the Alkmaionid and Tainarion 'curses' that the Athenians and the Spartans had demanded each other to get rid of and about which neither side took any action (Th. 1. 127–8). The added peculiarity of the situation in 418, however, was that the change of the text on the *stele* was unilateral, as far as we are informed, and the addition probably affected the Athenians who had voted for it more than it could hurt the feelings of the Spartans (cf. Andrewes's comment that the Athenians 'recorded Sparta's breach of faith to justify their own somewhat dubious action').

(²⁸) Sickinger (1999) 5, and *passim*; Rhodes (2001).

(²⁹) For this 'office', which seems to have been invented by Aristophanes, see Dunbar (1995) 567.

(³⁰) Meiggs (1972) 586; Dunbar (1995) 568–9.

(³¹) *IG* I³ 1453; Dunbar (1995) 569–71.

(³²) Cf. Euripides' *Ion* singing about shooting the birds in Delphi 'which harm the sacred dedications' (...πτηνῶν τ' ἀγέλας, | αἱ βλάπτουσιν σέμν' ἀναθήματα, | τόξοισιν ἐμοῖς φυγάδας θήσομεν, *Ion* 106–8).

⁽³³⁾ A possible parallel might be provided by the so-called regulations for Miletus, *IG I³* 21. 47–8, so Meiggs (1972) 587, but see also Dunbar (1995) 575.

⁽³⁴⁾ Dunbar (1995) 575.

⁽³⁵⁾ The Decree-seller is the last in the chain of Athenian intruders after the priest, poet, oracle-monger, Meton the geometer, and Inspector.

⁽³⁶⁾ Cf. van Leeuwen (1901) 94; Sommerstein (1980) 183.

⁽³⁷⁾ Of various decrees, Andocides employs ἐξαλειψαι (1. 76) and ἀφελέσθαι (2. 24).

⁽³⁸⁾ Allusions to writing, whether metaphorical, such as Prometheus bidding Io to inscribe what he tells her on the tablets of her mind, ἐγγράφου σὺ μνήμοσιν δέλτοις φρενῶν, *A. Pr.* 789, or to actually inscribed objects, such as the tablet in Phaidra's hand bearing the accusation against Hippolytos, *E. Hipp.* 856 et al., or the one that Herakles leaves for Deianira, *S. Tr.* 157, lie outside my study since they do not entail instances of publicly displayed writing. Writing in tragedy has been a subject of many interesting investigations over the last couple of decades; cf. Torrance (2010) with further bibliography.

⁽³⁹⁾ These are on the shields of Kapaneus (*Th.* 432–4), Eteoklos (*Th.* 466–70), and Polyneikes (*Th.* 644–8).

⁽⁴⁰⁾ There appears to be a military catalogue, or a muster roll, in a fragment of the *Gathering of the Achaeans*, but unlike the publicly displayed *katalogoi* in Aristophanes, this is inscribed on folding tablets held by an unknown character, γραμμάτων πτυχὰς ἔχων, *Fr.* 144 line 1.

⁽⁴¹⁾ For the use of ποτέ in classical inscriptions, including this imagined epitaph, see Young (1983), esp. 36–8.

⁽⁴²⁾ All these epitaphs chronologically fall within the early 450s to late 430s and were probably known to Euripides and his audience; many more must have stood in the Kerameikos, but they do not survive.

⁽⁴³⁾ This *stèle*, found during rescue excavations in Athens in 1995, which preceded the construction of the new Metro system, has been only partially published in Parlama (2001) 396–9, no. 452 (*SEG* 48. 83).

⁽⁴⁴⁾ For detailed discussion, see Collard (1975) i. 1–11; cf. Zuntz (1955) 75, who comments that Adrastus's oath is a 'wholly one-sided obligation

such as in reality could only be dictated to a completely vanquished enemy’.

(⁴⁵) See, for inscribed archaic and archaizing objects deposited in sanctuaries, Zuntz (1955) 76–7, although his conclusion that such a tripod, not of as ancient a date as it purported to be but rather of *c.*450, must have existed at the time of the play, may be difficult to accept.

(⁴⁶) For discussion of possible dates of the play, which vary from 424 to 416 BC, with most scholars inclined to 424 or shortly thereafter, see Collard (1975) i. 8–14.

(⁴⁷) Thomas (2009) 37.

(⁴⁸) Thomas (2009) 38.

(⁴⁹) Meritt (1940) 89–93.

(⁵⁰) Hedrick (1999) 425 and *passim*.

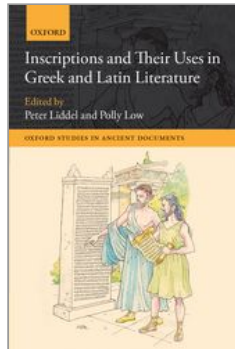
(⁵¹) Thomas (2009) 36.

(⁵²) Hedrick (1999) 425.



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Aristotle's Hymn to Virtue and Funerary Inscriptions

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Abstract and Keywords

Upon the death of his friend Hermias, tyrant of Atarnaeus, Aristotle composed a 'Hymn to Virtue' (PMG 842). The song is quoted in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* (15. 696a-697b) and inspires debate about the genre of the poem, its formal features, and performance context. Modern scholarship is as divided as ancient critics about the poem's genre and various hypotheses either emphasize the song's paeanic features, its threnodic traits, or its dithyrambic poetics. No study however has remarked upon the parallels between Aristotle's poem and funerary inscriptions. This chapter investigates the rich relationship between Aristotle's poem and contemporary funerary epigraphy, and the added layer of significance granted by Athenaeus' commentary on the poem. It begins by examining how Aristotle's song enacts the language of inscriptions and uses its images and *topoi* (most obviously that of the *arête* of the deceased). It then underlines the more complex functional parallels between song and stone and the way they both work as 'metonymic signs' of the deceased. In conclusion, it is demonstrated that funerary epigraphy allows an innovative answer to the problem of the genre of Hermias' song and provides the missing link between Aristotle's poem, his 'Defence' and Athenaeus' comments

— between song, stone, and speech. Ultimately, the *Deipnosophistae*'s passage throws light on the many-faceted relationship between genres (lyric, epigram and prose), media and performances (music, stone and oratory), and on the issue of memorialization at the end of the fourth century bc.

Keywords: commemoration, funerary epigraphy, Aristotle, lyric poetry, epigram, memory, genre, performance, *arête*

In the context of this volume's examination of the literary reception and deployment of inscriptions, I have chosen to focus on Aristotle's Hymn to Virtue (*PMG* 842). This short lyric poem composed by the philosopher c.341 BC to commemorate the death of his friend and father-in-law Hermias, tyrant of Atarneus,¹ provides an ideal vantage point to observe the intersection of three questions: the relationship between sung, inscribed, and visual modes of memorialization of a deceased, the relationship between context and lyric genre, and the use of 'epigraphic literacy' (to use Joseph Day's expression, this volume, Ch. 9) at the end of the Classical period.

Aristotle's song is preserved in the papyrus of Didymus' commentary to Demosthenes (10. 32ff.) and is cited in Diogenes Laertius' *Life of Aristotle* (5. 1. 7) but it is from Athenaeus' last book of the *Deipnosophistae* (15. 696a-697b) that it is most often quoted:²

Ἀρετὰ πολύμοχθε γένει βροτείῳ,
θήραμα κάλλιστον βίῳ,
σᾶς πέρι, παρθένε, μορφᾶς
καὶ θανεῖν ζηλωτὸς ἐν Ἑλλάδι πότμος
καὶ πόνους τλῆναι μαλεροῦς ἀκάμαντας· 5
τοῖον ἐπὶ φρένα βάλλεις
καρπὸν ἰσοθάνατον χρυσοῦ τε κρείσσω
καὶ γονέων μαλακαυγήτοιό θ' ὕπνου.
σεῦ δ' ἔκεν (καὶ) ὁ δῖος
Ἡρακλῆς Λήδας τε κοῦροι 10
πόλλ' ἀνέτλασαν ἐν ἔργοις
σὰν ἀγρεύοντες δύναμιν·
σοῖς τε πόθοις Ἀχιλεὺς Αἴ-
ας τ' Αἶδαο δόμους ἦλθον·
(p.272) σᾶς δ' ἔκεν φιλίου μορφᾶς Ἀταρνέος 15
ἐντροφος ἀελίου χήρωσεν αὐγᾶς.
τοιγὰρ ἀοίδιμος ἔργοις,
ἀθάνατόν τέ μιν αὐξήσουσι Μοῦσαι,
Μναμοσύνας θύγατρες, Δι-
ὸς ξενίου σέβας αὖξου-20
σαι φιλίας τε γέρας βεβαίου.

(Virtue, you who bring many labors for the race of mortals, fairest quarry for a man's life, for the sake of your beauty, maiden, even to die is an enviable fate in Greece, or to endure cruel unresting toils: such a fruition, as good as immortal, do you bestow on the mind, better than gold or parents or soft-eyed sleep; on your account noble Herakles and the sons of Leda endured much in their exploits, (hunting?) your power; in their desire for you Achilles and Ajax went to the dwelling of Hades; and on account of your dear beauty the nursling of Atarneus left desolate the rays of the sun. Therefore he is glorified in song for his exploits, and the Muses, daughters of Memory, will exalt him to immortality, exalting the majesty of Zeus, god of hospitality, and the privilege of secure friendship.)

Athenaeus' discussion introducing the song (which I will turn to in the next section) has greatly influenced modern critical approaches, and most of the debate has focused on the genre of the poem. Some critics underline the song's hymnic features, others, its closeness to a paean, others to a *threnos*; but while all commentators observe the ill fit between some of its formal characteristics and its occasion,³ and remark that one genre label cannot accommodate all the features of the song, they rarely consider contextual factors other than the immediate circumstances of composition and performance.⁴

My contribution starts with a simple observation, which, as far as I know, has not been fully stated nor explained in any discussion of the poem:⁵ *arete* (virtue), the addressee of Aristotle's poem, is the single most used noun in the corpus of fourth-century verse inscriptions. It occurs seventy-seven times in the corpus of *CEG* 2, fifty-two times on epitaphs (thirty-three in Attic epigrams alone), both for men and women, young and old, elite and non-elite. This simple observation raises a host of questions: what exactly is the nature of the connection between Aristotle's hymn to *Arete* and fourth-century epitaphs' use of *arete*?⁶ How does **(p.273)** this connection influence our understanding of Aristotle's song? And what does it tell us about the culture of inscriptions, and the relationship between sung and inscribed memorializing gestures at the end of the Classical period?

These questions, in turn, invite us to engage with the issue of how to approach Aristotle's song both in its material context(s) and in the literary tradition. Sophisticated studies have analysed the indebtedness of stone epigrams to oral poetry in the Archaic and early Classical period,⁷ as well as the influence of stone epigrams on book epigrams in the Hellenistic period.⁸ In looking for the influence of inscriptions on a song at the very end of the Classical period rather than in Archaic or

early Classical times, I take a less-travelled road. My reading focuses on a remarkable song, for which I know of no other parallel in that time period; yet its uniqueness makes it a valuable contribution to our understanding of poetic culture, oral and written, in the late fourth century. My hope with this case study is therefore not only to provide a new element of interpretation in the debate about the genre of Aristotle's poem, but also to analyse how the contribution of funerary inscriptions allows us to shed some light on a less well-known period in the evolution of the relationship between song, inscriptions, and visual material,⁹ and alerts us to the continued coexistence and creative interactions of different types of culture, sung and written, oral and monumental, at the dawn of the Hellenistic period.

1. The song in contexts

1.1. Formal features and performance

Starting with Athenaeus' discussion, two approaches to the song have predominated: one formal, the other contextual. In the *Deipnosophistae* (696a), the former is illustrated by one of the eponymous sophists at dinner, Democritus, the latter by Demophilus, who brought a charge of impiety (τὴν τῆς ἀσεβείας γραφὴν), probably in 323 BC, against the author of the *Poetics* for not singing the right kind of song in the right kind of setting.¹⁰ According to Demophilus, Aristotle committed a crime by singing what Demophilus calls a paeon every day in the common dining-room (ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις) of the Lyceum: it is hubristic to honour a man with a ritual song destined for a god.¹¹ In defence of Aristotle, Democritus on (p.274) the other hand approaches the song from a formal perspective, and proves, from the diction itself (ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς λέξεως), that Aristotle's song shows none of the characteristics of a paeon (παιᾶνος οὐδεμίαν ἔμφασιν), including no paeanic refrain (ἰὴ παιᾶν ἐπίρρημα): it is a kind of *skolion sui generis* (τῶν σκολίων ἓν τι καὶ αὐτὸ εἶδος). His remarks are representative of a trend of ancient literary criticism that started in the Alexandrian period and focused on the categorization of lyric poetry based on formal differences, arguably to allow the Alexandrian scholars to compile their editions.¹²

Yet, as the debate shows and as modern critics continue to emphasize, Aristotle's song fits uneasily into any established category of lyric poetry. Bowra (1938), for example, argues that the song was too serious to be a *skolion* but could not exactly be a paeon either, for *Arete* had no cult. For the same reason, it was not a hymn, nor was it an *epikedeion*, as it was not sung over the body before burial, nor a *threnos*, for it was sung daily, rather than yearly over the tomb at the festival of remembrance. Bowra concludes (186, my emphasis):

The solution must be that Aristotle modeled his poem on the Paeon but added to it some characteristics of the θρῆνος, and addressed in it a power which meant a great deal to him but was not officially in the Greek pantheon. From the θρῆνος he took the lamentation for the dead man...but from the paeon he took his structure and his place of singing. In so combining, or confusing, two types of poem Aristotle followed the tendencies of the fourth century.

Renehan (1982) summarizes the scholarly debate about the song's genre and notes (255, my emphasis): 'here surely, in this very diversity of opinion, lies the *solution*. Scholars, in ancient times and modern, have failed to agree on the genre of the poem precisely because it cannot be put into any single category without Procrustean measures. It is untypical, even as is its immediate occasion.' Stressing, again, the experimental element of the song, Renehan then goes on to explore the influence of contemporary dithyrambic style on the poem. These two passages give the sense that the genre of the poem is considered a puzzle that needs to be worked out, and the 'solution' (a word both scholars use) to interpret it has consisted in emphasizing the mix of poetic features rather than in singling out one subcategory of oral poetry.¹³ Yet in their examination of the formal features of the poems, both Bowra and Renehan betray that it is impossible to talk just about formal features: while referring to the *Kreuzung der Gattungen* in the song, Bowra underlines the link between features and context (for example, the 'structure *and* place of singing' of the paeon, or the absence of cult of *Arete*), as does Renehan, who talks about the untypical nature of the song, and 'even...its immediate **(p.275)** occasion' (my emphasis). What they mean by contextualization and performance, however, is fairly restricted to the immediate set of circumstances surrounding the poem. The rest of Democritus' defence of Aristotle in Athenaeus' text offers a promising way to add some new elements to the interpretation of the poem or even depart from the lyric categories debate that has dominated the discussion starting in Hellenistic times.

1.2. Pragmatics

After his remarks on the song's *lexis*, Democritus adds that the writer clearly acknowledges that the dedicatee of the song is dead (τετελευτηκέναι τὸν Ἑρμείαν) when using the image of the loss of light (line 16). Despite Democritus' commitment to the formal approach, his mention of the status of the dedicatee, and of the language in which it is expressed, points to an understanding of genre that goes beyond formal features: it is an assessment of the song based on pragmatics—that is, on the relationship between the text and some aspects of communication, especially contextual, other than the transfer of information per se. Further in the discussion, Democritus goes back to the pragmatic approach and quotes what was alleged to be Aristotle's own apology in his 'Defence against the charge of Impiety'. Even though the speech is likely to be a forgery,¹⁴ it emphasizes an important aspect of the celebration of Hermias' memory; the song cannot be considered in isolation, but should be treated as a manifestation of, and in connection with, other ritual practices: 'For if my intention had been to sacrifice to Hermias as an immortal (θύειν ὡς ἀθανάτῳ), I should never have erected a tomb to him as a mortal (μνημα κατασκεύαζον); and if I had wanted to make an immortal of him (ἀθανατίζειν), I should never have honored his body with burial rites (ἐπιταφίοις τιμαῖς ἐκόσμησα)' (Ath. 697b).

The tomb and epitaphic honours are part of the rhetoric of the song: like a μνημα (monument), and as opposed to a prayer and sacrifice (the two meanings of θύειν),¹⁵ the song is intended for a mortal, and is not part of an immortalization gesture (ἀθανατίζειν). The fictive speech puts its finger on something important: the song is embedded in a thick network of multimedia practices that comprise, as Diogenes Laertius attests, a verbal component, sung and spoken (in addition to the traditional *epikedeion* and *threnos*, a prose encomium composed by Callisthenes), a visual one (the erection of a tomb and a statue), and a written one (presumably an epigram on the tomb, and one on the statue, quoted by Diogenes Laertius), all meant to guarantee the *kleos* of Hermias. Given the network of inscriptional and ritual practices in which the song is set, the praise of the *arete* of the deceased tightly connects, thematically and functionally, sung and written practices, as well as verbal and ritual performance. As an epitaph would, the song celebrates the virtue of Hermias—but *how* is it like an epitaph? The next (p.276) pages will underline some echoes of epitaphs in Aristotle's song in context, but most importantly will suggest how formal features recalling funerary inscriptions frame the song's form of communication, and create the same ritual and performative situation as epitaphs do in creating their own context. The generic force of these

features, and the relevance of intertextual echoes, comes from their (re)-activation of ritual.¹⁶ Day's words open a new way to think about the 'genre' of Aristotle's song (2000) 37-8:

A poem can be said to belong to a certain genre, not only because it has a certain form but also because, when it was performed, certain acts were done or effects produced in the speaking of the words and in an audience's responses to them—acts and effects, one must add, beyond the purely linguistic encoding and decoding of information.

It is the 'speaking of the words' and the 'audience's responses to them' that I focus on now.

2. Grave-robbing: epigraphic echoes in Aristotle's song

2.1. Epigraphic grammar and funerary images

From epitaphs, Aristotle's hymn borrows much more than the *arete*-theme: the song shows Aristotle's familiarity with the conventions of inscriptional diction in the language of public approbation and funerary inscriptions. One example of this is the anaphora σεῦ δ' ἔνεκεν (9) and σᾶς δ' ἔνεκεν φιλίου μορφᾶς (15). The personal form obscures the poet's reliance on an expression, ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα, typical of fourth-century political speeches,¹⁷ and public motions, funerary and votive inscriptions.¹⁸ The very form used in oratory, honorific decrees, and epitaphs, familiar to any Athenian's ear and eye, is latent in Aristotle's song, but refocalized through the hymnic form of address.

Other echoes are more immediately recognizable by an epigraphically literate audience: in his monograph on 'inscribing sorrow', Christos Tsagalis ((2008) 137) has identified, in the corpus of surviving fourth-century Attic funerary inscriptions, five standardized phrases built around the use of *arete* or *sophrosyne*:

- (a) μετέχειν μέρος ἔχων ἀρετῆς / σωφροσύνης + numerals
- (b) ἀσκεῖν ἀρετήν / σωφροσύνην
- (c) αὐξάνειν ἀρετήν / σωφροσύνην
- (d) μνημεῖον ἀρετῆς / σωφροσύνης
- (e) κλέος + ἀρετή / σωφροσύνη

(p.277) Without using any of these exact formulations, Aristotle's song echoes four of the five. The closest verbal parallel is with formula (c), αὐξάνειν ἀρετήν, to exalt, but also, more literally, to augment, increase virtue. The idea expressed by the verb, more frequently used with concrete nouns, 'should be interpreted as representing a delicate balance between the private and the public spheres of life. *Arete* and *sophrosyne* can be now increased just as one can increase his *oikos* or his fortune.'¹⁹ Aristotle uses the verb twice in the last five lines of the poem,²⁰ when praying that Hermias, made famous in song for his deeds, might be 'exalted/increased to immortality', as might Zeus Xenios and the gift of a secure friendship. This dual connotation, private and public, of αὐξάνω justifies the reference to *xenia*, a means to augment personal and political links between individuals and their *oikos*, and to the *geras* (part of honour, privilege) of *philia*. Extolling Zeus Xenios recalls the memory of Hermias' own *xenia* for Aristotle and the secure (including materially secure) friendship the philosopher enjoyed at Assos.²¹

The same is true of formula (b) ἀσκεῖν ἀρετήν (to practise virtue): the exact formula is not used, but the epithet modifying ἀρετή—πολύμοχθε (which brings many labors, 1) expresses the same idea, repeated in

πόνους τλῆναι...ἀκάμαντας (to bear untiring toil, 5), and ἀνέτλασαν (to endure, 11).²² All denote the difficulty of constantly straining, with the same athletic overtones of ἀσκεῖν in πόνους and κάμνω, and even, in the latter, the same artistic connotations of 'building' (*LSJ* 1 s.v. ἀσκεῖν and κάμνω) virtue and of producing worthy deeds (*erga*).

The song also uses some version of the last two formulae, (d) μνημεῖον ἀρετῆς and (e) κλέος + ἀρετή. The use of μνημεῖον in the formula reveals a change in the way the deceased's monument is considered. As Jon Bruss (2005) 34 shows, in the Archaic and early Classical period, there was a 'gradual shift underway from the monument as sign [σῆμα] of the deceased to the monument as memorial [μνημα]'. Later in the fourth century, Tsagalis (2008) 151 explains, 'when memory-preservation becomes particularized [in connection with the new way *arete* is understood], the word μνημεῖον takes over'. In Aristotle's song, this idea of memorialization is felt in the reference to the Muses, daughters of Memory (Μνημοσύνας), who embody the commemoration of Hermias' deeds of ἀρετή and virtuous death. Moreover, Hermias is presented as αἰδίδιμος ἔργοις (17), known in song for his deeds—the very word used by Helen in *Iliad* 6. 357–8 to refer to the future *kleos* that she and Paris will get in songs. By calling Hermias immortal (ἀθάνατον, 18), the song encapsulates the idea of epic κλέος (ἀθάνατον, or ἄφθιτον) covered by formula (e).

One can argue, of course, that, since Aristotle does not use any of the exact epitaphic formulae, he is merely relying on *topoi* of encomiastic poetry, which themselves, just as epitaphs, build on the epic tradition, for ideology and diction. While it is true that the song refers to heroic paragons of virtue (Herakles and (p.278) the Dioskouroi (10), Ajax and Achilles (13–14), all models of brave and beautiful warriors) found in all praise poetry and that it mixes these epic references with the 'dithyrambic' diction typical of fourth-century poetry,²³ it shares a strong poetic connection with contemporary funerary epigrams in its uses of death-imagery. Fourth-century epitaphs predominantly use two images to signify death: the passage to the underworld and the loss of the light of life, both illustrated in Aristotle's song.²⁴ The first is usually found in the feminine form 'passage to the chambers of Persephone', but here an older image, the house of Hades (Αἶδαο δόμους, 14), mostly associated with sixth- and fifth-century *polyandria*, is used: its epic colouring is appropriate to the heroic subjects, Achilles and Ajax, but most importantly, it avoids colliding eroticized images and leaves Virtue the only maiden around whom desire crystallizes in the poem.²⁵ The second image, an old synecdoche illustrated by many epic, lyric, and tragic examples,²⁶ is consistently phrased as φῶς / φάος or αὐγήν/-άς always with the genitive of the word for sun, in epitaphs.²⁷ These are

the exact words that Aristotle relies on in ἀελίου χήρωσεν αὐγάς (he left desolate the rays of the sun, 16). Yet the image is bolder, as it makes the sun, and not Hermias, the subject of the loss: it is the sun that is widowed after Hermias' departure, himself turned into a source of light.²⁸

2.2. Metonymic signs, verbal and material

What I have so far called 'epitaphic echoes' are more than verbal or poetic mannerisms or reliance on *topoi*: the echoes serve as building blocks marking the situation of communication and performance of an epitaph, and contribute to recreating the ritual force of funerary inscriptions. Inscribed by the friends and family of the deceased, epitaphs praise the departed, and expose his or her virtue to be read, recollected in a performance, and ultimately re-enacted in the lives his or her example inspires, by the passer-by and the community, for as long as the stone stands. But they are, by their very nature, 'faced with a basic communicative as well as expressive problem, i.e. to bridge or overcome the gap between the singularity of a person's death on the one hand, and the general appreciation that is wished for him and is effectuated by his permanent commemoration on the other'.²⁹ Every time the epitaph is read, it both recalls the memory of the deceased and reminds the reader of his or her own mortality. To relate to a wider audience, composers of epitaphs try to 'incorporat[e] widely acknowledged cultural views presented from a timeless perspective'³⁰ thanks to a 'gnomic grammar' whose main linguistic features include quantificatory (all men/none, many/few) and **(p.279)** evaluative terms (good, bad, etc.); deictic 'generalizing' markers (τοιοῦτος, οὗτος, ὅστις); verbs in the tenseless present and gnomic aorist; and a certain style, marked by brevity, precision, parallelism/contrast.³¹

All these gnomic qualities are exemplified in the poem, from quantificatory terms (γένει βροτείωι, race of mortals, 1; βίωι, life, 2) and evaluative terminology (κάλλιστον, fairest, 2; ζηλωτός, enviable, 4), to generalizing markers (τοῖον, such, 6) to establish the universal difficulty of striving for virtue. This difficulty contributes to defining humanity, by contrast with divinity, and Greekness (ἐν Ἑλλάδι, in Greece, 4), an important element given the political context of the poem's composition, and accusations surrounding both Aristotle and Hermias.³² Thematically, the song revolves around an antithesis (*arete* is both desirable as a way of living (θήραμα κάλλιστον βίωι, fairest quality for a man's life, 2)) and of dying, (θανεῖν ζηλωτὸς ἐν Ἑλλάδι πότμος, to die is an enviable fate in Greece, 4) and structurally around

the anaphora of the second-person pronoun, providing both the focus and balanced structure of the poem.

These features are, obviously, not specific to epitaphs; they also belong to hymns, which, 'as *agalmata*...are also *ktêmata*, negotiable commodities that potentially exist apart from the subjects who construct them and from the time and place in which they are performed':³³ hymns negotiate their timelessness and (often) placelessness through gnomic features, as a way to ensure their future re-performance.³⁴ But the real switch, and the performative force of the epitaph, which would have been activated for the reader familiar with the conventions of inscriptions, occurs in the last lines, when the universal nature of the celebration of virtue switches to something specific, and the list of heroic examples is capped by the celebration of Hermias.³⁵ Although the reference to Hermias is oblique enough, and done in a way that might echo an epic formula, it articulates an important thematic change, from the praise of virtue to the praise of Zeus Xenios.

Thinking of the song as performing the same function as an epitaph allows explaining this switch in focalization; its function is to bring a wider audience, through mourning and consolation, to relate to the individuality of the deceased: 'the grave marker thus construed is not devoid of a relationship with memory, but instead of preserving memory, it focalized and activates (epic) memory.'³⁶ In its (relative) brevity, the hymn is to the encomium what the epitaph is to the tomb: rather than being a monumental marker, it is, to quote Sourvinou-Inwood (1995) 119–21, a 'metonymic sign of the deceased'.

(p.280) 3. Epigraphic literacy

3.1. From *agathos* to *arete*: the language of virtue in the fourth century

Too numerous to be interpreted as coincidence or mere *topoi*, these lapidary echoes suggest not only Aristotle's own familiarity with the conventions of grave inscriptions, but also that an audience could not 'fully appreciate the poem without sharing the author's experience of inscriptions' (as Day explains, this volume, Ch. 9, in the case of some early classical epinicians). The way Aristotle personifies and presents *Arete* suggests that this is the horizon of expectation that the poem is built on and an epigraphically literate audience will associate virtue, given the 'signs' provided by the epitaphic diction, with some specific connotations.

The choice of using, in inscriptions, the abstract noun *arete* rather than the adjective *agathos* to express the idea of excellence is a 'semantically intricate business',³⁷ and the result of different ideological shifts. First,

as Whitehead's study of 'cardinal virtues' in the language of public approbation in epigraphic and literary record shows, *agathos* evolved from being applied with a 'twin sense of high-born and bravely heroic in his behaviour' in Homeric poetry,³⁸ to qualifying, in democratic Athens, living honorands, even of foreign origins; but this move was only gradual, cautious, and limited. Second, at the end of the fifth century, the epigraphic record shows 'the beginnings of the establishment of a cluster of cardinal democratic virtues given explicit expression as *abstract nouns*.... They serve as behaviour-paradigms already, to be sure, exemplified by the honorand(s) in question (who are praised and rewarded accordingly) but now set up as ideals for everyone else.'³⁹ More specifically, at that time *andragathia* rather than *arete* was adopted as the cardinal virtue serving as ideal for a living honorand, while the heroic connotations of beautiful death still predominate in *arete*.

The term takes new connotations in the fourth century, when *arete* is used more widely in epitaphs to encompass some private aspects of virtue and denote excellence in private life rather than, or in addition to, public matters. As Tsagalis (2008) 135–6 explains:

Old-time aristocratic values, such as ἀρετή and σωφροσύνη, were transformed into an incipient 'privatized-world', for which fourth-century Athens provided the necessary seedbed...Next to th[e] new civic aspect of ἀρετή and σωφροσύνη, which were now translated into the democratic vocabulary of leitourgiai (the services offered to the state by the citizens), we may observe the emergence of a family-oriented form of ἀρετή and σωφροσύνη.... The hidden presence of the deceased is still important but rather for his family members, friends and dear ones and not for the state. This being the case, 'inoffensive behavior in private life' is the other, privately oriented, new aspect of *aretê* and *sophrosynê* in fourth-century Athens.⁴⁰

(p.281) In the enlarged semantic landscape associated with *arete* in the late Classical period, opening the song with an apostrophe to Arete might evoke a variety of settings in which the term was used, from public motions to private mourning, depending on an audience's horizon of expectation.⁴¹ But for an epigraphically literate audience, an audience who would recognize the epitaphic 'markers' and for whom the conditions of communication of funerary inscriptions would be activated upon recognizing these markers of performance, Aristotle's praise of *arete* throughout the song suggests a specific understanding of the term: it is the private side of virtue that Aristotle celebrates, and it is only in so far as he is dead that Hermias is associated with heroic

values.⁴² These connotations of inoffensive conduct in life are particularly prominent in the middle section of the poem (7-8), where *arete* is presented in a priamel of good things. While an Archaic priamel would underline virtue's place among abstractions important for the cohesiveness of an aristocratic society, such as justice and good fortune,⁴³ Aristotle compares it to boons belonging to the realm of private life: sweet-eyed sleep, parents, and even the symbolic gold. Moreover, the only explicit connection between the addressee of the song (*arete*) and its dedicatee (Hermias) is done in a way that suggests that the praise is destined for family and close relatives, familiar enough with the recipient of the song to understand the oblique reference to Hermias in Ἀταρνέος ἔντροφος, nursling of Atarneus (15-16).⁴⁴ Finally, in the closing lines, the focus is again on the private aspect of virtue, in connection with the *xenia* and *philia* that the poet celebrates and associates with the memory of his deceased friend, patron, and relative.

I end with a bolder hypothesis, building on the idea that Aristotle composed the song with the assumption that it would take added meaning for those who recognize the language of funerary inscriptions. The song refers twice to the form or shapeliness (μορφή) of *arete*, personified as a beautiful maiden. I suggest that the visual dimension and the plastic qualities of *arete* are used as a foil in the song: the emphasis on making her present as a desirable body, as well as the presence of a third-person addressee mediating the communication relationship between speaker and audience, might evoke the fictional situation of a tomb epigram referring to a beautiful statue, associated with the monument for the deceased. **(p.282)** Representations of Arete, including statues, existed in the fourth century,⁴⁵ and the reference to a (statue of) a bronze maiden associated with a tomb already appears in the famous Midas epigram:⁴⁶

χαλκῇ παρθένος εἰμι. Μίδα δ' ἐπὶ σήματι κεῖμαι
 ...
 ἀγγελέω παριοῦσι, Μίδας ὅτι τῇδε τέθαιπται
 (I am a bronze maiden, and I rest on Midas' tomb...I will
 announce to passers-by that Midas is buried here.) (Pl. *Phd.*
 264d = PMG 581)

It is also the fictional scenario presented in two Hellenistic epigrams, by Asclepiades and Antipater of Sidon, in which a personified Virtue, with shorn hair of mourning, is imagined on the tomb of Ajax:⁴⁷

ἄδ' ἐγὼ ἅ τλάμων Ἀρετὰ παρὰ τῷδε κάθημαι

Αἴαντος τύμβῳ κειραμένα πλοκάμους,...

(Here I am, wretched Virtue, sitting by the tomb of Ajax,
my hair shorn...) (Ascl. 29 Gow = AP 7. 145)

Σῆμα παρ' Αἰάντειον ἐπὶ 'Ροιτηΐσιν ἄκταϊς

θυμοβαρὴς Ἀρετὰ μύρομαι ἐζομένα,...

(By the tomb of Ajax on the Rhoetean shore, I, Virtue heavy
at heart, sit lamenting...) (Antipater of Sidon 7 Gow = AP 7.

146)

Deborah Steiner's (2001) reading of the use of statues as foils for classical poets, composers of epigrams, and orators engaged in the celebration and commemoration of individuals both dead and living can be extended to Aristotle (259): 'a tangible monument seems a necessary component in their compositions, and their songs and speeches glance repeatedly toward both real and notional subjects.... Statues, funerary and honorific both, supply a particularly ready source of paradigms and foils as eulogists set about this talk of creating parallel and kindred "sites" for the propagation of glory.' Just as the virtuous (*agathos*) man who is τετράγωνον τετυγμένον (squarely fashioned) in Simonides' ode to Scopas (*PMG* 542, 3) is reminiscent of the tetragonic 'shape' of a votive *kouros*, in the same way the lovely shape of the maiden 'Virtue' is a foil to think about the **(p.283)** attraction, even the erotic desire, one feels for *arete*.⁴⁸ The song that *acts* like an epitaph might be interpreted as referring to a notional statue of *Arete*, personified and represented in an artistic medium.

3.2. Politics of *kleos*

This suggestion is all the more attractive in that, according to Diogenes Laertius (5. 1. 6) and others (Aristotle Fr. 674 Rose), Aristotle composed an epigram on the base of a statue of Hermias that he erected in Delphi (ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνδριάντος τοιοῦτον):

τόνδε ποτ' οὐχ ὁσίως παραβὰς μακάρων θέμιν ἀγνήν
ἔκτεινεν Περσῶν τοξοφόρων βασιλεύς,
οὐ φανερώς λόγχῃ φονίοις ἐν ἀγῶσι κρατήσας,
ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς πίστει χρησάμενος δολίου.

(This man in violation of the holy law of the blessed ones was unrighteously killed by the king of the bow-bearing Persians, who overcame him, not openly with a spear in bloody combat, but relying on the trust of a treacherous man.)

Steiner (2001) 258 and others have explained how, in the case of statues from the Archaic and early Classical period, viewing the statue and reading the epigram worked as a 'semantic whole'. But in the case of the celebration of Hermias, the semantic whole encompasses more: the rhetoric of the song makes the hymn and monument-cum-epigram two complementary sides of the same impulse. In tone, the epigram is very different from the song: while the latter is celebratory and consolatory, the epigram is accusatory (more lines are devoted to the King of the Persians than to Hermias, who remains unnamed). The rhetoric of the epigram is very effective: on the one hand, it makes an important political statement for Hermias—the tyrant gets inscribed in the visual landscape of Delphi,⁴⁹ honoured like a god, a hero, or a victorious athlete, and celebrated through oral memory, while some hostile sources present him as a barbarian eunuch, accused of diplomatic intrigues with Macedonia against Greece.⁵⁰ On the other hand, it allows Aristotle to avoid being (again) accused of impiety by honouring Hermias with a statue, a gesture that smacks of heroization and/or apotheosis, and risks violating the 'unbreachable boundary between gods, heroes and men'.⁵¹ The way the epigram negotiates this delicate situation is by coupling a counter-aretology of the Persian king with the aretology of the deceased. The vocabulary has lyric touches (μακάρων θέμιν ἀγνήν (holy law of the blessed ones, 1), φονίοις ἐν ἀγῶσι (in bloody combat, 3)), and sounds the type of heroic tone needed to glorify the city rather than the individual. The epigram accumulates, in negative form, words (**p.284**) referring to an ethical conduct in the context of democratic life: observance of piety and the justice of the gods (οὐχ ὁσίως (unrighteously, 1) and παραβὰς μακάρων θέμιν ἀγνήν (in violation of the holy law of the blessed ones, 1)), as well as civic justice and transparency (οὐ φανερώς (not openly, 3)) and trust

(πίσται, 4, its good civic connotation here being abused and turned to the purpose of ruse, with the reference to the ἀνδρὸς...δολίου (treacherous man, 4)). It also carries a heavy ideological charge: by leaving Hermias unnamed on the epigram, as are the dead in classical Attic epigrams for *polyandria* and in the great majority of *epitaphioi logoi*, it casts him as the ideal of *kalokagathia* and civic example for the *polis*. At the same time, there is permanent record of the traitorous murder done by the Persian king, who embodies all the opposite qualities of the democratic warrior (an image itself inspired by that of the epic hero).

Linguistically, the ideological divide between song and epitaph translates into the use of a different type of *deixis*: the song relies on fictional *deixis* to address an absent 'you' mediating the relationship with the audience, while the epigram uses *deixis ad oculos* with τόνδε (1) to refer to the statue on which it is inscribed, and requires the intermediary of the voice of the passer-by to activate the function and the meaning of the inscription.⁵² Hermias is thus cast 'in the role of the "acted-upon" rather than the great man of the nominative inscriptions; the honorand is literally the object of the transaction'.⁵³ As opposed to the song, which celebrates the personal memory of the deceased, the epigram builds collective memory around the (unlikely) figure of Hermias. In the striking formulation of Ma (2007) 220, 'The statue, in its shocking lifelikeness, says "Look at me."...The [epigram], in [its] determination to speak of civic culture, say[s] "Look around you."' Aristotle's song notionally says, 'Look at her, *Arete*, at whom he looked, and remember him.'

4. Conclusion

Aristotle's Hymn to Virtue constitutes an important and unique episode in the literary and politico-cultural history of the late Classical period. The poem has mostly been studied from the point of view of lyric genre classification, but its embeddedness in a complex network of texts and inscriptions, connected by different ritual dynamics, makes it a valuable piece of evidence when examining the question of the changing relationship between oral text and visual (inscribed and sculpted) record between the Archaic and Hellenistic period. While commentaries underline inscriptions' (real or literary) engagement with orality, both in the song culture of the Archaic and early Classical period, and in the Hellenistic period when actual ritual contexts are replaced by imagined ones, my reading has focused on the opposite type of relationship, a song's engagement with (notional and actual) inscriptions: in Aristotle's song, the language of epitaphs provide the 'framing' context needed to activate the lyric celebration of Hermias, and a (real) **(p.285)** epigram, on the statue of Hermias, complements the memorializing work performed by Aristotle's composition. It provides significant, albeit isolated, evidence for reassessing the ways in which the relationship between sung and inscriptional culture kept evolving between the early Classical and the Hellenistic period.

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Notes:

⁽¹⁾ On the circumstances of the death of Hermias of Atarneus and the literary tradition concerning him (especially Hermippus' biography), see Jaeger (1948) 108-23; Wormell (1935); Düring (1957) 272-83; Chroust (1972); Renahan (1982) 251-2; Santoni (1991) 184-5; Bollansée (2001); Ford (2011) 21-6.

⁽²⁾ The text I give here is Campbell (1993), with his translation.

⁽³⁾ On the importance of occasion in defining genres, see Fowler (1987) 86-103; Gentili (1988); Käppel (1992) 24-6; Ford (2002) 8-13, (2003); Carey (2009).

⁽⁴⁾ One point in particular is striking: while most studies on Aristotle's hymn mention the parallel with a Hymn to Health by Ariphron (*PMG* 813), very few note that Ariphron's song was preserved not only in quotation form and in the manuscript tradition but also in two inscriptions, *IG* II² 4533 and *IG* IV 1.132. Although there is no reference to an inscription containing Aristotle's hymn, it is not unlikely that there could have been an inscribed version of it, given its similarities with Ariphron's song.

⁽⁵⁾ The only references to epigrams in connection with Aristotle's poem (both coupled with a reference to funerary encomia) are Santoni (1991) 181 and Renehan (1982) 255–6, who suggests comparing the song with 'traditional memorial epigrams associated with Simonides, or the same poet's lyric poem in praise of Leonidas and the heroes of Thermopylae (fr. 26 P.), to perceive how bold and original an approach Aristotle has taken'.

⁽⁶⁾ Funerary epigraphy is not the only context in which the language of virtue is deployed: it is also widely used in *epitaphioi logoi* (Loraux (1993) 110–12, 194–7), in encomiastic poetry (Adkins (1960) 58–72), and in the language of public approbation in democratic Athens (Adkins (1960) 112–47; Dover (1974) 60–73; Whitehead (1993), (2009)).

⁽⁷⁾ Svenbro (1976), (1993); Thomas (1989), (1992); Steiner (1994).

⁽⁸⁾ Bruss (2005); Meyer (2005); and chapters by Day, Petrovic, and Bettenworth in Bing and Bruss (eds.) (2007).

⁽⁹⁾ On the relationship between poetic and visual record in the Archaic and early Classical period, especially in the cases of Simonides and Pindar, see Day (1989), (2000), (2007); Vernant (1990); Sourvinou-Inwood (1995); Steiner (1994), (2001); Fearn (this volume, Ch. 10).

⁽¹⁰⁾ There is something Aristophanic, and presumably telling, in having two opposite approaches to the song defended by Friend-of-the-people (Demophilus) and Judge-of-the-people (Democritus). The question is more than a matter of literary criticism: it is an ethical and political issue, an accusation of impiety related to a tyrant murdered for diplomatic reasons.

⁽¹¹⁾ Athenaeus quotes examples of paeans for mortals (15. 696d–697a): Lysander, Craterus of Macedon, Agemon of Corinth, Egyptian Ptolemy, Antigonos, and Demetrius. The song is very close in form and diction to Ariphron's Hymn to Health (*PMG* 813), which also lacks a paeanic refrain. On the paeon as genre, see Fairbanks (1900); Käppel (1992); Schröder (1999); Rutherford (2001); Ford (2006) and (2011) *passim*.

⁽¹²⁾ On the classification of lyric poetry, and the necessity to 'get behind the schematic classification of the scholars, so that we may see something of the methods of the poets', see Harvey's seminal article, (1955) 164.

⁽¹³⁾ In addition to Bowra and Renehan on the mix of lyric forms, see Santoni (1991), who analyses the poem's contribution to the history of

autobiography, and Rossi (1999) 30, who discusses its connection with fourth-century texts: 'che alludono a gesti rituali specificamente connessi con il rito funerario in senso stretto'.

(¹⁴) Scholars agree that Athenaeus quotes from Aristotle's biographer, Hermippus, on whom Bollansée (2001) 76: 'while a text purporting to be Aristotle's *apologia* against the accusation of impiety clearly did circulate in antiquity, it was definitely spurious; this much the ancients already recognized by themselves', with nn. 30–1; Ford (2011) 54–67.

(¹⁵) Depew (2000) 61–5.

(¹⁶) Day (2000) for the formulation. See also Day (1989) and (2007) for the understanding of formal features as 'cueing' performance.

(¹⁷) E.g. Aeschin. *In Ctesiphon* 10. 7, 42. 4, 49. 6, 155. 8, 190. 5, 246. 5; D. *De cor.* 54. 8, 118. 14. Also in X. *Hier.* 7. 9, *Cyr.* 7. 3. 12; Th. *Hist.* 2. 71. 3, 3. 58. 1.

(¹⁸) The expression occurs in *CEG* 645. Whitehead (1993) n. 38 cites *IG* II² 456. 25–6, 500. 30–1, 694. 5–7, 1209. 16–17; *SEG* 3. 83. 10–12, 23. 78. 21–2 as evidence for the formula.

(¹⁹) Tsagalis (2008) 150.

(²⁰) ἀνξήσουσι, 18; ἄξουσai, 20–1. Page (1962); Plezia (1977); and Campbell (1993), all print ἀνξήσουσι in 18, with Renehan (1982) 267–8 to defend it. *Contra*: Wormell (1935) 62, adopting Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1893)'s conjecture ἀνδήσουσι.

(²¹) On which, see Chroust (1972); Green (2003).

(²²) Arete is already associated with toil in Bacchylides (13. 176 Maehler) and Prodicus (84B 2 D–K), where she is also personified.

(²³) Renehan (1982); see Furley and Bremer (2001), ii. 223–6, on aspects of Euripidean diction in the song (with the parallel of Andromache's ode to virtue in Euripides' *Andromache*, 768–801); Tsagalis (2008) 215–307.

(²⁴) Tsagalis (2008) 91–2.

(²⁵) House of Hades: *CEG* 490, 597, 645, 699; Hades: *CEG* 591, 661, 629.

(²⁶) Listed by Lattimore (1962) 161.

(²⁷) E.g. *CEG* 511, 520, 543, 566, 590, 595, 604, 683, 722.

(²⁸) *CEG* 599 calls Kleo (δ)ή(μ)ου φῶς.

(²⁹) Tsagalis (2008) 28.

(³⁰) Tsagalis (2008) 310.

(³¹) Most 2003 (146). Tsagalis (2008) 17 lists sixteen gnomic statements in the corpus of fourth-century funerary epigrams: *CEG* 487, 489, 493, 518, 520, 525, 559, 571, 575, 577, 586, 593, 594, 595, 600, 603.

(³²) On the association of Arete with Hellas, see further n. 45.

(³³) Depew (2000) 61.

(³⁴) The gnomic grammar makes the song general enough to be used in several circumstances, including in a symposium, if an extra metrum *iê paian* were sung; the celebration of Zeus Xenios and *philia* would be appropriate to such a context, but the reference to the 'nursling of Atarneus' (15–16) remains puzzling.

(³⁵) Santoni (1991) 182 interprets the switch as autobiographical (since Aristotle wants to record his friendship with the virtuous man); she compares the poem's structure with that of *PMG* 939, Arion's Hymn to Poseidon.

(³⁶) Bruss (2005) 12, with reference to Sourvinou-Inwood (1995) 140–80.

(³⁷) Whitehead (1993) 45.

(³⁸) Whitehead (1993) 45.

(³⁹) Whitehead (1993) 51–2. Emphasis in the text.

(⁴⁰) Although the evidence that Whitehead and Tsagalis examine is Attic, it does not seem unreasonable to apply their conclusion to epitaphs from other areas. One element in particular leads me to do so: versions of the five *arete*-formulae noted by Tsagalis and listed above appear in most of the non-Attic funerary inscriptions, in contexts that often explicitly emphasize the private dimension of virtue (e.g. *CEG* 624, 690, 704). This would indicate that the language of *arete* in particular, and that of epitaphs in general, is Panhellenic.

⁽⁴¹⁾ The question of the original audience of Aristotle's song adds some complexity to this view: are we to think that, for the diners in the common mess-room of the Lyceum, the term *arete* would have mostly evoked something properly Aristotelian? This is the view developed by Jaeger (1948), who interprets the hymn in the light of Aristotle's theory of form. Yet the song, which has so much in common with Ariphron's non-philosophical Hymn to Health, can be appreciated as a whole without any knowledge of Aristotelian philosophy.

⁽⁴²⁾ In Deborah Steiner's ((2001) 258 n. 31) economical formulation, 'the dead is archetypically noble'.

⁽⁴³⁾ E.g. Thgn. 129–30, 145–8; Simon. *PMG* 526 and *PMG* 542: *arete* is considered in conjunction with justice, piety, good fortune, and wealth.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ So Renehan (1982) 265: 'the poem is a passionate declaration, but the personal one of friend grieving for friend. Aristotle wrote this poem first and foremost for himself and for a small circle of mutual friends and philosophers.'

⁽⁴⁵⁾ *LIMC* s.v. Arete. Pliny *Nat.* 35. 70 lists a wall painting by Parrhasios representing Virtue attending Dionysus. The oldest representation of *Arete* might have been Euphranor's colossal bronze (Plin. *Nat.* 34. 78), paired with a colossal statue of Hellas. Palagia (1980) 43 suggests that 'taken in the context of Athenian funeral orations from the Corinthian War in the early fourth century BC to the battle of Chaironeia in 338, this group [Arete and Hellas] could perhaps be seen as a public memorial erected by the city of Athens to the dead of a significant battle, perhaps even Chaironeia', with reference to Lysias, *Funeral Oration* 60, where 'Hellas personified mourns on the tomb of the men whose valour (ἀρετή) defended the independence of Greek cities in Asia Minor'. Although, for my purposes, the hypothesis is attractive, one has to acknowledge that it is based on a highly speculative reading of Lysias 2. 60, and one that, moreover, diverges from the usual iconography of public burials (on which Kurtz and Boardman (1971) 108–21, 247–59; Sourvinou-Inwood (1995) 284, 288).

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Raubitscheck (1969) 13–15 discusses the placement of the 'bronze maiden', and Petrovic (2007) 62, her identity ('a Siren, a Sphinx, or a Ker?'). Against the idea that the epigram refers to a monument that ever existed, Livingstone and Nisbet (2010) 44. Whether the statue existed or not, what matters is that the epigram uses the representation of a female figure as a foil.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ See Tueller (2008) 82–4 on mourning figures.

(⁴⁸) The erotic dimension is suggested throughout the song by the use of θήραμα (2), ἀγρεύοντες (12, if it is the correct reading), πόθοις (13), φιλίου μορφᾶς (15).

(⁴⁹) Diogenes Laertius, 5. 1. 6 and Themistius, *Oration* 40.

(⁵⁰) Sources hostile to Hermias are attested in Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F 250) and in Theocritus (quoted by Diogenes Laertius, 5. 11), on which Wormell (1935); Chroust (1972); Santoni (1991) 190–5; Bollansée (2001).

(⁵¹) Steiner (2001) 265–6, with reference to Raschke (1988) 39–40.

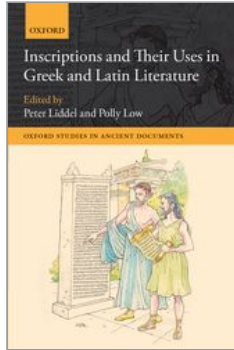
(⁵²) On the 'politics of the accusative', see Ma (2007) 213–15.

(⁵³) Ma (2007) 214.



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Speaking from the Tomb? The Disappearing Epitaph of Simonides in Callimachus, *Aetia* Fr. 64 Pf.

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter explores an example of a 'literary inscription' which paradoxically narrates its own disappearance: the epitaph of Simonides which the disembodied voice of Simonides himself reports in the third book of Callimachus' *Aetia*. It examines how this develops epigrammatic (particularly epitaphic) convention and aspects of Simonides' own poetry, and how it relates to the commemoration of Archaic and Classical poets in the Hellenistic period through sanctuaries, statuary, and other forms.

Keywords: Simonides, Callimachus, epigram, funerary epigraphy, commemoration

Inscriptions and the objects on which they are inscribed are perishable and so many of the literary accounts describing inscriptions concern texts or objects which no longer survive.¹ Part of the attraction of such accounts is, of course, the very access they give us to texts otherwise lost. But in Callimachus' *Aetia* we find a text that itself narrates the disappearance of an inscription, an epitaph for the Archaic/early Classical poet Simonides, the so-called *Sepulcrum Simonidis* (Fr. 64 Pf./163 M.). The fragment tells of the disappearance in a striking and paradoxical manner that plays with several conventions of epitaphic epigram (amongst other things) and raises important questions about the preservation of poetic *kleos*, the reception and commemoration of earlier poets in the Hellenistic period, and the impermanence of physical monuments (and texts). Let us begin with the text:²

Οὐδ' ἄν τοι Καμάρινα τόσον κακὸν ὀκκόσων ἀ[ν]δρός
κινη]θεὶς ὀσίου τύμβος ἐπικρεμάσαι·
καὶ γὰρ ἐμόν κοτε σῆμα, τό μοι πρὸ πόληος ἔχ[ευ]αν
Ζῆν'] Ἀκραγαντῖνοι Ξείνι[ο]ν ἀζόμενοι,
ἴφι κ]ατ' οὖν ἤρειψεν ἀνὴρ κακός, εἴ τι ν' ἀκούει[ς 5
Φοῖνικ]α πτόλιος σχέτλιον ἠγεμόνα·
πύργω] δ' ἐγκατέλεξεν ἐμὴν λίθον οὐδὲ τὸ γράμμα
ἠδέσθη τὸ λέγον τόν [μ]ε Λεωπρέπεος
κεῖσθαι Κήϊον ἄνδρα τὸν ἱερόν, ὃς τὰ περισσά
.. καὶ] μνήμην πρῶτος ὃς ἐφρασάμην, 10
οὐδ' ὑμέας, Πολύδευκες, ὑπέτρεσεν, οἳ με μελάθρου
μέλλοντος πίπτειν ἐκτὸς ἔθεσθέ κοτε
δαιτυμόνων ἄπο μοῦνον, ὅτε Κραυνώνιος αἰαῖ
ῶλισθεν μεγάλους οἶκος ἐπὶ Σκοπάδας.
ῶνακες, ἀλ[.] γὰρ ἔτ' ἦν[15
]...ωοῦμεδ[.]βοσι[ν]
(p.290)λμοῦσ[.]ῖφουνδο[.]
.....ηστ[.]εν ἀνῆγεν[
....[.]...ετ'κ[.]

(Not even Camarina would threaten as great an evil as moving the tomb of a holy man. Once, you see, my burial mound, which the Acragantines piled up in front of the city in reverence for [Zeus] Xeinius, an evil man threw down [by force]—Phoenix (if you’ve heard of him), the wicked general of the city. He built up my stone into a [tower] and did not respect the inscription, which said I lay there, the son of Leoprepes, the sacred man of Ceos, who rare things...[and] I first devised memory. Nor, Polydeuces, did he fear you two, who once placed me, alone of the guests, outside of the hall on the point of collapse, when (alas!) the house at Crannon fell on the great Scopadae. O lords...for still...brought up (?)...)

In several ways this fragment clearly recalls sepulchral or epitaphic epigram,³ though it is in fact an *aetion* from Book 3 of the *Aetia*, the wider context of which we need to take into account. In *Aetia* Books 3–4 Callimachus drops the frame of the conversation with the Muses which he employed in *Aetia* 1–2 in favour of individual juxtaposition of *aetia*. The end of the *aetion* in Fr. 64 has not survived complete (we have not reached the *aetion* or ‘origin’/‘cause’ itself)—five or six lines have been mostly lost at the end of the fragment, but it does not seem to have been much more than twenty lines in length in total (perhaps less if the next *aetion* began in the fragmentary close of Fr. 64).⁴ We do, however, have the *beginning*: the *Sepulcrum Simonidis* starts abruptly, following immediately without a break on the previous *aetion* (Fr. 63 Pf./162 M.) on the Attic Thesmophoria on why virgins cannot behold the rites of Demeter Thesmophoros. We are pitched straight into the statement that ‘Not even Camarina would threaten as great an evil...’: there would perhaps have been only a marginal mark in the papyrus to tell a contemporary reader a new *aetion* had begun. Fr. 63 Pf. is told in the voice of ‘Callimachus’,⁵ so we might naturally assume our *aetion* is also in his voice. The subject-matter and manner sound at first consistent with this assumption, and there is an appropriate reference to ‘the tomb of a holy man’ from a third-person perspective. The mention of Camarina in the opening line obliquely refers to a (disastrously ignored) oracle instructing the citizens of Camarina on Sicily *μὴ κίνει Καμάρινα* (don’t move Camarina), with reference to the nearby lake of the same name.⁶ This allusive treatment of the (proverbial) oracle might also be thought ‘Callimachean’.

But then we meet *ἐμόν...σῆμα* (my burial mound, line 3), which overturns these assumptions about who is speaking: surprisingly, *Simonides* himself seems to be the speaker.⁷ This in turn immediately raises the question of how or whence we can be hearing this voice: has Simonides returned from the underworld (as the Archaic iambicist

Hipponax does at the beginning of Callimachus' *Iambi*)? Or is this an example of the 'speaking tomb' or the dead 'speaking from the tomb' **(p.291)** familiar from funerary epigram?⁸ Callimachus uses both these ways of handling the epitaphic voice elsewhere:

Κύζικον ἦν ἔλθης, ὀλίγος πόνος Ἴππακὸν εὖρεῖν
καὶ Διδύμην· ἀφανὴς οὐ τι γὰρ ἡ γενεή.
καὶ σφιν ἀνιηρὸν μὲν ἔρεῖς ἔπος, ἔμπα δὲ λέξαι
τοῦθ', ὅτι τὸν κείνων ὦδ' ἐπέχω Κριτίην.

(If you go to Cyzicus, it will be a small effort to find
Hippacus and Didyme: the family is not obscure. And to
them you will say a distressing word, but all the same say
this, that here I cover their son, Critias.) (Call. *Epigr.* 12 Pf./
43 GP)

Ἰερῇ Δήμητρος ἐγὼ ποτε καὶ πάλιν Καβείρων
ῶνερ, καὶ μετέπειτα Δινδυμήνης
ἡ γρηῖς γενόμην, ἡ νῦν κόνις ἦο...
πολλῶν προστασίη νέων γυναικῶν.
καὶ μοι τέκν' ἐγένοντο δύο ἄρσενά, κῆπέμυσ' ἐκείνων
εὐγῆρως ἐνὶ χερσίν· ἔρπε χαίρων.

(Once I was priestess of Demeter and then of the Cabeiri, o
man, and thereafter of Dindymene. An old woman I was,
now dust...the protection of many young wives. And to me
there were born two male children—in the arms of those I
closed my eyes in a good old age. Go on and fare well.)
(Call. *Epigr.* 40 Pf./48 GP)

Our questions about the voice speaking to us are sharpened when we learn that an 'evil man' has 'thrown down' (κ]ατ'...ἤρειψεν ἀνὴρ κακός, in line 5) ἐμόν...σῆμα. We then learn that 'he built my stone into a tower' (πύργω] δ' ἐγκατέλεξε ἐμὴν λίθον, line 7),⁹ and did not respect τὸ γράμμα, the inscription, of which we then hear not a direct quotation, but an indirect report (vv. 8–10). As Annette Harder has pointed out, the tomb now longer exists as such (the λίθος has been incorporated into another structure, v. 7), so Simonides cannot straightforwardly be speaking 'from the tomb'.¹⁰ It may be that the end of the *aetion* made clear that the inscription was destroyed, if the punishment of 'Phoenix'¹¹ was the annihilation of the defences he impiously constructed (as the Camarina-parallel with which the fragment begins suggests),¹² in which case the means by which **(p. 292)** Simonides is speaking would be all the more puzzling. There is, furthermore, nothing here to suggest a return from Hades.¹³

So where is the voice coming from? Even if we are to conceive of the inscription as *surviving* in the tower into which 'Phoenix' built it, and that in some way this is the source of Simonides' voice, this is still to depart from normal epitaphic practice: the voice of the dead man now

no longer coincides with what the inscription says (even if it is still exists).¹⁴ And we do not hear the inscription itself, but a report of it by *the dead man*: '[it] said I [lay there]...'. The shift away from standard epitaphic practice in epigrams is marked by the use of the first person in Simonides' report of the inscription, μνήμην πρῶτος ὃς ἐφρασάμην,¹⁵ I who first devised memory), an inscription that we should probably imagine as being in the third person, κεῖσθαι Κήϊον ἄνδρα τὸν ἱερόν, ὃς τὰ περισσά (there lay the sacred man of Ceos, who rare things..., v. 9) in the report, 'here lies the sacred man of Ceos...' in the 'original'.¹⁶

The play with voice in Fr. 64, in particular the absence of the verbatim inscription (which we as readers cannot read) and its substitution by an indirect report of its contents (which we can read), resembles some of Callimachus' own experimentation with the presentation of purported inscriptions in his funerary epigrams,¹⁷ such as *Epigr.* 15 Pf.:

Τιμονόη. τίς δ' ἐσσί; μὰ δαίμονας, οὐ σ' ἄν ἐπέγνων,
εἰ μὴ Τιμοθέου πατρὸς ἐπὶ ὄνομα
στήλῃ καὶ Μήθυμνα, τεῇ πόλιν. ἧ μέγα φημι
χῆρον ἀνιᾶσθαι σὸν πόσιν Εὐθυμένη.
(*'Timonoë. 'Who are you? By the gods, I would not have
recognized you, if your father Timotheus' name had not
been on your gravestone, and Methymna, your city. Greatly,
I declare, does your widowed husband Euthymenes grieve.)
(Epigr. 15 Pf./40 GP)*

Here it is as if the passer-by reads Timonoë's name on an epitaph that we are not allowed to see:¹⁸ we hear the gradual realization of the passer-by that he knows her (note ἐπέγνων, (recognized), and μὰ δαίμονας (by the gods) which marks the moment of recognition).¹⁹ The name of Timotheus and her city Methymna are στήλῃ (on the gravestone). When he reads these names he recognizes her, and thinks of the grief of her husband (vv. 3-4).

It may (of course) be that the end of the *Sepulcrum Simonidis* would have explicitly revealed the source of its voice to us, but it seems just as plausible (indeed, more plausible) to suggest that Callimachus never resolved the problem of the source of the speaking voice: we are given enough cues to think of the **(p.293)** conventions of epitaphic epigrams (including the address to the passer-by: εἴ τι ν' ἀκούει[ς, v. 5),²⁰ but these conventions alone are insufficient to provide an answer. Peter Bing suggests that we have here Callimachus appropriating and impersonating the voice of Simonides, perhaps with the implication that it is only through the poetry of Callimachus that such famous names can 'speak again'.²¹ Whether this is right or not, the *action* is plainly

concerned with the subject of commemorating this famous literary figure from an earlier age, and in a more general sense with 'memory' (recall what Simonides here claims to have devised).

Simonides, one might think, is a natural subject for a 'literary' epitaph of the kind common in the Hellenistic period on the great poetic figures of the past.²² Simonides, of course, was famous as a composer of epitaphs,²³ and several are attributed to him, including some on famous literary figures, such as Anacreon.²⁴ And, of course, as several scholars have pointed out,²⁵ Simonides himself famously reminded Cleobulus of the impermanence of physical memorials (and their inscriptions), and emphasized elsewhere that the glory of the dead at Thermopylae formed their indestructible ἐντάφιον:

τίς κεν αἰνήσειε νόῳ πίσυρος Λίνδου ναέταν Κλεόβουλον,
ἀεναοῖς ποταμοῖς ἄνθεσι τ' εἰαρινοῖς
ἀελίου τε φλογὶ χρυσέας τε σελάνας
καὶ θαλασσαιαῖσι δύναις ἀντιθέντα μένος στάλας;
ἅπαντα γάρ ἐστι θεῶν ἥσσω· λίθον δὲ
καὶ βρότεοι παλάμαι θραύοντι· μωροῦ
φωτὸς ἅδε βουλά.

(Who of those who trust their minds would praise
Cleobulus, dweller in Lindos, who set against eternal
rivers, the flowers of spring, the sun's flame and that of the
golden moon, and the sea's whirlpools the strength of a
gravestone? For all things are inferior to the gods, and
even mortal hands break a stone. His opinion was that of a
foolish man.)

(PMG 581)

τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων
εὐκλεῆς μὲν ἂ τύχα, καλὸς δ' ὁ πότμος,
βωμὸς δ' ὁ τάφος, πρὸ γόων δὲ μνᾶστις, ὁ δ' οἶκτος
ἔπαινος·

ἐντάφιον δὲ τοιοῦτον οὐτ' εὐρὼς
οὔθ' ὁ πανδαμάτωρ ἀμαυρώσει χρόνος.
ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ὅδε σηκὸς οἰκέταν εὐδοξίαν
Ἑλλάδος εἴλετο· μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Λεωνίδας,
Σπάρτας βασιλεύς, ἀρετᾶς μέγαν λελοιπῶς
κόσμον ἀέναόν τε κλέος.

(The dead at Thermopylae: glorious is their fortune, fair
their fate, their tomb an altar, instead of laments fame,
their pity acclaim. Such a shroud mould and time which
conquers all will not obliterate. This burial-place of good
men chose for its dweller the glory of Greece: Leonidas
himself testifies to this, king of Sparta, who left a great
ornament of courage and eternal glory.) (PMG 531)

(p.294) These texts affect the way we should read Simonides' attitude in Fr. 64: at the very least they make his complaint about the destruction of his tomb somewhat ironic, because it sounds as if what he says is at odds with what he says in *PMG* 581 about the perishability of physical monuments and the endurance of *kleos*.²⁶ But we might go further: are we supposed to imagine that Simonides has in fact *forgotten* that a gravestone or an inscription can be destroyed, and that the only sure means of an enduring monument is *kleos* itself?²⁷ There might, though, be a joke on the difference of perspective the dead have about graves and similar monuments as compared to the living, especially if we remember the epitaphic convention about the way in which the voice of the dead in some sense emanates from the tomb itself. Simonides *now that he's dead* can see how important tombs and their inscriptions are, whatever he thought *when he was alive* (*PMG* 531, 581). Might there also have been a claim in the final lines of the *aetion* that despite the destruction of his tomb, Simonides' voice and fame live on, so that the sacrilegious act of 'Phoenix' is not only punished, but also revealed as futile, both as a means of defending a city and as a way of obliterating the memory of Simonides?

It is time to turn to the issue of commemorating the great literary figures of the past more generally in the Hellenistic period. The Hellenistic period abounds in epigrams purporting to be epitaphs for a wide range of poets from the Archaic and Classical periods, such as these examples on the Archaic iambicist Hipponax:

Ὁ μουσοποιὸς ἐνθάδ' Ἰππῶναξ κεῖται.
εἰ μὲν πονηρός, μὴ προσέρχου τῷ τύμβῳ·
εἰ δ' ἐσσὶ κρήγυός τε καὶ παρὰ χρηστῶν,
θαρσέων καθίζου, κῆν θέλης ἀπόβριξον.

(Here lies the poet Hipponax. If you are a scoundrel, do not approach the tomb; but if you are honest and from worthy stock, sit down in confidence and, if you like, fall asleep.)
(Theoc. *Epigr.* 19 Gow = *AP* 13. 3; trans. Gerber (1999))

Ὡ ξεῖνε, φεῦγε τὸν χαλαζεπῆ τάφον
τὸν φρικτὸν Ἰππῶνακτος, οὗ τε χά τέφρα
ιαμβιάζει Βουπάλειον ἐς στύγος,
μή πως ἐγείρης σφῆκα τὸν κοιμώμενον,
ὃς οὐδ' ἐν Ἄιδῃ νῦν κεκοίμικεν χόλον
σκάζουσι μέτροις ὀρθὰ τοξεύσας ἔπη.

(Stranger, flee from the grave with its hailstorm of verses, the frightful grave of Hipponax, whose very ashes utter invective to vent his hatred of Bupalus, lest somehow you arouse the sleeping wasp who has not even now in Hades put to sleep his anger, he who shot forth his words straight to the mark in limping meter.) (Philip of Thessalonica, *AP* 7. 405; trans. Gerber)

Peter Bing has written of these epigrams as related to the wider Hellenistic project of literary classification, sharing with it ‘the wish, on the one hand, to engage the past...but also the need to assert control, to master a past that was viewed as **(p.295)** unattainably, at times oppressively distinguished’.²⁸ Such epigrams commemorate, then, but they also seek to control and circumscribe the legacy of the poets of the past. Hipponax, for example, is presented in the examples above as a dangerous poet of invective, particularly against Bupalus, and one strongly associated with Hipponax’ characteristic ‘limping’ metre, the choliamb: the last line of Philip’s epigram makes explicit reference to it (σκάζουσι μέτροις, v. 6), while Theocritus’ itself is written in choliamb. But there is also distortion and omission here: the sexual and scatological material that is so prominent in the papyrus fragments of Hipponax is not highlighted, and there is an interesting ‘moralizing’ element in the Theocritean epigram: if you’re wicked do not approach the tomb, but if you’re good and from honest stock, you’re safe. This moralizing recalls the Hipponax of Callimachus’ *Iambi*, but not what we know of the Archaic poet himself.

But if fictitious epitaphs on famous literary names of the past were such an important part of the attempts of Hellenistic and later poets to engage with but also control this past (and I think they clearly *were*), it is a great surprise that there are no certain Hellenistic examples (even if we take ‘Hellenistic’ in a broad sense) of literary epitaphs for Simonides.²⁹ Such poems exist for Homer, Hesiod, Archilochus, Hipponax, Sappho, Stesichorus, Ibycus, Anacreon, Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles, etc., but not (it seems) for Simonides. In Gabathuler’s 1937 collection of *Hellenistische Epigramme auf Dichter*, the only example of an epigram on Simonides is...what was known from the *Suda* of our Fr. 64 before the discovery of *Oxyrhynchus Papyrus* 2211 (roughly οὐδὲ τὸ γράμμα τὸ Κήϊον ἄνδρα and what are now lines 11–14).³⁰

But, as we have seen, Simonides we might at first glance assume to be particularly suited to receive such literary epitaphs, given his own associations with epitaphic inscriptions and later literary versions of such epitaphs. I suggest two reasons for the strange omission of

Simonides. The first is the great range of his poetry and achievements, a flavour of which is given by one of the descriptions of the poet in the *Suda*.³¹

Σιμωνίδης, Λεωπρεποῦς, Ἰουλιήτης τῆς ἐν Κέῳ τῇ νήσῳ πόλεως, λυρικός, μετὰ Στησίχορον τοῖς χρόνοις· ὃς ἐπεκλήθη Μελικέρτης διὰ τὸ ἡδύ. καὶ τὴν μνημονικὴν δὲ τέχνην εὗρεν οὗτος· προσεξεῦρε δὲ καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τῶν στοιχείων καὶ διπλᾶ καὶ τῇ λύρᾳ τὸν τρίτον φθόγγον. γέγονε δ' ἐπὶ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς κτῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, οἱ δὲ ξβ' γεγράφασι. καὶ παρέτεινε μέχρι τῆς οἴ', βιοὺς ἔτη πθ'. καὶ γέγραπται αὐτῷ Δωρίδι διαλέκτῳ ἡ Καμβύσου καὶ Δαρείου βασιλεία καὶ Ξέρξου ναυμαχία καὶ ἡ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχία, δι' ἐλεγείας. ἡ δ' ἐν Σαλαμῖνι μελικῶς. θρῆνοι, ἐγκώμια, ἐπιγράμματα, παιᾶνες καὶ τραγωδίαί καὶ ἄλλα. οὗτος ὁ Σιμωνίδης μνημονικός τις ἦν, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος. τούτῳ δ' ἦν ἔοικώς Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τυανεύς· ὃς τὴν μὲν φωνὴν σιωπῇ κατεῖχε, πλεῖστα δὲ εἰς μνήμην ἀνελέγετο· τό τε μνημονικὸν ἑκατοντούτης γενόμενος ἔρρωτο ὑπὲρ τὸν Σιμωνίδα. καὶ ὕμνος αὐτῷ τις ἐς τὴν μνημοσύνην ἦδετο· ἐν ᾧ π **(p.296)** ἅντα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου μαραίνεσθαί φησιν, αὐτόν γε μὴν τὸν χρόνον ἀγήρω τε καὶ ἀθάνατον παρὰ τῆς μνημοσύνης εἶναι.

(The son of Leoprepes. A citizen of the city Iulis on the island Ceos, a lyric poet, later than Stesichorus in chronology, who was also called Melikertes because of his sweetness. He also invented the art of artificial memory; he also invented the long and double letters of the alphabet and the third string for the lyre. He was born in the fifty-sixth Olympiad, though some have written the sixty-second. And he lasted until the seventy-eighth, after living eighty-nine years. And the following were written by him in the Doric dialect: the kingdom of Cambyses and Darius and (naval battle of) Xerxes, and the naval battle at Artemisium in elegiac metre, the naval battle at Salamis in lyric metre; dirges, encomia, epigrams, paeans, tragedies and other things. This Simonides was someone skilled at remembering, if ever anyone was. Similar to him was Apollonius of Tyana, who kept his voice in silence, 'but stored away very many things in memory; reaching 100 years of age he surpassed Simonides in artificial memory. And a certain hymn was sung by him from memory, in which he says that all things are extinguished by time, but time itself is ageless and immortal because of memory.') (Σ 439 Adler; trans. Dyer (2000), adapted)

Here we find Simonides described as λυρικός, but the subsequent list of works ranges much further, including a commemorative elegy on Artemisium, epigrams, tragedies, and the capacious ἄλλα to go along with the lyric treatment of the battle of Salamis, and the encomia, paeans, and dirges. And we also find Simonides as an inventor of letters of the alphabet, of ἡ μνημονικὴ τέχνη, and so on, who can even be compared with the neo-Pythagorean sage Apollonius of Tyana. Perhaps such a varied career could not easily be summarized in an epitaph: it is worth remembering that (as we have seen in the case of Hipponax) such epitaphs simplify and distort. On such epigrams, Marco Fantuzzi has written that they ‘challenged the complexity of the author’s achievements through the *reductio ad unum* of a pithy appraisal, adapting to the brevity of epigram a literary judgement of the sort that might otherwise be realized as an expanded essay’.³² Perhaps, however, Simonides’ life and work was simply too complex to be squeezed into an epigram (contrast the relatively straightforward *œuvres* of Anacreon or Hipponax or the dramatists). The second, related (and much more important) reason, I think, is the peculiarly contested nature of Simonides’ legacy as a poet and ‘public figure’. Part of this contested nature is already suggested by the parallel with Apollonius of Tyana which the *Suda* makes. It is, I suggest, the multifaceted nature of Simonides’ reception, not simply as a poet but also as a ‘wise man’, that made him difficult to incorporate into a straightforward literary epitaph, and perhaps why the kind of memorialization we do find of him in Hellenistic poetry is of a different character.

It will be useful at this point to bring another Hellenistic example of the commemoration of Simonides, this time from Theocritus 16:

πολλοὶ δὲ Σκοπάδαισιν ἐλαυνόμενοι ποτὶ σακούς
μόσχοι σὺν κεραῇσιν ἐμυκήσαντο βόεσσι·
μυρία δ’ ἄμ πεδίον Κραννώνιον ἐνδιάσκειν
ποιμένες ἔκκριτα μῆλα φιλοξείνοισι Κρεώνδαις·
ἀλλ’ οὐ σφιν τῶν ἥδος, ἐπεὶ γλυκὺν ἐξεκένωσαν 40
(p.297) θυμὸν ἐς εὐρεῖαν σχεδίαν στυγνοῖο γέροντος·
ἄμναστοι δὲ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια τῆνα λιπόντες
δειλοῖς ἐν νεκύεσσι μακροὺς αἰῶνας ἔκειντο,
εἰ μὴ θεῖος ἀοιδὸς ὁ Κήιος αἰόλα φωνέων
βάρβιτον ἐς πολύχορδον ἐν ἀνδράσι θῆκ’ ὀνομαστούς 45
ὀπλοτέροις· τιμᾶς δὲ καὶ ὠκέες ἔλλαχον ἵπποι,
οἱ σφισιν ἐξ ἱερῶν στεφανηφόροι ἦλθον ἀγώνων.

(Many were the calves and horned cattle who lowed on being driven into the folds of the Scopadae, countless the select sheep herdsmen put in the fields over the plain of Crannon for the guest-loving Creondae. But they had no pleasure from these when they poured out their sweet spirit into the broad raft of the gloomy old man. Forgotten, leaving behind those many and prosperous things, among the wretched dead for long ages they would have lain, if a divine singer, the Ceian, had not sounded his varied songs to the many-stringed lyre and made them famous among men of future generations. Their swift horses too gained honour, who came to them from the holy games wearing garlands.) (Theoc. 16. 36–47)

These lines are part of a poem in which Theocritus is appealing to his addressee, Hieron II of Syracuse, not to be miserly but instead to use his wealth to secure his glory through poetry: Simonides and his Thessalian patrons such as the Scopadae and Creondae thus function as models for Theocritus' examination of the relationship between poet and patron. There are several striking similarities with Fr. 64: the issue of commemoration and memory is again central, with Theocritus reminding his addressee that it is only through Simonides' poetry that the Scopadae and Creondae have avoided oblivion. And, of course, the Scopadae of Crannon feature in Fr. 64 itself, as patrons of Simonides (even though the point of the story there is their impious miserliness, which leads to their death).

Let us take a closer look at the way in which Callimachus and Theocritus describe Simonides himself: in Fr. 64 Simonides is an ἅ[ν]δρὸς...οῦσιου (holy man) and Κήϊον ἄνδρα τὸν ἱερόν (the sacred man of Ceos), while in Theocritus 16 he is θεῖος αἰδὸς ὁ Κήιος αἰόλα φωνέων βάρβιτον ἐς πολύχορδον (a divine singer, the Ceian, sounding his varied songs to the many-stringed lyre).³³ There is a shared sense here of Simonides as 'holy' or 'divine', but it is striking that Theocritus makes Simonides explicitly a *singer*, an αἰδός, even employing a word for 'lyre', *barbitos*, which is not used elsewhere in Hellenistic poetry outside the *Anthology*,³⁴ and associated in earlier periods with Anacreon and the eastern Aegean. The point of the word may be to emphasize Simonides' status as a singer and poet: Richard Hunter has suggested that the description of him 'sounding his varied songs to the many-stringed lyre' may also recall virtuoso instrumentalists such as Timotheus, and so combine an archaizing instrument with a depiction of Simonides as a 'modern' poet,³⁵ but at any rate the emphasis is on Simonides' *musical* achievements.

(p.298) In Callimachus, however, the descriptions of Simonides as a ‘holy’ or ‘sacred’ *man*, and the picking out of achievements outside the fields of poetry and music on his epitaph: τὰ περισσά (v. 9) and the devising of μνήμη (v. 10), place him in a rather different tradition: that of Simonides as a *sophos* not in the sense of a poet, but as a wise man, even a forerunner of the sophists. This was already established in the Classical period: Simonides appears, of course, as the adviser of the tyrant Hieron I of Syracuse in Xenophon’s dialogue of the same name, while in Plato he is closely associated with the Seven Sages (Pl. *R.* 335e), and can even be cited as a proto-sophist by Protagoras (Pl. *Prt.* 316d).³⁶ Simonides, then, can be counted among τῶν σοφῶν τε καὶ μακαρίων ἀνδρῶν (the wise and blessed men, Pl. *R.* 335e), and indeed many ‘wise’ sayings are attributed to him.³⁷ These sayings may well have circulated relatively early in a collection under Simonides’ name:³⁸ we have a third-century BC papyrus (*PHib.* 17) that gathers sayings of Simonides on spending money. It’s fairly clear, I think, that Simonides’ reputation for wisdom must have arisen from his poetry itself—it is, as Bell has noted, concerned with broadly philosophical issues such as the degree to which men can be truly good, as in *PMG* 542, the poem of Simonides that Socrates and Protagoras examine in Plato’s *Protagoras* while discussing the definition of ἀρετή, and in which Simonides begins from a saying of Pittacus, one of the Seven Sages.³⁹ All the same, Simonides quickly took on an identity as a ‘wise man’, and it is this tradition that Callimachus evokes in the description he gives of the epitaph for Simonides in Fr. 64.

Callimachus, of course, *also* has his eye on Simonides the poet (not least, as we have seen, the poet of epitaphs).⁴⁰ But it is interesting that the explicit characterization of Simonides in Callimachus and Theocritus should in the former emphasize his reputation as a *sophos* and in the latter his achievements as an *aoidos*. It is regrettable that we do not have the end of Fr. 64, as we cannot know if Callimachus made a firmer reference to Simonides’ legacy as a poet in the final lines, which appear to have taken the form of an address to the Dioskouroi (note ὤψακες in v. 15), perhaps in thanks for the destruction of ‘Phoenix’. Here too there might have been the *aetion* for the sake of which the story is included in the *Aetia*, unless this has been provided by Simonides himself with his reference to τὰ περισσά and μνήμη. Could the *aetion* have been **(p.299)** the explanation of why Simonides’ tomb no longer existed?⁴¹ Or why some other form of commemoration was necessary?

We can read the absence of literary epitaphs for Simonides in the Hellenistic period as symbolic of his malleability and the different ways in which he could be portrayed. The nearest thing we have to an epitaph is the passages from Callimachus and Theocritus that we have been considering: perhaps only in such texts could the complex figure of Simonides appear.

But there *is* one epitaph of Simonides that we should consider here, although it is too late to count as Hellenistic.⁴² This is the epigram preserved by the Byzantine scholar Tzetzes:⁴³

Ἐξ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα, Σιμωνίδη, ἦραο νίκας
καὶ τρίποδας· θνήσκεις δ' ἐν Σικελῷ πεδίῳ.
Κεῖω δὲ μνήμην λείπεις, Ἑλλησι δ' ἔπαινον
εὐξυνέτου ψυχῆς σῆς ἐπιγεινομένοις.
(Fifty-six, Simonides, victories and tripods you won: you
died on Sicily's plain. To Ceos you leave a memorial, to the
Greeks to come praise of your quick-minded soul.) (Tz. *chil.*
639-42)

It comes in the context of a story also preserved by Cicero (*Div.* 1. 27. 56),⁴⁴ about Simonides finding a stranger unburied, doing him the honour of burying him, and then being warned by this stranger in a vision not to set sail. Simonides obeys and the others who sailed in the ship are killed in a shipwreck:

ὁ δ' Ἀριστείδης γέγραφεν ἀνδρὸς εὐχαριστίαν.
Πλέων φησί γαρ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἄταφον εὗρεν νέκυν,
ὄν περ τιμήσας ἔθαψεν. Ὅναρ φανείς δ' ὁ νέκυς
λέγει, μὴ πλεύσης, ἄνθρωπε. Ναυτῶν δὲ μὴ πεισθέντων
630
μόνος ὁ Σιμωνίδης μὲν συμπλέειν ἀπελείφθη,
οἱ δὲ πάντες ἀπώλοντο τυχόντες ναυαγίας.
Εὐχάριστον δ' ἐπίγραμμα γράψας ὁ Σιμωνίδης
τῇ στήλῃ παρενέγραψε νεκροῦ τοῦ σεσωκότος·
'Οὗτος ὁ Κεῖου Σιμωνίδεω ἐστὶ σωτὴρ, 635
(p.300) ὃς καὶ τεθνειῶς ζῶντι παρέσχε χάριν.'
Οὗτος ὁ Σιμωνίδης μὲν ἐν Σικελίᾳ θνήσκει.
'Επίγραμμα δὲ γέγραπται τόδε τῷ τάφῳ τούτου·

(Aristides has recorded the gratitude of the man. For he says that when sailing he found an unburied corpse, which he paid respect to by burying. The dead man appeared as a dream and told him, 'don't sail, man'. The sailors did not listen, and Simonides alone abstained from sailing, and all the others perished in a shipwreck. Simonides wrote an epigram of thanks and inscribed on the gravestone of the dead man who had saved him, 'This is the saviour of Ceian Simonides, who though dead paid back a favour to the living.' This Simonides died on Sicily. This epigram was written on that man's tomb...) (Tz. *chil.* 627-38)

Tzetzes gives both the grateful epitaph Simonides is supposed to have written for his benefactor, and Simonides' own epitaph (quoted above). Some of the same elements in the traditions about Simonides that we have seen in Callimachus reappear here, notably the saving of Simonides through the χάρις he has built up with non-mortals (in Fr. 64 the Dioskouroi, in Tzetzes and Cicero the dead man), and the motif of tomblessness. The fact that Simonides finds and buries a man without a tomb and in doing so gives him a tomb with an inscribed epitaph is made more pointed if we remember the destruction of his tomb which Fr. 64 narrates. For Tzetzes here Simonides is above all clearly a poet of χάρις and a composer of epitaphs. But it is significant that Tzetzes too takes on the figure of Simonides, as Callimachus and Theocritus did, by way of a longer and more varied treatment than simply an epitaph, combining two 'Simonidean' epigrams with a story from the anecdotal tradition about Simonides. Even in the Byzantine period, an epigram wasn't enough for Simonides.

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Notes:

⁽¹⁾ See e.g. Chs. 3, 7, and 5, by Kosmetatou, Langslow, and Mari respectively.

⁽²⁾ I print Pfeiffer's (1949) text.

⁽³⁾ See Massimilla (2006) 49 with n. 57, (2010) 309.

⁽⁴⁾ See D'Alessio (1996) ii. 470, Massimilla (2010) 102, 308.

⁽⁵⁾ Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004) 48-9.

⁽⁶⁾ See further on this injunction Massimilla (2010) 309.

⁽⁷⁾ Retrospectively, we might see some Simonidean touches in the opening two lines of the *aetion*: e.g. cf. for ἐπικρεμάσαι at the end of v. 2 the same verb at *PMG* 520.

⁽⁸⁾ Cf. also Call. *Epigr.* 11 Pf./35 GP, 18 Pf./38 GP for the tomb as speaker. See in general on Greek funerary epigram Bruss (2005).

⁽⁹⁾ If 'tower' is right here: the supplement πύργω at the beginning of v. 7 depends on the *Suda* (Σ 441 Adler). But the story as presented in the *Suda* is problematic: it characterizes 'Phoenix' as an (otherwise unknown) Acragantine general of that name, defending his city against the attacks of Syracusans (in an otherwise unknown conflict). Livrea

(2006) has recently suggested that this refers in fact to a Carthaginian general called Hannibal who attacked Acragas in 406 BC, and in doing so desecrated the tombs of its necropolis (cf. D.S. 13. 86. 1) to attack the city by means of mounds built from the rubble of the tombs up to the walls of the city. Livrea therefore suggests χώματι (mound) at the beginning of v. 7. Cf. also Dyer, *Suda On Line* (<http://www.stoa.org/sol/>) on Σ 441, Barbantani (2010) 49–50.

(¹⁰) Harder (1998) 97.

(¹¹) If Livrea (2006) is right about the identity of this ‘Phoenix’, and this is an ethnic rather than a proper name, then we know what happened to him. Diodorus reports that he died of a plague which followed quickly on his impious behaviour: εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ λοιμὸς ἐνέπεσεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐτελεύτων, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ στρέβλαις καὶ δειναῖς ταλαιπωρίαις περιέπιπτον. ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ Ἀννίβας ὁ στρατηγός... (D.S. 13. 86. 2–3).

(¹²) Cf. Harder (1998) 98.

(¹³) Bing (1988*b*) 67; Harder (1998) 97.

(¹⁴) Cf. Harder (1998) 97.

(¹⁵) This is usually (e.g. D’Alessio (1996) ii. 471) explained as referring to Simonides as the inventor of a system of mnemonics (cf. Plin. *Nat.* 7. 24. 89), but in this epitaphic context it also alludes to Simonides’ own associations with commemoration (e.g. his poetry on the Persian Wars, such as the *Plataea* elegy, and the epitaphs attributed to him)—see further pp. 293–4 below.

(¹⁶) See Meyer (2005) 227.

(¹⁷) Cf. Morrison (2007) 198.

(¹⁸) See Walsh (1991) 96, who comments, ‘we should probably imagine an “actual” epitaph much briefer than our poem.’

(¹⁹) See Walsh (1991) 95.

(²⁰) See Morrison (2007) 198.

(²¹) Bing (1988*b*) 68.

(²²) See in general on Hellenistic epigrams on the canonical lyric poets of the Archaic and Classical periods Barbantani (1993); Acosta-Hughes and Barbantani (2007) 429–45.

(²³) E.g. Simon. *Epigr.* 6 *FGE* on Megistias, attributed to Simonides at Hdt. 7. 228.

(²⁴) E.g. [Simon.] *Epigr.* 66 *FGE* = *AP* 7. 24, [Simon.] *Epigr.* 67 *FGE* = *AP* 7. 25.

(²⁵) E.g. Harder (1998) 98. See also Fearn, Ch. 10 in this volume, on Simonides' view of monuments.

(²⁶) Cf. Acosta-Hughes (2010) 177–8. On *PMG* 581, see Fearn, Ch. 10 in this volume.

(²⁷) Cf. Hatch (2006) 142–3.

(²⁸) Bing (1988*a*) 123.

(²⁹) See Barbantani (1993) 72–6, who examines the meagre traces of Simonides as a subject for epigram in the Hellenistic period. See in general on the reception of Simonides in Hellenistic poetry Acosta-Hughes (2010) 171–213.

(³⁰) See Barbantani (1993) 73, (2010) 45.

(³¹) Cf. also Pellicia (2009) 250 on Simonides' 'remarkable number of genres'.

(³²) Fantuzzi (2007) 477.

(³³) If *θεῖος* is right in v. 44: some MSS read the much more colourless *κεῖνος*. Gow prefers *θεῖος*, probably rightly (cf. Hunter (1996) 107 n. 90). The use of *θεῖος* by Theocritus would be all the more pointed if this picks up the ironic use by Socrates of *θεῖος* of Prodicus at Plato, *Prt.* 315e, just before Protagoras characterizes Simonides as a proto-sophist. Plato also uses it of Simonides at *R.* 331e.

(³⁴) So Hunter (1996) 101.

(³⁵) Hunter (1996) 101–2.

(³⁶) Another aspect in which Simonides resembles the sophists is in his taking of money (cf. e.g. X. *Mem.* 1. 2. 60 on Socrates not taking a fee, one of the features most clearly distinguishing him from the sophists). Cf. Bell (1978) 39. Simonides' working for payment, of course, was also part of the representation of Simonides' poetry: cf. Pi. *I.* 2. *init.*, Call. Fr. 222 Pf.

(³⁷) E.g. ὅθεν καὶ τὸ Σιμωνίδου εἴρηται περὶ τῶν σοφῶν καὶ πλουσίων πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν Ἱέρωνος ἐρομένην πότερον γενέσθαι κρεῖττον πλούσιον ἢ σοφόν· “πλούσιον” εἶπεῖν· τοὺς σοφοὺς γὰρ ἔφη ὀρᾶν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν πλουσίων θύραις διατρίβοντας (Hence the answer of Simonides to the wife of Hiero concerning the wise and the rich, when she asked which was preferable, to be wise or to be rich. ‘Rich,’ he answered, ‘for we see the wise spending their time at the doors of the rich’; trans. Freese (1926)), Arist. *Rh.* 1391^a.

(³⁸) See Bell (1978) 64 with n. 141.

(³⁹) See Bell (1978) 77 and cf. also Acosta-Hughes (2010) 176 on the ‘moral tone’ of much of Simonidean poetry.

(⁴⁰) And Theocritus is also exploiting other elements of the anecdotal tradition about Simonides, including his love of money: see Hunter (1996) 97–109.

(⁴¹) Richard Rawles (*per litteras*) wonders whether we can read Fr. 64 as an *aetion* for why we do not have any epitaphs for Simonides.

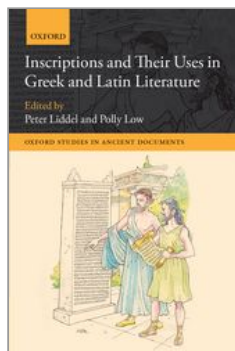
(⁴²) Cf. Barbantani (1993) 73–4, (2010) 47–8.

(⁴³) This is clearly modelled on another epigram (not an epitaph) attributed to Simonides, *Epigr.* 27 FGE: Ἐξ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα, Σιμωνίδη, ἦραο τάυρους | καὶ τρίποδας, πρὶν τόνδ’ ἀνθέμεναι πίνακα. | τοσσάκι δ’ ἡμερόεντα διδασκόμενος χορὸν ἀνδρῶν | εὐδόξου Νίκας ἀγλαὸν ἄρμ’ ἐπέβης. Page (1981) 241 treats the epigram in Tzetzes as a variation on *Epigr.* 27, which itself he suggests was written with an eye on *Epigr.* 28, on a Simonidean victory in an Athenian dithyrambic context. Was the epigram at *chil.* 639–42 composed by Tzetzes himself? Crönert (1911) thought it might have been found in the perhaps third-century BC work on poets of Lobon of Argos, but given its dependence on *Epigr.* 27 (which itself is probably relatively late), this seems most unlikely.

(⁴⁴) ...cum ignotum quendam proiectum mortuum vidisset eumque humavisset haberetque in animo nave conscendere, moneri visus est, ne id faceret, ab eo quem sepultura adfecerat; si navigavisset, eum naufragio esse periturum; itaque Simonidem redisse, perisse ceteros, qui tum navigassent (‘[Simonides]...once saw the dead body of some unknown man lying exposed and buried it. Later, when he had it in mind to go on board a ship he was warned in a vision by the person to whom he had given burial not to do so and that if he did he would perish in a shipwreck. Therefore he turned back and all the others who sailed were lost’; trans. Falconer (1923)).

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Inscriptional Intermediality in Latin Literature

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter offers a methodological approach to interrogate Latin literature's engagement with epigram through embedded inscriptions. When epigram moved on from its inscriptional roots to become a literary genre and thus an abstract concept, it opened up not only itself but also inscriptions for dissection and reception in other genres. The theoretical approach of intermediality (Intermedialität) can provide a framework for exploring the blurring of inscriptional and narrative modes in Latin poetry. This chapter examines how Greek epigraphic formulae such as *kai su* are absorbed into Latin poetry, where they then develop a life of their own. (Over)emphasising the sepulchral origin of *kai su*, Latin authors invent a literary game in which the expression *tu quoque* serves as epitaphic gesture towards death or death to come. Undeniably, in Greek funerary epitaph the phrase *kai su* is a common feature as both the deceased and the passerby are addressed frequently (cf. Anacreon, AP 7.263). However, already in the Greek epigram genre we encounter both actual inscriptions on stone and 'Buchepigramme', literary fabrications featuring epigraphic pretensions. In this literary game the formula *kai su* advances from its inscriptional function to the status of an epigraphic marker. Translated

into Latin as *tu/te quoque* this address then often bears sepulchral connotations and constitutes an epitaphic gesture marking or foreshadowing death. Virgil thus opens the second half of his epic with an epitaph on Aeneas' nurse Caieta (Aen. 7.1-4) which features *tu quoque* as opening address but we also find *tu/te quoque* employed in less obviously epitaphic context such as close combat.

Keywords: epigram, intermediality, epigraphical language, intertextuality, epitaphs, Virgil, Aeneid

The history of epigram is characterised by a progressive dissolution of its ties with its physical and communicative contexts. From the fifth century on, epigram started freeing itself first from its material support—to become a literary and then bookish genre—and then also from the obligation to treat real events and people; this is particularly clear in the case of funerary epigrams which soon started commemorating people who were long dead and people who never lived.

(Aloni (2009) 180)

Elegy builds up a monument out of the memory of brave men and glorious acts past and present, a *mnêma* to be looked at as much as listened to, both by the immediate addressee and by those who will enjoy the poem in the future. Performance and inscription on physical objects converge in accomplishing this function...; this is also the primary function of the inscribed epigram.

(Aloni (2009) 182)

This chapter adopts an avowedly methodological approach to interrogate Latin literature's engagement with epigram through embedded inscriptions.¹ I suggest that when epigram moved on from its inscriptional roots to become a literary genre and thus an abstract concept, it opened up not only itself but also inscriptions for dissection and reception in other genres. Accordingly, I shall ask whether there are such things as epigraphic markers in Latin poetry, that is, *formulae* that bear the connotation of the inscriptional and thus combine and emphasize the primal memorializing function of epigram (cf. Aloni (2009) 182, just quoted). I shall therefore consider how the theoretical approach of intermediality (*Intermedialität*) can provide a framework for exploring the blurring of inscriptional and narrative modes in Latin poetry. This framework helps us to understand better the relationship of inscription and literature. In what follows I shall argue that

epigraphic markers are used to construct epitaphic gestures in Latin poetry.

(p.304) 1. Intermediality

In her recent study of embedded inscription in Latin elegy, Teresa Ramsby begins by proposing that the Roman elegists wrested the elegiac genre from the epigraphers who had made elegy the preferred medium of memorial, and added the spice of Hellenistic poetics.² She then discusses Catullus' lament for his deceased brother in poem 65, suggesting that his personal experience added to the thematic development of Latin elegy since the poem was intended as a monument for his brother.³ This then constitutes an important precursor for Propertius' reflections on his literary legacy and his efforts to articulate a career as a poet worth memorializing as an alternative to the existing categories of Roman manhood in politics and the military.⁴ In addition, Ramsby frequently links the elegists' drive for (self-)memorialization to the political situation of Augustan Rome, in which public honours were reserved for the *princeps*. On her interpretation, Propertius 'utilizes...elegy to memorialize those whose voices were lost...in the age of Empire', a reading that might equally apply to the two (and indeed further) voices in Virgil's *Aeneid*.⁵

We may supplement Ramsby's important discussion by describing and defining the Roman elegists' (and indeed Latin poets' in general) use of the inscriptional from the perspective of the theory of intermediality. Embedded inscriptions, products of the (inter)textual world of Roman elegists, are points where 'two semiotic systems partially overlap'.⁶ Obviously, an embedded inscription can be explained as an effort to capture an inscription in words; but at the same time it also 'denotes a kind of intermedial and self-reflexive relationship between two different media [stone and text in our case], which ponder their own material characteristics'.⁷

But what exactly is meant by the terms 'intermedial' and 'intermediality'? I understand the term 'medium' as defined by Wolf:

I here propose to use a broad concept of medium: not in the restricted sense of a technical or institutional channel of communication [e.g., letter, book, radio or poster] but as a conventionally distinct means of communication or expression characterized not only by particular channels or one channel for sending or receiving messages but also by *the use of one or more semiotic systems*.⁸

On the most basic level, intermediality is thus a hyperonym for all phenomena that cross the borders between media and are accordingly—as the prefix *inter* indicates—located in some way or other between media.⁹ In a recent attempt to define and systematize intermediality, three areas of research have been highlighted: the combination of media,¹⁰ the transformation of media,¹¹ and intermedial **(p.305)** connections,¹² the last of which includes phenomena such as ekphrasis or embedded inscriptions.¹³ The term intermedial connection describes a way to constitute meaning through the (actual) connection, which a medial product (in our case texts) can form with the product of another medium or a medial system itself. To create meaning the medial product (i.e. text) thus uses in addition to its usual means also intermedial ones. This contact between media products or systems lets both of them—as well as their medial differences and equivalences—be absorbed by their consumer (i.e. the reader in the case of texts).¹⁴ Intermedial connections thus participate in the creation of meaning differently from the standard means employed by texts. As texts remain the sole medium that is present, however, elements and structures of other media or another medium are thematized, simulated, and, as far as possible, reproduced with the means specific to texts.¹⁵ The only way in which a medium such as the literary text can make elements and structures of other media (such as film, music, painting, or inscription) its own—even though it only has its own, media-typical literary means at its disposal—is by investing these elements and structures with an ‘as-if mode’, which creates an illusion of the other, alien medium. To such an extent and in such a way is it actually possible to quote, reproduce, or incorporate a medial system, or medial product, within literary texts.¹⁶ These illusions are often marked out and identified as medial connections by an explicit reference to the alien medium, which has been incorporated for the purpose of directing the readers’ reception.

It remains to raise the question of where the difference between intermediality and intertextuality lies. Julia Kristeva has proposed a concept of intertextuality in **(p.306)** which ‘any text is a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another’.¹⁷ Moreover, she has widened the term ‘text’ to include any cultural system and any cultural structure. Literary scholars on the hunt for intentional allusions of specific texts to specific texts, however, must focus the term ‘text’ if they want to employ intertextuality. For my study, therefore, I will use the term in its most narrow meaning, to refer to literary texts only. ‘Intertextuality’ will thus only refer to the relation of one literary text to one or several other literary texts.

Intermediality on the other hand is 'an intended and identifiable use or incorporation of at least two usually distinct media in one artefact'.¹⁸ Its 'overt/direct' form (i.e. the combination of media) is characterized by the fact that 'at least in one instance more than one medium is present...whereby each medium appears with its typical or conventional signifiers, remains distinct and in principle 'quotable'.¹⁹ Intermedial connections, however, are distinguished by the:

involvement of (at least) two conventionally distinct media in the signification of an artefact in which, however, only one (dominant) medium appears directly with its typical or conventional signifiers, the other one (the non-dominant medium) being only indirectly present 'within' the first medium as a signified (in some cases as a referent). It is, as it were 'covered' by the dominant medium (though the description of a statue in a novel, for instance, involves a visual art, it still remains literature), and hence the two media cannot be separated from each other, as in the case of the overt/direct intermediality.²⁰

While the theory of intertextuality uses the term 'textual reference' to describe how texts relate to each other, the theory of intermediality employs 'systemic reference' to refer to the relation between a text and one or several semiotic systems (such as genres or other types of discourse).²¹

Naturally, systemic references come in different shapes and sizes, but there are two subcategories that will be of relevance to my discussion. One is the contamination of two semiotic systems ('Systemkontamination')²² which full-blown ekphrasis entails, where the reader witnesses the overlap of the visual medium and the textual. The 'as if' mode of ekphrasis that attempts an actualization and reproduction of the visual with the means of the literary medium creates an altermedially referenced illusion, which is usually marked out clearly by a systemic pointer to the medium referenced ('explizite Systemerwähnung')²³ with a statement such as 'there is an object and on it we see' that directs the readers' reception. In the same way, inscriptions tend to be signalled by a statement such as 'there is or will be a stone and on it we read'. In modern editions of classical texts, embedded inscriptions are also frequently flagged for the reader by being printed **(p.307)** in capital letters. In cases where the medium referenced is less easily discernible or detectable (e.g. film), systemic pointers can serve as signals of intermediality. On the other hand, where the medium referenced is easily discernible and detectable, the systemic pointers may be implicit.

In my discussion, however, a further way of referencing a semiotic system will be of particular prominence. In addition to the contamination of two semiotic systems that results in a full altermedial illusion, a medium can also be only partially reproduced by another medium; this leads to a partial altermedial illusion ((teil-)reproduzierende Systemerwähnung).²⁴ Here components (or parts thereof) that are characteristic of another medium are reproduced—in our case in literature.²⁵ It is important that these altermedial components, which before might have been signposted by systemic pointers, be recognized as such by the reader, who then associates with them those medial components that could not be reproduced by the text. As a result the altermedial components reverberate with the other absent characteristics of the medium or genre to which they belong. This partial reproduction of a medium has also been dubbed ‘associative quotation’.²⁶ In sum, a microform such as an associative quotation can evoke a macroform such as the genre of ekphrasis, the medium film, or the format of inscription.

The variety of ways in which a text may interact with another medium thus ranges from full-blown ekphrasis to inconspicuous ‘medial quotations’; as we shall see, what I call ‘medial quotation’ is a form of ‘associative quotation’ and poses a hermeneutic challenge to the reader, since it can be discerned less easily from the surrounding text than an overt and clearly marked ekphrasis or an embedded inscription announced with the formula ‘here is a stone and on it we read’. Consequently, for the critic inspecting texts that parade their relation to inscriptions under the auspices of intermediality, as we will do in the second half of this chapter, it is a defining feature ‘that the essential dimension of intermediality in these texts finds its dominant expression not necessarily on the structural or syntactical but rather on the semantic level of the narrative examined: images [or associative quotes] expand or even create the significance of these texts’.²⁷ Hence, the dialogue-structure (*Dialogizität*) of what has been imported from another medium (i.e. the associative quote) affects the meaning and thus the semantic aspects of a text. These quotes carry associations that impart significant meaning to the texts they feature in and, as a consequence, they inform the way in which these texts are read. Müller accordingly observes, ‘After all a medial product...achieves intermediality only if the multimedial juxtaposition of medial quotes and elements becomes a conceptual unity, whose (aesthetic) fractures and faults open up new dimensions of experience.’²⁸ As we shall see, then, the **(p.308)** technique of employing medial quotes in Latin literature to evoke inscriptions showcases different aspects of intermediality.

When applied to literary inscriptions, ‘intermediality’ encourages us to think harder about exactly how inscriptions and literature interact and to treat these texts rather more as hermeneutic ‘processes’ than ‘works’.²⁹ It also encourages us not to content ourselves with the analysis of literary inscriptions, where obvious embedded inscriptions fulfil the programmatic function of summing up a literary career or securing lasting fame, but rather to embrace ‘medial quotes’ that evoke the inscriptional and are less discrete or easily discernible from the surrounding text. I will focus on one formal epitaphic marker, to demonstrate how Greek epigraphic formulae such as *kai su* are absorbed into Latin poetry. There they then develop a life of their own: despite the fact that *tu/te quoque* is not a regular feature of Latin tomb inscriptions, (over)emphasizing the sepulchral and inscriptional origin of *kai su*, Latin authors develop a literary game of translation (both medial and literal) in which the expression *tu/te quoque* serves as an epitaphic gesture to death or future death.³⁰

2. καὶ σὺ and *tu quoque*

Instances of *kai su* or *kai se* in Greek literary epitaph abound; most prominent is the example of an epigram, by Anacreon, on Cleanorides, a youth who died at sea which actually opens with *kai se* (*Anth. Pal.* 7. 263).³¹ In Greek epigram, the address in the second person singular becomes essential for creating the ‘voice’ of the epitaph which speaks to the deceased or the passer-by.³² For the Latin tradition, the influence of epigram on Virgil’s *Aeneid* has been well established and it is therefore from this text that I shall take my starting point. For Merkelbach has traced one notorious example of our *tu quoque* formula at the beginning of *Aeneid* 7.³³

*TV quoque litoribus nostris, Aeneia nutrix,
aeternam moriens famam, Caieta, dedisti;
et nunc seruat honos sedem tuus, ossaque nomen
Hesperia in magna, si qua est ea gloria, signat.*

(p.309) (You, too, Caieta, nurse of Aeneas, have by your death given eternal fame to our shores; and still your honour guards your resting place, and in great Hesperia, if that be glory, your name marks your dust!) (Verg. Aen. 7. 1–4)³⁴

As precursors to Caieta’s epi(c)gram, Merkelbach cites two epitaphs by Caesar and Cicero on the deceased Terence, preserved in Suetonius’ life of Terence (*de poetis Vit. Ter.* 7), both of which feature *tu quoque* prominently at the beginning of the first line; Domitius Marsus 7 (*Epitaphium Tibulli*) on Tibullus, which opens with *te quoque*, offers a further parallel.³⁵ Merkelbach then suggests that we see *tu quoque* not

narrowly as a feature of epigrams on poets—where one poet may address the other or where this formula might signal that the epigram is part of an enumeration, a list of poems on poets³⁶—but also more generally as an echo of the address to the deceased in Roman funerary practice.³⁷ He concludes, therefore, that for the Roman reader Virgil's verses on Caieta must have combined Roman epitaph with Roman eulogy. Horsfall, too, in his commentary on *Aeneid* 7, points out that the phrase *tu/te quoque* carries resonances of literary epitaph, however innocent it may appear at first glance.³⁸

It is, indeed, worth considering the use of personal pronouns in Latin poetry more generally. Adams has suggested that the general conception that the use of the nominative first and second person personal pronouns *ego* and *tu* can be explained as either 'emphatic' or 'unemphatic' is misguided: 'certain structural conditions are among the determinants which may generate the use of a nominative pronoun, regardless of whether that pronoun in the context is emphatic or not. *Ego* and *tu* have a tendency to attach themselves to certain preferential terms, that is terms which habitually are placed at the head of a colon.'³⁹ The conjunction of *tu quoque* fits well the pattern Adams has identified. Moreover, his suggestion explains the frequent and prominent position of the phrase at the beginning of a sentence while also underlining the fact that Romans must have been used to perceiving the word *tu* as part of a two-word unit. Hence, despite the fact that 'you' and 'too/as well' must be among the most frequently employed words in any language, the combination of *tu* and *quoque* acquires formulaic status, mimicking the formulaic language of inscriptions; a language that Hellenistic epigram already studiously and frequently imitates, and that the epigraphic habit of Roman culture also cultivated in Latin.⁴⁰ This allows us to see *tu quoque* as a systemic marker for epitaphs bearing the defining features of this medium (inscription) and genre (epitaph): a connotation of death but also of memorialization, because of the **(p.310)** durability of the medium stone. As I suggested earlier, both these characteristics look back to the original functions of the epigram.⁴¹

3. *Tu quoque* in the *Aeneid*

In what follows I propose that in Virgil's time the expression *tu/te quoque* had become firmly associated with funerary epigram and had advanced to the status of a sepulchral marker. It thus offers the poet the possibility to make an epitaphic gesture by using it outside its generic boundaries. Accordingly in my reading of select passages from

the *Aeneid* I will be aware of and alert to the allusive potential of this phrase:

tu quoque magnam
partem opere in tanto, sineret dolor, Icare, haberes.
bis conatus erat casus effingere in auro,
bis patriae cecidere manus...

(You, too, Icarus, would have large share in such a work,
did grief permit: twice had he essayed to fashion your fall
in gold; twice sank the father's hands...) (Verg. *Aen.* 6. 30–3)

My first example forms part of the description of the temple doors of Apollo in *Aeneid* 6 at Cumae, the Sibyl's ancient seat. In addition to the story of Theseus and the Minotaur this ekphrasis would have included Icarus' flight had grief not prevented the artist from realizing his vision. For Icarus, unlike his father Daedalus, did not survive the escape from Crete. However, the *Aeneid*'s narrative economy does not allow the reader to linger at this point of the story, as little as the Sibyl gives Aeneas and his men enough time to marvel at this work of art. Accordingly Icarus' fate can only be alluded to.⁴² Bestowed with the epitaphic gesture *tu quoque* his name remains a nod towards a story and a life cut short. The *Aeneid*, however, rushes on to trump this representation of a failed youth and image of an unsuccessful father-son relationship with its own version of a success story: for as we know, both Aeneas and Ascanius have succeeded in their flight from Troy. Thus personal and artistic failures are supplanted by examples of success.⁴³

Shortly afterwards we encounter a further occurrence of the *te quoque* formula:

te quoque magna manent regnis penetralia nostris:
hic ego namque tuas sortis arcanaque fata
dicta meae genti ponam, lectosque sacrabo,
alma, uiros....

(You, too, a stately shrine awaits in our realm; for here I
will place your oracles and mystic utterances, told to my
people, and ordain chosen men, O gracious one.) (Verg.
Aen. 6. 71–4)

(p.311) In this passage Virgil provides an aetiology for a Roman custom. Having arrived in the Sybil's cave, Aeneas is urged to make a vow to honour Apollo. Here, in order to enlist the Sybil's help and gain entry into the underworld, Aeneas pledges not only to provide home

and cult for Apollo—a promise that results in Augustus’ temple for Apollo on the Palatine—but also for the Sibyl’s words. This vow is finally fulfilled when his descendant Octavian Augustus has the Sibylline books deposited in his own temple of Apollo.⁴⁴ Inscribed on book rolls, the formerly unchannelled and unordered verses of the prophetess will thus in the end become absorbed into the Augustan triumph of order over chaos. Accordingly, in this case, the epitaphic gesture of *te quoque* serves to foreshadow the fate of the Sibyl. Having lived her allotted lifespan of a thousand years, she will become defunct and cease to exist. Her song, however, will remain and be placed on the Palatine, soaked up by the Augustan restitution. Accordingly *te quoque* makes the reader realize that what Aeneas promises to the Sibyl in this passage is both monument *and* grave. While pointing to a glorious future on the surface, this passage also presupposes the Sibyl’s death and silence.

The next passage in my discussion takes me forward to Book 8 of the *Aeneid*, right to the end of Evander’s tour of future Rome:

‘haec’ inquit ‘limina uictor
Alcides subiit, haec illum regia cepit.
aude, hospes, contemnere opes et *te quoque* dignum
finge deo, rebusque ueni non asper egenis.’ 365
dixit, et angusti subter fastigia tecti
ingentem Aenean duxit stratisque locauit
effultum foliis et pelle Libystidis ursae.

(These portals victorious Hercules stooped to enter; this mansion had room for him. Have the courage, my guest, to scorn riches; make yourself, too, worthy of deity, and come not disdainful of our poverty. He spoke and beneath the roof of his lowly dwelling led towering Aeneas, and set him on a couch of strewn leaves and the skin of a Libyan bear.)
(Verg. *Aen.* 8. 362–8)

Evander invites Aeneas into his house. The king is very apologetic for the humbleness of his abode. Nevertheless, despite all modesty, Evander does not forget to point out that Aeneas here is following in the footsteps of an even greater hero, those of Hercules who pacified the region in the first place.⁴⁵ Almost immediately the narrative takes up Evander’s point and proceeds on the level of the gods: we witness Venus’ initiative to supply her son Aeneas with new armour. Accordingly, Gransden points out the significance of the rather unremarkable passage cited by me: ‘In Dido’s bed, in her grand palace, Aeneas reverted to his “Asiatic” origins, Paris not Hector, the type of Antony not Augustus. From the bed of Evander, in a primitive hut, he arises refreshed, ready to put on the armour of the *theios aner* to

emerge as “Iliadic” victor and Roman *triumphator*.⁴⁶ Thus at **(p.312)** the end of this key passage that constantly prefigures the future greatness of Rome, and just before the *Aeneid*’s focus shifts firmly away from Aeneas and prepares to culminate instead in the depiction of Augustus’ return in triple triumph on Vulcan’s shield, Aeneas features in an important role, that of the divine man of Roman destiny.⁴⁷ However, yet again I wish to add a further voice to this euphony. When reading *te quoque* as epitaphic gesture, we must understand that, not unlike Hercules, Aeneas is about to face many labours. However, at the end of his epic career he too will be deified, a fact the reader is already aware of thanks to Jupiter’s prophecy in Book 1 (cf. *Aen.* 1. 259). Thus Evander’s remark ‘make yourself, too, worthy of deity’ can be read in its immediate context pointing to Aeneas as a successor of Hercules in his role of bringer and restorer of peace and order. In addition it can also be interpreted as pointing further than that to Aeneas’ eventual death and deification, here again following the example set by Hercules.

Indeed Evander even uses the address *te quoque* once more:

tu quoque nunc stares immanis truncus in armis,
esset par aetas et idem si robur ab annis,
Turne.

(You, too, Turnus, would now be standing, a monstrous
trunk arrayed in arms, had your age and strength of years
been like his!) (Verg. *Aen.* 11. 173–5)

Confronted with his only son’s dead body, the old king Evander delivers a speech of grief and lament that finally turns into a eulogy on the dead Pallas, praising his valour and heroism. This section culminates in the father’s statement that Turnus would be a corpse now had Evander only been equal in age with Pallas. With the word *truncus* (173) Virgil aligns the imagined dead body of Turnus here with the headless trunk of Priam floating in the sea after the sack of Troy in *Aeneid* 2. 554. This pre-epitaph is demonstratively set in the subjunctive and constitutes an epitaphic gesture which, framed by the epitaphic marker *tu quoque* and the name of the would-be-deceased Turnus, foreshadows the end of the *Aeneid* with the death of Aeneas’ antagonist. As so often in the *Aeneid* it thus carries a different meaning for the reader who is aware of the plot and for Evander’s actual audience. However, Evander himself is instrumental in facilitating the fulfilment of his wish, for he sets Aeneas’ men back on track when he admonishes them to continue their fight (*Aen.* 11. 175–81).

Not dissimilar is the exchange between Orodes and Mezentius in Book 10 just before the former receives a fatal blow:

ille autem expirans: 'non me, quicumque es, inulto,
uictor, nec longum laetabere; *te quoque* fata 740
prospectant paria atque eadem mox arua tenebis.'
ad quem subridens mixta Mezentius ira:
'nunc morere. ast de me diuum pater atque hominum
rexuiderit.'

(But breathing his last Orodes says: 'Not unavenged shall I be, my conqueror, whoever you are, nor will you long exult; for a like doom keeps watch for you, too, and in these same fields you will soon lie.' Mezentius answered him, smiling in his wrath: 'Now die; but as for me let the father of gods and king of men look to it!') (Verg. *Aen.* 10. 39–44)

(p.313) This passage serves to characterize Mezentius as merciless *contemptor diuum*.⁴⁸ However, we know with hindsight that *fatum* will keep the upper hand and that indeed the end of Mezentius draws near. He too will die and poetic justice will be restored, a fate hinted at by Orodes' use of the epitaphic address *te quoque* for Mezentius.

As is the case here we find epitaphic gestures most frequently employed in the din of battle-descriptions, where manifold casualties offer occasion and opportunity to apply them. A seemingly endless throng of so-called minor heroes is introduced to the reader, only to leave the narrative immediately. Their individual descriptions often read not unlike obituaries, in some cases they even come close to funerary epigrams. A direct address singles a victim out from the mass and makes his fate memorable to the reader. One of the prime examples is the fall of Aeolus in *Aeneid* 12:

te quoque Laurentes uiderunt, Aeole, campi
oppetere et late terram consternere tergo.
occidis, Argiuae quem non potuere phalanges
sternere nec Priami regnorum euersor Achilles;545
hic tibi mortis erant metae, domus alta sub Ida,
Lyrnesi domus alta, solo Laurente sepulcrum.

(You too, Aeolus. The Laurentine plains saw you fall, and your back cover a broad measure of their ground. The Greek battalions could not bring you down, nor could Achilles who overturned the kingdom of Priam, but here you lie. This was the finishing line of your life. Your home was in the hills below Mount Ida, a home in the hills of Lyrnesus, but your grave is in Laurentine soil.) (Verg. *Aen.* 12. 542-7)

In this passage an epitaphic frame consisting of the epitaphic address *te quoque* and the passage's final word *sepulcrum* (547) embraces the minor hero Aeolus. Virgil models this address on an Iliadic scene, the death of Ortryntus who is killed by Achilles, and he even acknowledges his model with a nod towards the *Iliad*'s martial hero in verse 545. But Virgil also gives this scene a distinct drive towards Italy in the two final lines (546-7) where the words *Ida* and *Lyrnesi* lead us on to a tomb in Italian soil (*Laurente*).⁴⁹ From this exemplary epitaphic use of the address *te quoque* we may feel tempted to derive the rule that whenever this apostrophe occurs in a battle scene it carries a death sentence for whomever it is applied to. This would mean that we would accept it as a marker of death to come. Virgil seems to presuppose this rule as the standard when he confronts the reader with an exception. He thus plays with the reader's expectation when introducing the minor hero Cydon, who unexpectedly survives:

*tu quoque, flauentem prima lanugine malas
dum sequeris Clytium infelix, noua gaudia, Cydon, 325
Dardania stratus dextra, securus amorum
qui iuuenum tibi semper erant, miserande iaceres,
ni fratrum stipata cohors foret obuia, Phorci
progenies, septem numero, septenaque tela
(p.314) coniciunt; partim galea clipeoque resultant 330
inrita, deflexit partim stringentia corpus
alma Venus...*

(You too, unhappy Cydon, as you followed Clytius, your new delight, his cheeks golden with youthful down, you too would have fallen beneath the Trojan hand, and lain there, wretched, free of that love of youth that was ever yours, had the massed ranks of your brothers, not opposed him, the children of Phorcus, seven in number, seven the spears they threw: some glanced idly from helmet and shield, some gentle Venus deflected, so they only grazed his body...) (Verg. *Aen.* 10. 324-32)

The opening epitaphic gesture and the fact that Cydon appears within the narrative context of Aeneas' *aristeia*, let us automatically assume that we will see the end of him. However, to our surprise he turns out to be a survivor and what we hear about him characterizes him more as a soldier of love than of epic battle. It is tempting to suggest that the forces of love protect not only Aeneas in this battle.⁵⁰ What is more, this passages makes us aware that we are used to perceiving the apostrophe *te quoque* as an epitaphic marker and of the way in which we expect it to function.

To conclude my short survey of the *Aeneid*, I wish to step back and take a wider perspective. What use is it to us to know that *tu quoque* bears epitaphic connotations? Let us consider one of the key moments of Roman history, the murder of Caesar in 44 BC. All accounts agree on the fact that Caesar died in dignified silence. Suetonius, however, mentioned an alternative tradition, which has become widely known thanks to Shakespeare's rendering 'et tu Brute' (*Julius Caesar*, III. i. 77):

atque ita tribus et uiginti plagis confossus est uno modo ad
primum ictum gemitu sine uoce edito, etsi tradiderunt quidam
Marco Bruto irruenti dixisse: *kai su teknon*;

(And in this way he was stabbed with twenty-three wounds,
uttering not a word but merely a groan at the first stroke, though
some have written that when Marcus Brutus rushed at him, he
said in Greek 'You too, my child?') (Suet. *Jul.* 82. 3)

Interpretations of this passage have usually focused on the question of whether Caesar could have possibly been Brutus' father, a somewhat unlikely proposition if one considers that their age difference was only seventeen years.⁵¹ I, in contrast, would like to concentrate on the first half of Caesar's last words, which if not rendered in Latin as the Shakespearean *et tu, Brute* but instead as *tu quoque, Brute* might serve as the ultimate epitaphic gesture foreshadowing the end of the Roman Republic.

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Notes:

⁽¹⁾ I have used this methodological framework also for my contribution 'Inscriptional intermediality in Latin elegy' in A. Keith *Hellenistic Epigram and Latin Elegy*, Newcastle (Dinter 2011), 7–18.

⁽²⁾ Ramsby (2007) 21–9.

(³) Ramsby (2007) 46–7.

(⁴) Ramsby (2007) 51.

(⁵) Ramsby (2007) 71. Cf. Lyne (1992).

(⁶) Barchiesi (1997) 278.

(⁷) Rippl (2010) 157, quoting Bolter (1996) 264.

(⁸) Wolf (1999*b*) 40. My emphasis.

(⁹) Cf. Rajewsky (2002) 12.

(¹⁰) Rajewsky (2002) 15: *Medienkombinationen*, such as ‘Photoroman’, the addition of two distinct systems of media.

(¹¹) Rajewsky (2002) 16: *Medienwechsel*, such as turning a book into a film.

(¹²) Rajewsky (2002) 16–17: *intermediale Bezüge*.

(¹³) Rajewsky does not fail to point out that a single medial product can fit several or even all these categories; they are not mutually exclusive.

(¹⁴) Cf. Rajewsky (2002) 17.

(¹⁵) Cf. Rajewsky (2002) 17 n. 26. As I will be discussing texts only in this piece, I have chosen the wording of this section accordingly. Rajewsky (2002) 17 emphasizes that intermedial connections are *not* additive combinations of media that lead to plurimedial products. Her definition of ‘intermediale Bezüge’ summarizes much of what has been said earlier: ‘intermediale Bezüge’ are the ‘(Rück-)Bezug eines Textes auf ein vorfindliches (reales oder fiktives) Produkt oder das System eines anderen Mediums, und zwar im Sinne eines bedeutungskonstituierenden Aktes. Das andere mediale Produkt oder System wird so zur Differentiale einer intermedialen Lektüre oder kann dazu werden, wenn der Rezipient über die entsprechende Kompetenz verfügt. Dies schließt ein, daß sich der Text “aktiv” mit seinen eigenen Mitteln auf das andere mediale Produkt oder System *bezieht*, dieser Bezug durch spezifische Textgestaltung indiziert bzw. auf irgendeine Weise markiert wird und somit als ein bedeutungskonstituierendes Verfahren des Textes erkenn- und nachweisbar ist....ein mediales Produkt kann sich nur auf ein Produkt oder System eines anderen Mediums beziehen, indem es bestimmte Elemente und/oder Strukturen

desselben thematisiert oder, soweit möglich, reproduziert' (Rajewsky (2002) 62–3).

(¹⁶) Much work has been done on how twentieth-century writers such as Alfred Döblin, Franz Kafka, James Joyce, and John Dos Passos have employed structures and techniques characteristic of the medium of film to express the simultaneousness and fragmentation of city-life as well as the relativity of time, space, and visual perception. Cf. Ryf (1959); Kaemmerling (1973); Spiegel (1973), (1976); Lowry (1974); Paech (1988); Scheunemann (1988); and Dörr (1991). In addition both media and the culture of human perception change: the post-MTV video-clip generation is used to extremely fast cuts and minimalist storylines and will be little surprised to find these mirrored in literature. While computer-simulated special effects and characters are currently still perceived as a relatively new addition to the medium of film, they will most likely be perceived as standard characteristics of this medium in the future—the aspect of historicity thus needs attention when drawing parallels between different media.

(¹⁷) Kristeva (1980) 66.

(¹⁸) Wolf (1998) 238 (my translation).

(¹⁹) This terminology has been defined by Wolf (1999b) 42. Wolf sees the transformation of media as 'werkextern' and discusses it separately from the 'werkinterne Intermedialität' mentioned in Wolf (2002a, b).

(²⁰) Wolf (1999b) 44.

(²¹) Rajewsky (2002) 60 contrasts 'Einzeltextreferenz' with 'Systemreferenz' building on the work of Hempfer (1991) and Penzenstadler (1993).

(²²) Cf. Rajewsky (2002) 118–23.

(²³) Cf. Rajewsky (2002) 79–117.

(²⁴) To stick with Rajewsky's terminology, both 'Systemkontamination' and 'Systemerwähnung qua Transposition' are subcategories of 'intermediale Systemreferenz'. The '(teil-)reproduzierende Systemerwähnung' here introduced is itself a subcategory of 'Systemerwähnung qua Transposition'.

(²⁵) Often these components are specific to the *histoire*-level (story) (as opposed to the *discours*-level (narrative)) of the genre or discourse reproduced and thus frequently refer to content rather than form.

⁽²⁶⁾ Cf. Wolf (1999a) 67–9. He cites examples such as the (partial) quotation of a song text in a novel that would then evoke the song's melody in the readership.

⁽²⁷⁾ Eicher (1994) 21.

⁽²⁸⁾ Müller (1996) 127–8, also quoted in Paech (1998) 17.

⁽²⁹⁾ Cf. Eicher (1994).

⁽³⁰⁾ The PHI Greek inscriptions database yields 242 hits for *kai su*, a further 29 for *kai se*, and another 101 for *kai s'*. I am aware that there are some inaccuracies in these numbers due to the nature of the search process but they nevertheless enhance the impression that *kai su* is a frequent formula in Greek inscriptions. The expression *kai su chaire* is of particular prominence in the inscriptional evidence and finds its direct literary (not inscriptional) Latin equivalent in the final words of Trimalchio's (self-)epitaph *vale. et tu* (Petronius *Satyricon* 71); cf. Nelis-Clément and Nelis (2005) 7 on this passage.

⁽³¹⁾ Cf. Horsfall (2000) *ad Aen.* 7. 1 who lists numerous examples. Cf. *Anth. Pal.* 7. 123, 7. 130, and 7. 132. Bruss (2005) 1–18 outlines the development and interdependence of inscriptional and literary Greek epitaph.

⁽³²⁾ Cf. Tueller (2008) 32–6 and 65–74.

⁽³³⁾ On this passage cf. Merkelbach (1971); Barchiesi (1979); Kyriakidis (1998); Dinter (2005). Cf. Horsfall (1986) on the influence of inscription on Virgil and Virgil's influence on inscriptions.

⁽³⁴⁾ All translations of the *Aeneid* are from Fairclough (1999–2000, rev. Goold), with some adaptations.

⁽³⁵⁾ Cf. Merkelbach (1971) 349–50.

⁽³⁶⁾ Cf. Fraenkel (1964) ii. 207 (orig. *Hermes* 68 (1933) 392–9 *Lucili quam sis mendosus*) citing Leo who states that the address *tu quoque* 'die römischen Dichter Revue passieren ließ' (cf. Leo (1913) i. 253). The address to Caieta, however, indeed forms part of an enumeration and *tu quoque* here might well also look back to the deaths of Misenus (*Aen.* 6. 234) and Palinurus (*Aen.* 6. 381) earlier in *Aeneid* 6.

⁽³⁷⁾ Merkelbach (1971) 349–50 cites the *Laudatio Turiae*, Cic. *de Orat.* 3. 12 and Tac. *Ag.* 45. 3 as examples and concludes (350): 'Diese

Anrede dürfte der traditionellen Form römischen Totenlobes entsprechen.'

(³⁸) Cf. Horsfall (2000) *ad Aen.* 7. 1.

(³⁹) Adams (1999) 132.

(⁴⁰) Cf. Bettenworth (2007).

(⁴¹) Further systemic markers could be *formulae* such as *hic iacet/iaces*, which adapts the Greek expression *keietai/keisai*; by contrast, a full systemic reference would need to contain information such as 'there is/will be a stone/an inscription' and thereby provide a frame for a full literary epitaph.

(⁴²) Putnam (1998) 81 observes that the death of Icarus is never mentioned, his *casus* (fall) is transferred onto his father.

(⁴³) On succession and fathers and sons in Latin epic in general, cf. Hardie (1993) 91–8.

(⁴⁴) Cf. Norden (1957) *ad* 69ff. outlining the move of the Sibylline books into their new home on AD 9 October 28 and with references to the oracles' original format on palm leaves. Cf. also Gowers (2005) and Lightfoot (2007).

(⁴⁵) On Hercules in the *Aeneid* cf. Feeney (1991) 156–61 and Hardie (1998) 83 n. 127 for a full bibliography.

(⁴⁶) Gransden (1976) 29.

(⁴⁷) For Aeneas as *theios aner* cf. Otis (1964) 219–22.

(⁴⁸) Mezentius has attracted considerable scholarly attention examining his complex characterization, cf. most recently Kronenberg (2005).

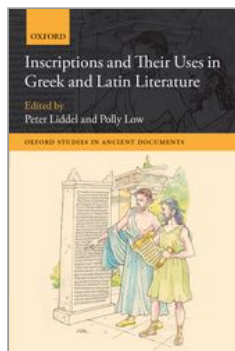
(⁴⁹) Cf. Dinter (2005) 157.

(⁵⁰) Cf. Harrison (1997) 159 *ad loc.* on the erotics of this passage.

(⁵¹) Cf. Fleissner (1997) 109–13 and Gershenson (1993) (arguing for them to be a curse).

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Furor epigraphicus: Augustus, the Poets, and the Inscriptions

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Abstract and Keywords

The study of Augustan Latin poetry involves detailed scrutiny of the ways in which the poets of the age participate in the complex forces of political and cultural transformation surrounding them. Whether in relation to tracing and interpreting developments in religion or art, social, and administrative change, the exploitation of multiple forms of communication, or evolving patterns of encomiastic expression, scholars working in the field of Augustan poetry are confronted with extremely difficult questions about texts and their contexts. Taking as its starting point the work of Geza Alföldy on the use of epigraphy by the Princeps and on the pervasive presence of inscriptions in Augustan culture, this chapter tries to see if the exploitation of inscriptions in contemporary literary texts — a phenomenon which has been attracting growing attention in recent years — can in any meaningful or useful way be related to the striking evolution in the use of inscriptions which Alföldy traces. The findings suggests that while not all inscriptions in Augustan literary texts can be reliably or usefully linked to the Augustan epigraphic habit, there are indeed many cases in which it is possible to establish a direct link between examples of poetic

inscriptions and the use of epigraphy by Augustus. Examples of this interaction between literature and epigraphy in Vergil, Horace, and Ovid are discussed.

Keywords: Rome, Augustus, inscriptions, epigraphic habit, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, monuments

In an insightful exploration of the processes of periodization that underpin our conception of what makes the Augustan age, Barchiesi has written: 'I would say that the crucial factor for modern scholars has been the possibility of making multiple connections between political change, material culture, ideology, literature and the visual arts.'¹ One important feature among the Augustan visual arts was the appearance throughout the Roman world of thousands of inscriptions marking or celebrating, in one way or another, the arrival of a new age.² Even a cursory survey of the corpus of the major Augustan poets, Vergil, Horace, Propertius, Tibullus, and Ovid, reveals the presence of numerous and varied points of contact between their works and this new world of Roman epigraphy. Readers of these texts encounter direct quotations of inscriptions and passing references to the presence of inscriptions. They also encounter descriptions of monuments which carried inscriptions, and the use of various different epigraphical genres, particularly sepulchral epigram and epitaphs, and they meet inscribed spoils, altars, shields, and much else. They also find in these texts subject matter and forms of expression which Romans would have met most frequently inscribed in stone and bronze. One scholar, for example, has gone so far as to describe the whole of the fourth book of Horace's *Odes* as 'epigraphic poetry'.³ We can even read a complete work, Ovid's *Fasti*, which is a poetic version of a genre that Roman readers would automatically have understood as fundamentally **(p. 318)** epigraphic in nature.⁴ Others, of course, look at this relationship the other way round and treat epigraphic texts as types of literature.⁵

These interactions raise all sorts of questions about language, literacy and orality, technology, architecture, the circulation of texts and information, reading practices, patronage, and the control of the media, in fact about the sociology of Roman communication as a whole, but the space available here precludes anything like a detailed study of such vast, complex, and difficult subjects.⁶ What follows may be considered a survey of a few details in a complex picture and a prolegomenon to the much fuller investigation of Augustan literary epigraphy which is now a major desideratum. Within the wide span of time covered by the contributions to this volume, our most immediate task will be to demonstrate that the Augustan period is an extraordinarily important one in the wider history of Graeco-Roman epigraphy, and that the

Augustan poets do indeed seem to have reacted in typically interesting ways to those trends described by Galinsky as ‘a tidal wave of inscriptions’ leading to ‘the creation of an epigraphic culture’.⁷ We will begin with a survey of the evidence for the development of epigraphic writing in the later first century BC, before moving on to look at some cases in which the poets, first Vergil and Horace and then the elegists, with particular focus on Ovid, seem to be coming under the influence of and responding to the evolving Augustan epigraphic habit.

We take as our starting point a fundamental study on Augustus and the inscriptions by Alföldy in an article published in 1991,⁸ in which it is demonstrated that Augustus is indeed der ‘Schöpfer der “epigraphischen Kultur” der Römischen Kaiserzeit’.⁹ Underlining the huge development of the epigraphic habit in the Augustan age and describing the phenomenon as the direct result of a *furor epigraphicus*,¹⁰ Alföldy shows how the development of epigraphy flourishes in the same cultural and political setting as the profound transformations in art and architecture analysed by Paul Zanker as ‘the Augustan Program (p.319) of Cultural Renewal’.¹¹ The number, density, and chronological spread of the inscriptions known to us today, as Alföldy points out, give us a rough idea of the extent of that *furor*, which has also been described as ‘una sorta di esplosione dell’epigrafia’ by Panciera in a recent synthesis entitled ‘L’epigrafia latina nel passaggio dalla Repubblica all’impero’, where he confirms Alföldy’s observations.¹² The numbers speak volumes: for the five centuries of the Roman Republic, we know of around 3,000 monumental inscriptions (and among these 627 for Rome),¹³ compared to c.300,000 inscriptions for the five centuries of the Imperial period.¹⁴ The progression, which increased extremely rapidly during the period of the last years of the Republic and the early Principate, is nothing less than extraordinary.

Vibrant epigraphical practices were of course already present under the Republic and it would be wrong to present the Augustan period as totally original. As so often, Augustan innovation must be interpreted in relation to established traditions. Romans had long since, for example, celebrated the victories and triumphs of Republican personalities with dedications set up (from the second half of the fourth century BC) in the Forum or sanctuaries, as well as erecting funerary inscriptions commemorating the members of important aristocratic families, such as the *elogia* of L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus and his son L. Cornelius Scipio, consuls respectively in 298 and 259 BC.¹⁵ Subsequently, the use of inscriptions (both official and private) is well attested during the crisis of the Republic to celebrate and commemorate competing personalities. Several historians mention or even quote the texts of inscriptions relating to Sulla,¹⁶ Pompey,¹⁷ Mark Antony,¹⁸ and Julius

Caesar,¹⁹ thus illustrating both their exploitation of **(p.320)** epigraphy and its impact on the people, in Rome and in the provinces. And it was in that same tradition that Octavian was celebrated when, in 36 BC, he returned to Rome, following the defeat of Sextus Pompeius at Naulochos and the abdication of Lepidus. According to Appian, the Senate voted him unlimited honours, and erected in the Forum in Rome a golden statue with an inscription commemorating the peace he had ensured on land and on sea.²⁰ Another inscription recently discovered in Lycia, again emphasizing the gift of universal peace, describes Augustus as 'guardian of land and sea', a title earlier used of Pompey on inscriptions in Asia Minor.²¹ We can glimpse here the way in which forms of Republican competition gave way progressively to what amounted almost to a monopoly of certain kinds of epigraphic communication, shared by the *princeps* and the members of his *domus*.²²

Studying genre by genre the monumental inscriptions of the Augustan period, Alföldy revealed how the name of Augustus appeared on a very large number of the monumental inscriptions of his time, both private and public. His various titles were displayed in Rome and in the provinces on all sorts of monuments, first as *C(aius) Iulius Caesar pontif(ex)*, soon after Caesar's murder,²³ then as *Imp. Caesar Divi f(ilius)*, when he received in January 43 BC the title of *imperator*, then from January 27 BC as *Augustus*, worn as *cognomen*, then as *pontifex maximus* in 12 BC and as *pater patriae* in 2 BC. These titles appeared on votive altars, on funerary, dedicatory, and honorary monuments, on statue bases,²⁴ on buildings and public works such as temples, theatres, amphitheatres, towers, gates, triumphal arches, bridges, columns, aqueducts, and trophies.²⁵ They appeared also on the milestones along all the roads of the Empire and on the numerous boundary stones or altars erected at the street corners of the regions of the **(p.321)** city and its hundreds of *vici*, as epigraphy plays a key role in Augustus' spatial reorganization of the city of Rome and its physical links with the provinces. The actual name of Augustus will have figured on all his administrative documents and on the *acta* of his reign (*senatus consulta*, *leges*, *decreta*), usually posted in highly frequented places so that they could be seen by all (*celeberrimi loci*),²⁶ but it also featured on numerous monumental stones recording the titles of members of his *familia* and of his *domus*, from every *servus* or *libertus Augusti* to all the agents of the government, such as every equestrian *procurator Augusti* or every senatorial *legatus Augusti pro praetore*. Also bearing his name were the priests, the *Augustales*²⁷ and the *flamines Augusti*, soldiers in the army, for example, the *evocati Augusti*, and the names of cities or roads such as the *via Augusta* in Spain or the

via *Sebaste* in Galatia. The gods were also often associated with his name, such as *Mars Augustus*, *Mercurius Augustus*, the *Lares Augusti*.²⁸ There was also the *Victoria Augusti* or *Victoria Augusta*, and he himself could be referred to as *Numen Augusti* or as *Genius Augusti*.²⁹

Since the publication of Alföldy's paper, the detailed attention paid by many scholars to the epigraphy of the Augustan period, perhaps particularly in relation to the imperial cult, has deepened and refined our appreciation of the ways in which the presence of Augustus and of the *domus Augusta* imposed themselves in Rome,³⁰ Italy,³¹ and throughout the Empire.³² We now know much more than ever before about the speed and thoroughness of the diffusion of early Imperial epigraphy and its impact. Two examples will illustrate the wider phenomenon.

In 27 BC, a letter (in Greek and in Latin) was addressed by the Proconsul Vinicius (probably L. Vinicius) to the magistrates of Kyme in Asia Minor. It was subsequently inscribed in stone and has survived. It orders the precise words 'Imp. Caesar Deivei f. Augustu[s] re[sti]||[tuit]' to be inscribed on the temple of 'Liber pater'.³³ The fact that we are in 27 BC, the year in which Octavian took on this new title, shows just how important it was to him to have it disseminated far and wide as soon as possible. But the lines of communication could also work in the other direction. Our second example is that of an inscription raised by the inhabitants of Sion, in the Swiss Valais region, in 8-7 BC in which they address the Emperor, their *patronus*, as *pater patriae*—that is, by a title he received officially only in 2 BC (Fig. 15.1).³⁴ Imperial titulature and its dissemination were, therefore, **(p.322)**

matters of importance, and in due course we will see a reflection of these matters in the poets.

An interesting reflection on the Augustan epigraphic habit is to be found on some coins on which we find depicted inscribed monuments carrying the name of Augustus (see, for example, Fig. 15.2).³⁵ One of these even depicts an inscribed monument with the words IMP CAES AVG LVD SAEC (Fig. 15.3). This refers to one of the defining examples of Augustan epigraphy, the *acta* of the Secular Games of 17 BC, which were inscribed in monumental format. Such coins contribute to the dissemination of the Augustan discourse but also give us a glimpse of the reception of the Augustan epigraphic habit. The Augustan desire for memorialization is revealed in interesting ways by the *acta* of the *Ludi Saeculares*. They describe in detail the various rites and festivities of the occasion and within the **(p.323)**

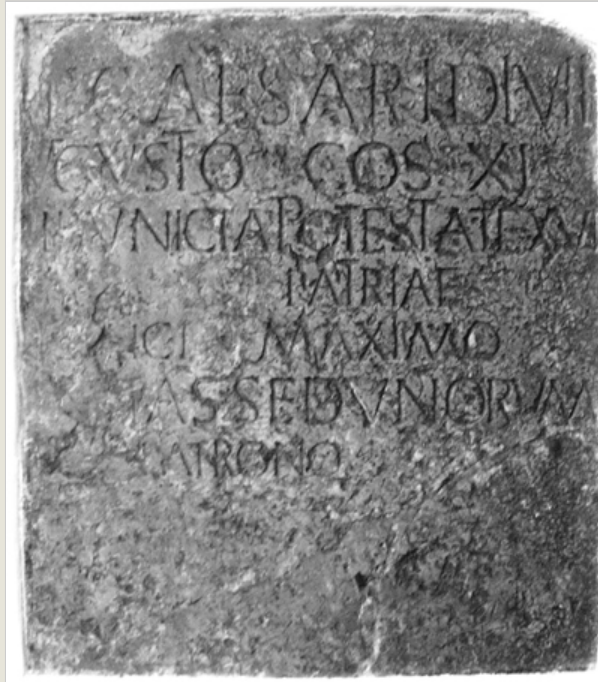


Fig. 15.1. Sion, canton du Valais (Switzerland) in reuse in the entrance wall of the Hôtel de Ville: Dedication to Augustus from the inhabitants of Sion, 8/7 BC (*CIL* XII 136 = *ILS* 6755 = *RIS* III 253).



Fig. 15.2. Gold coin; 20-19 BC. Left (obverse): head of Augustus, laureate;

text it is stated twice (ll. 59–60 and 62–3) that these had to be recorded on a bronze pillar and in marble in order to preserve their memory.³⁶ And on the inscription are preserved, in close proximity, the names of the Emperor and of the poet who wrote a poem for the occasion, Quintus Horatius Flaccus, thus illustrating in unique fashion the connections between epigraphy and poetry. Their relationship is in fact highlighted by the careful *ordinatio* and the *vacat* which follows Horace's name.³⁷ Quantity and ubiquity represent one characteristic of Augustan epigraphy.

The size and appearance of the inscriptions and of the letters on the monumental inscriptions offer another aspect which merits attention, as well as the actual places in which they were displayed.³⁸ Augustus' massive use of marble not only in his architectural projects, but also in all the different types of inscription, deserves to be emphasized. In some cases the size of the letters was immense (23 cm, for **(p.324)** example, for the letters of dedication on the architrave of the temple of Mars Ultor, *CIL* VI 8.2 40311; Fig. 15.6a) and the use of gilded bronze characters (*litterae aureae*) fixed to the stone created an effect of gold brilliance in the eyes of onlookers. This practice of using bronze letters, rarely attested before, emerged under Augustus in relation to the ideology of the *aurea aetas* and became more and more frequent in imperial dedications.³⁹ Augustus was proud of the fact that he rebuilt and restored many buildings in Rome (Suetonius, *Aug.* 28. 5). In doing so he took great care to ensure that his name was inscribed into the fabric of the City, and indeed of cities across the Empire, as often as possible.⁴⁰

right (reverse): rectangular altar, inscribed: *FORT·RED/CAES·AVG/S·P·Q·R·* (*RIC* 1 53a, p. 45). © The Trustees of the British Museum R.5986.



Fig. 15.3. Silver coin; L. Mescinius Rufus; 16 BC. Left (obverse): head of Augustus, laureate; right (reverse): cippus or altar inscribed referring to the *Ludi Saeculares* and a legend relating to the emperor's office of *Quindecemvir sacris faciundis* (*RIC* 1 354, p. 68). © The Trustees of the British Museum R. 2002,0102.4968.

In a genre not discussed in Alföldy's study, the calendars and *Fasti*, the names and titles of Augustus and of his successors occupy a recurrent and very important place, as pointed out by Rüpke in his 1995 study, and particularly in his chapter whose title 'Die *Fasti* und die Geburt der Augusteischen Epigraphik' echoes Alföldy's article.⁴¹ Engraved in marble, the calendars become monuments in their own right and they are seen as an emblem of Augustan religious renewal. Of course both Julius Caesar and Augustus were honoured by having their names entered in the Roman calendar, when the month *Quin(c)tilis* became *Iulius* in 44 BC, and when *Sextilis* became *Augustus*, in 8 BC. As for the *Fasti Consulares*, the fragments of the long lists of names of the consuls today conserved in the Palazzo dei Conservatori and whose original location has been much discussed,⁴² the *ordinatio* of this list underlines and even exaggerates the effect of the ubiquity and recurrence of Augustus' names and titles, each first line of each year of his reign beginning with *Imperator Caesar Divi filius Augustus*, followed by the mention of his *tribunicia potestas*.⁴³

There can be no better proof of the importance Augustus attached to epigraphy than his *Res Gestae*, that 'queen of inscriptions' in which he records his achievements and which not only begins but also ends with the mention of inscriptions. Augustus brings his record to a close with the decision of the Senate, the Equestrian Order, and the People of Rome to celebrate his title of *pater patriae*.⁴⁴

When I was holding my thirteenth consulship [2 BC], the senate and equestrian order and people of Rome all together hailed me as father of the fatherland, and decreed *that this title should be inscribed in the forecourt of my house and in the Julian senate house and in the (p.325) Augustan forum under the chariot*, which was set up in my honour by senatorial decree. When I wrote this I was in my seventy-sixth year [AD 13/14]. (RG 35; trans. A. Cooley; emphasis added)

On several other occasions, Augustus refers to inscriptions in relation to his restoration and rebuilding of Rome, and particularly to the choice of names engraved on the buildings and temples.⁴⁵ His words give us an impression of the control he exercised over this process, and his remark that he also restored buildings 'without inscribing my name' ('sine ulla inscriptione nominis mei') is evocative, particularly when one considers that one of them was the Theatre of Pompey.⁴⁶ In some cases he states that he arranged for the inscription of the names of the previous builders in the inscription,⁴⁷ in other cases for the inscription of the names of his sons Gaius and Lucius ('sub titulo

nominis filiorum meorum') and of his son-in-law Marcellus ('sub nomine').⁴⁸

The essential point should now be obvious. Augustus exploited in a massive way the capacities of epigraphy as a means of communication and found in it a perfect vehicle to shape, diffuse, and memorialize his image and his programme in Rome and throughout the Empire. The processes are complex and certainly evolve over time, but the picture represented by the surviving material offers us a consistent picture of the scale and power of the Augustan epigraphic habit. As Augustus rewrites Rome and writes his name into the very fabric of the city, it will come as no surprise that other writers of the day were alive to what he was doing, came under his influence, and reacted in their own written medium to the changes they saw taking place around them.⁴⁹

There are several places in the *Aeneid* where Vergil gestures towards different forms of epigraphy.⁵⁰ A full discussion of this phenomenon would have to look, perhaps most obviously, at the Caieta episode which opens Book 7 and the **(p.326)** Palinurus and Misenus episodes with which it is explicitly connected.⁵¹ These opening lines of the second half of the epic, a strikingly marked position, have long been read as an example of genre-crossing between epic and epigram.⁵² However, since it is not immediately obvious that this inclusion of reference to sepulchral epigram owes its presence in the *Aeneid* to the precedent of Augustan epigraphic usage, our attention will focus on two other passages in the poem, one in which our grasp of the relationship with imperial epigraphy is relatively secure, another in which it is rather more elusive.

In the third book of the *Aeneid* the Trojan fleet arrives at Leucate, where there is a temple of Apollo (3. 274-5). Thereabouts, amidst some slight geographical confusion, they celebrate games on the Actian shore ('Actiaque...litora', 3. 280). Next, Aeneas dedicates a shield containing an inscription, fixing it to the doors of the temple:

aere cavo clipeum, magni gestamen Abantis,
postibus adversis figo et rem carmine signo:
AENEAS HAEC DE DANAIS VICTORIBVS ARMA.
(A shield made of hollow bronze, once carried by great
Abas, | I fix on the facing door-posts and I mark there a line
of verse: | AENEAS DEDICATES THESE ARMS TAKEN
FROM VICTORIOUS GREEKS.)⁵³ (Verg. *Aen.* 3. 286-8)

For many contemporary Roman readers this combination of Apollo, Actium, and games would have been deeply resonant. In his *Life of*

Augustus, Suetonius records that after the Battle of Actium Octavian went to great lengths to mark the site with a fitting memorial of his victory:

Quoque *Actiacae* victoria memoria celebratior et in posterum esset, urbem Nicopolim apud *Actium* condidit *ludosque* illic quinquennales constituit et ampliato vetere *Apollinis* templo locum castrorum, quibus fuerat usus, exornatum navalibus spoliis Neptuno ac Marti consecravit. (So that the victory of *Actium* would be even more celebrated in the memory of future generations, he founded the city of Nicopolis nearby and established *games* there to take place every five years. He enlarged the ancient temple of *Apollo* and, having adorned the place where his camp had been with spoils from the enemy ships, he dedicated it to Neptune and Mars.) (Suet. *Aug.* 18. 2; trans. Edwards (2000); emphases added)

(p.327) The archaeological record preserves part of the inscription that was set up at this campsite memorial. The most recent edition of the text reads:⁵⁴

vacat [Imp · Caesa]r · Div[i · Iuli ·] f · vict[oriam · consecutus · bell]o · quod · pro [· r]e-[· p]ublic[a] · ges[ist]t · in · hac · region[e · cons]ul [· quintum · i]mperat[or · se]lptimum · pace [·] parta · terra [· marique · Nep]tuno [· et Ma]rt[i · c]astra [· ex ·] quibu[s · ad · hostem in]seq-[uendum egr]essu[s · est · navalibus · spoli]is · [exorna]ta · c[onsacravit] *vacat*

(Imperator Caesar, son of the divine Julius, following the victory in the war which he waged on behalf of the Republic in this region when he was consul for the fifth time and commander-in-chief for the seventh time, after peace he had secured on land and sea, consecrated to Neptune and Mars the camp from which he set forth to attack the enemy, which is now ornamented with naval spoils.) (Text and trans. Zachos (2003))

It seems obvious that in having Aeneas set up an inscription near Actium Vergil is inspired by Octavian's actions. Chronologically, of course, the poem's narrative presents the gesture of Aeneas as prefiguring that of Octavian.⁵⁵ In each case an Actian inscription is set up to record a victory.⁵⁶ It has also been pointed out that there is a further metapoetic element, a form of *mise en abyme*, as in Vergil's epic we see Aeneas composing a hexameter verse which contains the word 'arma', the author of which is the 'vir' of the poem's famous opening verse, 'arma virumque cano'.⁵⁷ Aeneas' celebratory Actian inscription, with its pointed combination of Trojan defeat and victory inscribed in

hexameter form, thus seems to go so far as to function as a kind of originary moment for the *Aeneid* itself, an epic long read as a meditation on both triumph and loss.

Our second example of epigraphic interaction in Vergil involves a highly problematic case for all attempts to make sense of the ways in which the poem relates to the Augustan context. Over the years, there has been intense discussion **(p.328)**

of the relationship between the Forum of Augustus and the Parade of Heroes in *Aeneid* 6, when Aeneas sees in the Underworld the future generations of Romans waiting to be born.⁵⁸ Some scholars argue that the date of the dedication of the Forum, 2 BC, precludes any possible interaction between the text and the monument. Others, however, argue that direct influence on the *Aeneid* is indeed possible given that the temple was originally dedicated at Philippi in 42 BC and that Vergil could have had knowledge of ongoing planning.⁵⁹ Happily, only one small detail of this debate

need concern us here. It has often been noted that the images of the Roman ancestors in the Forum contained encomiastic inscriptions recounting their most famous deeds. One of the surviving fragments reads thus (*CIL* VI 8.3 40931; Fig. 15.5):

(p.329)



Fig. 15.4. Arles: Marble copy of the *clipeus Virtutis*, prob. 26 BC (*AE* 1952, 165).

Aen[e]a[s]



Fig. 15.5. Rome, Museum of the Imperial Forums: fragment of pedestal from the Forum of Augustus in Lunense marble with inscription referring to Aeneas (*CIL* VI 8.3 40931).

primus] | Latin[orum rex] | regnav[it annos III].
(Aeneas, [first king] of the Latins, reigned [for three years].) (*CIL* VI 8.3 40931)

There is clearly some kind of intertextual relationship between this inscription below the image of Aeneas in the Forum and Jupiter's prophecy concerning Aeneas at *Aeneid* 1. 265–6:

tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aestas
ternaque transierint Rutulis hiberna subactis.
(until the third summer sees him reigning in Latium | and
three winters pass for the Rutilians after their defeat.)
(Verg. *Aen.* 1. 265–6)

There are various explanations for the similarities.⁶⁰ Vergil's knowledge of the plans for the Forum may have led him to include this particular detail in one of the most intensely Augustan passages in the whole epic, Jupiter's stunning prophecy, early in the poem, of Roman might and endless rule ('imperium sine fine', 1. 279). However, the detail of Aeneas' three-year rule is not a Vergilian invention. It is in fact part of the Aeneas legend and among the surviving sources is recorded by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Roman Antiquities* 1. 64. 3). Vergil, therefore, did not **(p.330)** need to know about the Forum in order to refer to Aeneas ruling in Latium for precisely three years. This fact, when allied to the late dating of the Forum (2 BC) compared to the publication of the *Aeneid* (19 BC), raises the possibility that the interaction should be seen from the opposite perspective and that the persons composing the *elogia* for the images in the Forum were

drawing on the Aeneas legend as canonized in the *Aeneid*. Either way, this is a case of intriguing interaction between an Augustan literary text and contemporary epigraphic culture. More specifically, the similarity between the inscription and the text of the *Aeneid* is a reflection of the parallel between Vergil's writing of the *Aeneid* and Augustus' manipulation of the narratives of Roman history in art and architecture, a process which as well as leading to the construction of many monuments also involved the composition of countless inscriptions. If it could be demonstrated that Vergil did indeed have detailed knowledge of the plans for the Forum, we would have a fascinating insight into the genesis of important elements in the poem's Augustan discourse. On the other hand, if the inscription is seen as referring to the Aeneas legend and/or the *Aeneid*, we would have an example of the impact of Vergil's epic on Roman epigraphic culture.⁶¹ The latter option of course puts pressure on the literary culture of the reader of the inscription in the Forum. In approaching the question from this angle, that of a reader of the inscriptions who knows the *Aeneid*, we are lucky enough to be in a position to identify one such individual.

At *Fasti* 5. 545–98 Ovid describes Mars as a visitor to the Forum of Augustus and its temple of Mars Ultor. It is a passage of quite extraordinary brilliance from which we can focus only on a short section:⁶²

hinc videt Aenean oneratum pondere caro
et tot Iuleae nobilitatis avos;
hinc videt Iliaden umeris ducis arma ferentem, 565
claraque dispositis acta subesse viris.
spectat et Augusto praetextum nomine templum,
et visum lecto Caesare maius opus.
(Here he sees Aeneas burdened by his beloved father | and
many noble ancestors of the Julian line; | here he sees the
Trojan carrying on his shoulders the arms of a general |
and the famous deeds beneath all the images in a line | and
he looks at the temple adorned with the name of Augustus |
and on reading the name of Caesar the work seems
greater.) (Ov. *Fast.* 5. 563–8)

In this moment, Ovid goes so far as to present us with an image of Mars in the process of reading the inscriptions in the Forum.⁶³ Constantly drawn into the divine gaze ('hinc videt...hinc videt...spectat et...'), the reader sees Mars (**p.331**) looking at both the images of Aeneas and other great men ('claraque dispositis acta subesse viris') with the accompanying inscriptions of their *acta* and also at what must be the great inscription on the architrave of the temple ('Augusto praetextum nomine templum').⁶⁴ Furthermore, the poet actually informs his readers

of the reaction of the deity to his reading of this inscription, when he says that after reading the name of Caesar ('lecto Caesare'), the 'work' (opus) appears greater. The term 'opus' here is deliberately ambiguous. It could refer to the temple itself, but it could also refer to the achievements recorded on it. And there may be another layer of meaning present. The expression 'maius opus' here may have led many readers to recall its use at *Aeneid* 7. 45, the prologue to the second half of the *Aeneid*, where Vergil describes the second half of his epic precisely as a 'greater work' (maius opus). Among the reasons for his doing so is the fact that he is now turning to his Iliadic narrative of war.⁶⁵ The possible Ovidian allusion to *Aeneid* 7 sits alongside further use of Vergil. As Ovid has Mars 'read' the Forum, he also alludes to another section of the *Aeneid* many visitors to the Forum will have read, that is to precisely that passage of *Aeneid* 1, Jupiter's prophecy, where we have been arguing for a parallel between the epic and the inscribed monument.⁶⁶ By incorporating allusion to Vergil within his description of the Forum, Ovid is drawing attention to the links between the Forum of Augustus and that of the Julian version of Roman history offered to Jupiter by Venus in *Aeneid* 1. In doing so he imposes a collusive reading of both the inscription on the temple of Mars Ultor and Jupiter's prophecy. In the end, the inscription on the architrave and the literary text both celebrate Augustan peace. It is a typically Ovidian twist that in the *Fasti* and in the Forum it is the god of War who is doing the reading. With typical wit and skill, Ovid is looking at and pointing up the workings of the Augustan discourse as it is produced in both literary text, the already canonical *Aeneid*, and in the monumental architecture and epigraphy of what was perhaps the grandest and most ambitious Augustan building of them all.

Alignment of Augustan literary text and monumental architecture receives probably its most famous and memorable statement in the final poem of the third book of the *Odes* of Horace:

Exegi monumentum aere perennius
regalique situ pyramidum altius,
quod non imber edax, non Aquilo inpotens
(p.332)

possit
diruere
aut

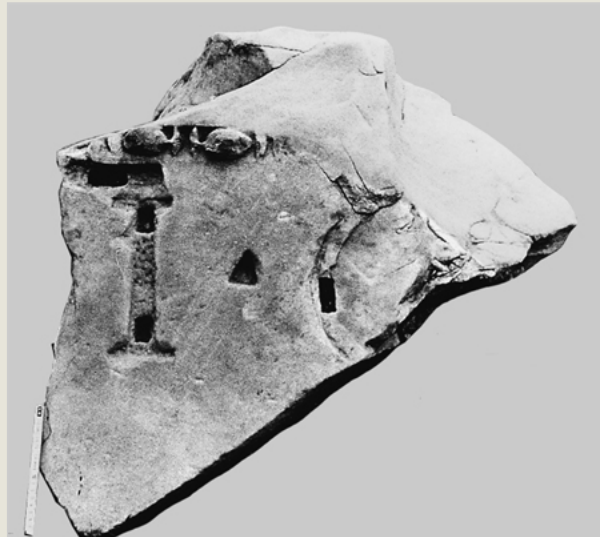


Fig. 15.6a. Fragment of the dedication on the Architrave of the Temple of Mars Ultor, Rome, 12 May 2 BC (*CIL* VI 8.2 40311).

IMP-CAESAR-DIVI-PAVGVSTVS-PONTIFEX-MAXIMVS-IMP-XIII-COS-XIII-TRIBVNICA-POTESTATE-XXI-PATER-PATRIAE
EX-MANIBVS-DONO-DEDIT
IDEMQVE-CVM-C-ET-L-CAESARIBVS-FILIS-COS-DESIGNATIS-PRINC-PIRVS-IVVENTVTIS-DEDICAVIT

Fig. 15.6b. Reconstruction by G. Alföldy of the dedication on the Architrave of the Temple of Mars Ultor, Rome, 12 May 2 BC.

innumerabilis
annorum series et fuga temporum.
(I have built a monument more lasting than bronze | and
set higher than the pyramids of kings. | It cannot be
destroyed by gnawing rain | or wild north wind, by the
procession | of unnumbered years or by the flight of time.)
(*Hor. Carm.* 3. 30. 1-5; trans. West (2002))

Intense scholarly discussion has been devoted to unpicking the precise nature of the relationship that this sentence evokes between the poet's 'monument' and the pyramids (see Houghton, Ch. 16 in this volume). For our purposes it will suffice to concentrate on one point: for a Roman reader of this text it will have been obvious that an essential element in the poem's internal logic will have been the fact that there was an inscription carved on the bronze. It is the realization that a Roman reader would immediately have thought of an inscribed monument that reveals an essential element in the comparison with Horace's poetic achievement. While the inscription will be worn away

in the end by the forces of nature, the *Odes* will endure forever. Horace is clearly drawing on epigraphic habits even as he adopts the form of literary signature known as the *sphragis*. As Woodman has written: 'Horace's *Odes* are his tombstone, and this final ode, the epilogue, is the epitaph (p.333) inscribed upon them.'⁶⁷ Galinsky has taken the connection between Horace's textual *monumentum* and the bronze even further. In discussing the expression *aere perennius* ('more lasting than bronze', line 1), he notes as follows: 'The range of references here includes bronze plaques on tombs, bronze tablets that had laws engraved on them...and the long-standing mania for honorific statues in Rome...'.⁶⁸ Horace goes beyond the obvious paradox that a written poetic text will outlast buildings, statues, and their inscriptions, as well as surpassing his Greek lyric models Pindar, Bacchylides, and Simonides.⁶⁹ Through his poetry and its reception down the ages his immortality is ensured, but whereas a tombstone or statue can carry only the name of a person, some essential quality of the man himself will be preserved in his texts which, as something more than mere words, surpass the communicative and memorializing capacities of inscribed stone and bronze.⁷⁰ And when the specific Augustan context is taken into account, given that in 23 BC, generally agreed to be the year of the publication of *Odes* 1–3, mention of the pyramids could not fail to evoke the recent Roman conquest of Egypt and perhaps even a new fashion in memorial pyramids in Rome,⁷¹ the poet's monumental gesture must surely be seen in the light of specifically Augustan epigraphic practices. Horace relates his provincial birthplace to contemporary Rome (*Carm.* 3. 30. 10–12), his poetry to both the Greek literary past (13) and the future of Roman society (8–9). His poem is definitively Augustan in its sense of grandeur, confidence, and triumphalism, but also in its evocation of Roman ritual and imperial control of space and time. Like Augustus, Horace is writing his way to immortality. But the poet suggests that his monument will survive those of the *princeps*. In typically Horatian manner, the poem both encodes the discourses of Augustan epigraphy and culture, and subtly distances itself from them.⁷²

We have treated *Odes* 3. 30 in isolation because of the fact that it is so well known and its opening so often quoted, but it is important to point out that in its evocation of Augustan architecture and epigraphy, it is by no means unique in the collection. Rather, it fits into and brings to a conclusion a coherent thematic nexus running through the first three books of *Odes* in which Horace evokes the physical reality of the city of Rome and its relationship to Italy and the wider world. Horace's creation of a lyric space involves a continuum that works outwards

from **(p.334)** the sympotic couch towards the confines of Empire.⁷³ Commentaries on these themes of Books 1–3 may be found in the fourth book, published ten years later.⁷⁴

At *Odes* 4. 8. 13–20 Horace explicitly contrasts the superiority of poetry over inscriptions when it comes to memorializing great men:⁷⁵

Non incisa notis marmora publicis 13
...
clarius indicant 20
laudes quam Calabrae Pierides
(Not marble slabs incised with public records |...confers
such clear praise |...as do the Muses of Calabria) (Hor.
Carm. 4. 8. 13, 20–1; trans. West (2002))

The importance of epigraphic commemoration in contemporary Rome is emphasized once again in *Odes* 4. 14, which begins thus:

Quae cura patrum quaeve Quritium
plenis honorum muneribus tuas,
Auguste, virtutes in aevum
per titulos memoresque fastus
aeternet, o, qua sol habitabilis
inlustrat oras, maxime principum?

(What efforts by the Senate, what efforts by the citizens, |
could immortalize your virtues, Augustus | and pay you due
honour in inscriptions | and on commemorative days, | O
greatest of princes, wherever the sun | bathes habitable
shores in light?) (Hor. *Carm.* 4. 14. 1–6; trans. West (2002))

These lines, in a poem that goes on to recall directly *Odes* 3. 30 (cf. 4. 14. 25–6 and 3. 30. 10–11 for mention of the Aufidus and Daunus; cf. also ‘per memores...fastus’, at *Odes* 3. 17. 4), refer to epigraphy in order to suggest that the achievements of Augustus all over the world may surpass the ability of inscriptions to embrace them. But even as it does so, the poem draws the attention of the reader to the fact that it is also through *this* text, as well as in honorific *tituli* and *fasti*, that the virtues of Augustus can be memorialized.⁷⁶ Once they are praised within the Horatian lyric text, the power of Horace’s poetry exceeds the abilities of epigraphic celebration. The Augustan *vates* once more brings his poetry into dialogue with other written forms of celebration of the victorious *imperator*.⁷⁷ For further **(p.335)** thoughts along similar lines, we can turn to Ovid and to the completion of our survey.

A considerable body of recent work on Roman elegy generally and on Ovid in particular has begun to reveal the fascinating ways in which this corpus is of particular interest for those interested in 'literary epigraphy'.⁷⁸ This research liberates us from the need to study a brilliant and dense series of epigraphic moments in Propertius, Tibullus, and Ovid.⁷⁹ Obviously, given the generic interplay between elegy and epigram and Hellenistic precedent for complex play between written and inscribed epigram, it would be difficult to prove that all these literary inscriptions owe much to the evolving Augustan epigraphic habit. Nevertheless, despite the intensely literary background, there are occasions on which it seems necessary to take into account contemporary epigraphic practice. Propertius 1. 21, for example, draws on the traditions of sepulchral epigraphy, but by doing so in relation to the civil conflict at Perugia it has been seen as inviting a reading of the *Cynthia* from a political perspective.⁸⁰ A reader of Propertius' first book who has also read the tombstones of men killed in the Italian civil wars of the 30s BC may indeed bring a particular slant to bear on his interpretation of the elegist's self-positioning in relation to the *acceptum imperium* (1. 6. 34).⁸¹ Subsequently, readers may always wish, in one way or another, to relate those occasions on which the elegists write their names into their texts in the form of inscriptions to the evolutions of the Augustan epigraphic discourse.⁸²

Obviously, in any consideration of the connections between Augustan elegy and epigraphy, Ovid's *Fasti* immediately comes to mind as a central text, and it is a fascinating exercise to read this poem with an eye for epigraphic gestures. If, for example, we take a passage like *Fasti* 1. 590–616, we encounter an intense concentration on reading and titles, beginning thus:

perlege dispositas generosa per atria ceras:
contigerunt nulli nomina tanta viro.
(*Read* the waxen images set up in wide halls: | No other
man has received such grand *titles*). (Ov. *Fast.* 1. 591–2)

(p.336) Ovid refers to reading the titles which accompanied masks in Roman houses,⁸³ and then goes on to focus on the titles of great Romans and on the names of Octavian, especially that of 'Augustus' ('augusta', 'augusta', 'augurium', 'auget', 'augeat', 'augeat', all concentrated in verses 608–13).⁸⁴ Again, at the opening of Book 2, he states that his subject matter is 'the times marked in the *fasti*' ('signataque tempora fastis', 2. 7). After thus relating his *Fasti* to the inscribed *fasti* with which Romans would have been familiar and that were of great interest to Augustus, he goes on to describe his

literary activity as *his* 'military service' ('militia'), in contrast to 'real' Augustan warfare, before once again returning to epigraphy and to names and titles:

at tua prosequimur studioso pectore, Caesar,
nomina, per titulos ingredimurque tuos.
(But we follow your names, Caesar, with attentive heart, |
and we make our way through your titles.) (Ov. *Fast.* 2. 15–16)

Ovid here draws his readers' attention to the Augustan epigraphic habit. As he makes his way through the calendar year, he likens the process to a journey on which the names of 'Caesar' are visible at every turn.⁸⁵ As we have seen, precisely one of the reasons for the development of Augustan epigraphy was to ensure that the various titles of Augustus would indeed be legible all over Rome, and indeed all over the world. Ovid seems to suggest, as he does elsewhere and in many different ways, that the Roman calendar and year have become Augustan and so in the writing of his *Fasti* he is inevitably entering into dialogue with Augustus' rewriting of Roman time, and indeed his rewriting of the Roman *fasti*.⁸⁶

There may be related play in Ovidian love elegy. At highly marked moments in his *Ars Amatoria* Ovid draws on the erotic tradition, following Propertius and Tibullus, of inserting his own name in inscriptional mode into his text, first at the end of Book 2:

sed quicumque superarit Amazona ferro
inscribat spoliis NASO MAGISTER ERAT.
ecce, rogant tenerae sibidem praecepta puellae:
vos eritis chartae proxima cura meae.
(But whoever conquers his Amazon, | let him inscribe on
his spoils NASO WAS MY TEACHER. | But now young girls
seek my advice: | you will be the concern of my next book.)
(Ov. *Ars* 2. 743–6)

Exactly the same 'inscription' appears once again at the very end of Book 3:⁸⁷

(p.337) ut quondam iuvenes, ita nunc, mea turba, puellae
inscribant spoliis NASO MAGISTER ERAT.
(Like the boys, so let the girls, my followers, | inscribe on
their spoils, NASO WAS MY TEACHER.) (Ov. *Ars* 3. 811–12)

On one level, given the literary precedent of his two fellow elegists, this is simply a typical generic play on the relationship between elegy and epigram with accompanying play on the dividing line between purely literary/textual and inscribed/functional epigram. On a more specific

level, Ovid here replaces in Roman erotodidaxis Tibullus, who had described himself as ‘magister amoris’ at 1. 4. 75. Furthermore, as in *Odes* 3. 30 and, as we shall see, at the close of *Metamorphoses* 15, what we have here is in effect a *sphragis*. But the mention of *spolia* and the use of *turba* seem to evoke the image of a triumph and certainly relate the inscription expected to be written by the *puellae* to more formal and public forms of epigraphy. If we take into account the Augustan epigraphic context, is it possible to suggest that in inscribing his name in this way Ovid is drawing attention to the pervasive presence of another frequently inscribed name in contemporary culture, that of Augustus?⁸⁸ How the relationship between poet and *princeps* is to be defined is of course a notoriously slippery topic, as scholars disagree over the nature of Ovid’s attitude to Augustus and even over how that very question should be formulated. But whatever one’s approach, it seems obvious that Ovid was an astute reader of the Augustan epigraphic habit, as our final example will demonstrate.

In chapter 6 of her *Textual Performance, Roman Elegists and the Epigraphic Tradition* (2007), Teresa Ramsby turns to study Ovid’s epic inscriptions. She discusses three examples of formal quotation of an inscribed text: Phaethon at *Met.* 2. 327–8, Iphis at 9. 794, and Caieta at 14. 443–4. Obviously, Ovid continues doing in epic what he had done so often in elegy, while his Caieta episode in particular reveals him to have been a fine reader of epigraphic gestures in the *Aeneid*. Among other moments in the poem, it is impossible not to mention here Ovid’s vision of a Golden Age in which there is no need for inscribed laws:

poena metusque aberant, nec verba minantia fixo
aere legebantur
(Punishment and fear were absent, and threatening words
set | in bronze were not there to be read) (Ov. *Met.* 1. 91–2)

It is difficult also to omit two other moments: that in the speech of Alcyone to Ceyx, when she expresses her fear of the sea by referring to the names inscribed on the empty tombs of shipwrecked sailors (‘in tumulis sine corpore nomina legi’, *Met.* 11. 429 (I have read names inscribed on empty tombs));⁸⁹ and also the account of the fate of Hyacinthus, transformed into a flower, which seems to contain the inscribed letters AI AI (‘ipse suos gemitus foliis inscribit et AI AI | flos habet inscriptum’, *Met.* 10. 215–16 (he himself inscribes his groans on the leaves **(p.338)** and the flower carries AI AI)).⁹⁰ But we will focus here on the end of Book 15. As Ovid slips into the final movement of his long poem, he turns to the apotheosis of Julius Caesar to provide its climax, bringing his narrative, as promised at the outset, down to his

own times ('ad mea...tempora', *Met.* 1. 4.). In doing so, in tune with those times, he allots an important role to epigraphy.

As Venus foresees the assassination of Julius Caesar, she is terrified and angry that she can do nothing to prevent it. The narrator in response points out that Fate cannot be avoided (*Met.* 15. 780-1) and Jupiter takes up this same response a few lines later (*Met.* 15. 807-42):

talibus hanc genitor: 'sola insuperabile fatum,
nata, movere paras? intres licet ipsa sororum
tectum: cernes illic molimine vasto
ex aere et solido rerum tabularia ferro, 810
quae neque concursus caeli neque fulminis iram
nec metuunt ullas tuta atque aeterna ruinas;
invenies illic incisa adamante perenni
fata tui generis: legi ipse animoque notavi
et referam, ne sis etiamnum ignara futuri. 815
(With these words her father replied, 'Do you alone, my daughter, attempt to change unconquerable fate? You may go yourself to the house of the three sisters; there you will see the great archives, a huge work of bronze and hard iron, which fear neither the collisions of the sky nor the anger of lightning, nor, safe and eternal, do they fear destruction of any kind. There you will find the fates of your family cut in eternal steel. I myself have read them and marked them in my memory; and I will tell you, so that you will not be ignorant of the future.) (*Ov. Met.* 15. 807-15)

These lines equate the home of the Fates, figures which in the epic tradition go back to Homer's *Iliad*, to the Tabularium, the home of the official archives of the Roman state.⁹¹ The significance of this comparison works on a number of levels. Most obviously, the inviolability of the written laws underlines the inability of Venus to prevent the death of Julius Caesar. But on a more complex level, given the historical context, the combination of fate and a building containing unbreakable inscribed laws creates in the reader's mind, with the benefit of hindsight, the idea that in some sense the whole of Roman history had indeed been written out in fixed, inscriptional form. Jupiter explicitly states that if Venus goes to the home of the Fates, she will find all the history of her family inscribed on eternal steel ('incisa adamante perenni | fata tui generis', 813-14). When he goes on to say that he himself has read these inscriptions and taken good note of them ('legi ipse animoque notavi', 814), a further layer of meaning comes into play. As the reader ponders the use of the word 'legi' (I have read, 814) and the striking image of Jupiter engaged in careful research in an archive of inscriptions, she or he must also recall that this whole scene

is modelled on an episode in the first book of the *Aeneid*. There, distraught at the attempt of Juno to destroy her son by means of a great storm, Venus complains to Jupiter on behalf of Aeneas, exactly as she does in Ovid about another of her sons, Julius Caesar. The imitation of the Vergilian scene **(p.339)** is detailed and obvious. Therefore, when Jupiter says that he has read the inscriptions, the reader should no doubt consider that he has also read another text, the *Aeneid*, in which the fated history of Venus' family—that is, of Rome itself—was revealed.⁹² In a sense, what Ovid does here is to monumentalize the *Aeneid* (and no doubt at the same time Ennius' *Annales*), casting his epic predecessors as embodying inscribed massive and authoritative versions of Rome's history. As he does so, Ovid is writing in direct imitation of Jupiter's prophecy in *Aeneid* 1, a text that itself, as we have already seen, is involved in a complex relationship with the Augustan epigraphic habit.

Ovid's consideration of recent Roman history following the assassination of Julius Caesar allows him to bring the narrative of his poem to an end by looking forward to the apotheosis of Augustus. As the father yields to the (adoptive) son, Ovid compares them with other father-son pairs, Atreus and Agamemnon, Aegeus and Theseus, Peleus and Achilles, Saturn and Jupiter. The expression he uses to express the comparison between their respective reputations evokes the image of inscribed titles ('sic magnus cedit titulis Agamemnonis Atreus', *Met.* 15. 855 (thus great Atreus yielded to the honorific titles of Agamemnon)), which means that he is still thinking in epigraphic terms. Once again, the poet evokes the power of inscriptions to memorialize, but at the same time hints at the issue of the failure to do so in equally efficient ways over time. It is this long-term vision that he brings to the fore in the final lines of the poem (*Met.* 15. 871–9), which are devoted to an epilogue, in the form of a *sphragis*, in which the poet talks about himself and his poem.

Ovid proclaims that he has completed a work ('opus exegi', 871) that will last forever, fearing neither thunderbolt nor rain, nor iron, nor time. At his death, he goes on, part of him will rise to the stars and his name will be indelible, 'nomenque erit indelebile nostrum' (876), and that he will be read by the people wherever Roman power holds sway and that he will live forever. As has long been recognized, these brilliant lines rework closely Horace, *Odes* 3. 30, but it has been less often pointed out that Ovid picks up on the specifically epigraphic element in the Horatian claim to immortality. But as Hardie has noted: 'If we think of the *Metamorphoses* as Ovid's funerary monument, the poem is a cenotaph, since the poet is not dead, but eternally alive, like the unfortunate Aesacus at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the

thirteenth books.⁹³ This is indeed a poem in which the final word is 'vivam' (I shall live), and its final metamorphosis comes just when the reader realizes that the mortal poet will in fact enjoy immortal fame. On one level this shift represents the idealized concept of poetry as pure song and a free, disembodied voice. But Ovid is thinking about poetry and text on more than one level and we must also allow that one thing will never change. On the monument that is his poetic achievement his name will remain forever, 'indelebile' (15. 876), a word that makes its first appearance here in surviving Latin literature. Perhaps we are meant to ponder whether in the end, despite the massive number of inscriptions carrying the name of Augustus (the last word used of him in the *Metamorphoses*, as has been often pointed out, is 'absens' (15. 870)), it is instead that of the poet that will be the only name that cannot be erased: will **(p.340)** Augustus yield to the titled fame ('cedit titulis' (855)) of Ovid? Certainly, Ovid imagines himself as becoming a book at the end of his epic, but perhaps it is also as an indelible inscription that he imagines himself being read by the Roman people.⁹⁴

If we are prepared to believe that the poets of Augustan Rome did indeed consciously relate their works to the explosion of inscribed texts born of the Augustan *furor epigraphicus*, we may perhaps end with a final thought that brings us back to the theme of periodization with which we began. Some scholars argue that Vergil, Horace, Propertius, and Tibullus are better thought of as Triumviral poets and that Ovid, in chronological terms, is the only major poet who may be thought of as truly Augustan.⁹⁵ Considered in this way, he may be our best poetic witness to Augustus and the birth of imperial epigraphy. And if that is the case, then Ovid becomes an important figure in the history of the phenomenon this book is attempting to survey. Either way, and at the end of the day, it may be argued that Ovid's expression of hope in some kind of literary immortality at the end of the *Metamorphoses* is a statement of optimism that is quite in keeping with a recurring and essential theme in the Augustan discourse of peace and renewal, and one that practitioners of the epigraphic habit are still keen to convey in the modern equivalent of *litterae aureae* (Fig. 15.7)

(p.341) Abbreviation

LTUR:
Steinby, M.
(1993-2000).
*Lexicon
Topographicum
Urbis Romae*. 6
vols. Rome.

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Fig. 15.7. Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh, 7 December 2010.

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(¹) Barchiesi (2005) 281.

(²) Strictly speaking the title 'Augustus' became official in 27 BC, but it is clear that many of the trends that are generally thought of as Augustan in nature were in operation much earlier; see e.g. Millar (2000); Scheid (2005). On the question of periodization, see now Flower (2010).

(³) See MacL. Currie (1996). Note also Putnam (1986) 302, where *Odes* 4. 15 is described as 'one grand *titulus* of the emperor'.

⁽⁴⁾ For the inscribed *fasti*, see Degrassi (1947), (1963) with Rüpke (1995); Pasco-Pranger (2006); Feeney (2007) ch. 6.

⁽⁵⁾ See e.g. Millar (1993) 2 = (2002) 323, who notes that the 'late-Augustan' and 'post-Augustan' period is marked by the 'production of long and complex inscribed texts which can be seen not merely as counterpoints to the literature of the period, but as a sub-branch of literature in themselves'. On these texts, see, for example, Rowe (2002). On textuality and monumentality in Augustan poetry, see Lowrie (2009) and Houghton, Ch. 16 in this volume. In general on the relationship between epigraphy and literature in the Graeco-Roman world, see Sandys (1927) 1-19; Stein (1931) with a very useful index (45-9); Chevallier (1972); Calabi-Limentani (1983) 29-37; Millar (1983) = (2002) 39-81, esp. 52-61. For recent studies of a specific genre, author or book, see, for example, Tremoli (1960); Horsfall (1986); Fedeli (1989); Moles (1999); Zelazowski (2001); Sironen (2003); Nelis-Clément and Nelis (2005); Zizza (2006); Ramsby (2007); Coleman (2008); Liddel (2008); Lane Fox (2010); Agosti (2010); Bettenworth (forthcoming). For studies of more recent literary traditions, see, for example, Newstok (2009); Mathieu (2010).

⁽⁶⁾ Future research on the Augustan period will have to build from the work of Wallace-Hadrill (2008) and Lowrie (2009). More generally, see Bresson et al. (2005); Corbier (2006); Johnson and Parker (2009); Peachin (2011) chs 8-11.

⁽⁷⁾ Galinsky (1996) 385.

⁽⁸⁾ Alföldy (1991), inspired by Eck (1984); see also Luce (1990); Alföldy (1992). Rushforth (1930 [1893]) is an extremely useful collection of inscriptions.

⁽⁹⁾ Alföldy (1991) 322.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Alföldy (1991) 292.

⁽¹¹⁾ The title of a chapter of his book *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, originally published in German (1987) and then translated into English (1988) as *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*. This book has been enormously influential. See now also Wallace-Hadrill (2008).

⁽¹²⁾ Panciera (2007).

⁽¹³⁾ Panciera (2007) 1095.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Alföldy (1991) 292. These figures represent only the tip of the iceberg if we consider the total number of 20 to 40 million inscriptions, according to recent estimates; see Alföldy (2004) 148. For a recent discussion of these figures, see Meyer (2011) 191 n. 3.

⁽¹⁵⁾ *CIL* I² 6-9 = VI 1284-7, cf. 4670-1 (and VI 31587) = *CLE* 6-7 = *ILS* 1-3 = *ILLRP* 309-10, and see Langslow, Ch. 7 in this volume; in general on Republican epigraphical traditions, see e.g. Niquet (2003) 151-6, esp. 154-5; Panciera (2007); Berrendonner (2009); Ferrary (2009).

⁽¹⁶⁾ Plutarch, *Sull.* 38. 6 mentions Sulla's epitaph and *Sull.* 19. 9-10 the inscriptions engraved on his trophies, among them a dedication to Mars, Victoria, and Venus; on Sulla's dedication to Diana placed on the doors of the temple and inside the *aedes* on a *tabula aerea*, see Velleius 2. 25. 4; Appian, *BC* 1. 451-2 cites the text of the inscription engraved on the base of a gilded equestrian statue of Sulla (figured on an *aureus*, cf. Crawford (1974) 381), which was erected near the *rostra* in the Forum by vote of the Senate in 82 BC; see also Velleius 2. 61. 3; toppled after Pharsalus, this statue, with the statues of Pompey, was restored by Caesar: Plutarch, *Caes.* 57. 4-6 and Suetonius, *Jul.* 75. 7 and *Aug.* 31. 9; see Flower (2006) 106-7 and more generally on Sulla and the political use of epigraphy Mayer (2008).

⁽¹⁷⁾ Plutarch, *Pomp.* 27 (Pompey reading the inscriptions erected for him in Athens) and *Pomp.* 45 (on the *tituli* carried in Pompey's triumphs in Africa, Europe, and Asia, with the names of all the regions he had conquered); on Pompey's trophy in the Pyrenees, see Cassius Dio 41. 24, Strabo 4. 1. 3. See also Diodorus Siculus 40. 4, Pliny, *Nat.* 7. 97. 8 with Cooley (2009) 32-3.

⁽¹⁸⁾ Plutarch, *Ant.* 60. 6 (in Athens); on the inscription he erected for Julius Caesar, see following n.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Cassius Dio 43. 14. 6 (46 BC) for an inscription on a bronze statue of Caesar describing him as a demi-god; he later ordered the removal of this title (43. 21. 2; according to Servius Danielis, *Buc.* 9. 46, Augustus set up another statue with the inscription *Caesari emitheo*; see Bringmann and Wiegandt (2008) 196-7). A statue with the inscription PARENTI OPTIME MERITO was erected on the *rostra* by Mark Antony (Cicero, *Fam.* 12. 3. 1); a *columna* of almost twenty feet was erected by the *plebs* in the Forum with the inscription PARENTI PATRIAE (Suetonius, *Jul.* 85; the same expression is used of Augustus in an inscription from Pisidia: *CIL* III 6803 = *ILS* 101); see also Plutarch,

Caes. 6. 1-2 and Suetonius, *Jul.* 11. 2 (restoration of the trophies of Marius); on these statues and inscriptions, see Kienast (2001) 9-10.

⁽²⁰⁾ Appian, *BC* 5. 130; see also Velleius 2. 61. 3; *AE* 1989, 342b with Højte (2005) 240-1, 68, perhaps erected the same year in Syracuse.

⁽²¹⁾ On this inscription with a title already well attested for Pompey in Asia Minor, see Schuler (2007); cf. *AE* 2007, 1505; this title, often used for gods, underlines the direct presence, supervision, and universal control of Augustus on land and sea, a motif already known in Hellenistic panegyric poetry and which recalls the expression 'custos imperi Romani totiusque orbis terrarum praeses' given to Augustus by the decurions of Pisa (*CIL* XII 1421 = *ILS* 140); see also Hor. *Carm.* 4. 15. 17, 4. 4. 1-2; also Ovid, *Fast.* 1. 529-36.

⁽²²⁾ On the process by which Octavian-Augustus came to dominate personally a sphere which had been occupied by competing figures under the Republic, see e.g. Eck (1984), (1999), (2010); Flower (2006) 122-3; Panciera (2007) 1101.

⁽²³⁾ *CIL* V 4305 = *ILS* 75 with Alföldy (1991) 293.

⁽²⁴⁾ See Højte (2005) 229-63 and 159-60 (on the statue bases erected in connection with Augustus' travels).

⁽²⁵⁾ On the inscription on the Trophy of Nicopolis, see p. 327 below and also Cassius Dio 53. 26. 4-5 (on an arch with trophies erected in the Alps, probably in Aosta, in 25 BC) and Pliny, *Nat.* 3. 136-8 (inscription on the *tropaeum Alpium* dedicated to Augustus in La Turbie by the *gentes Alpinae omnes...redactae*), *CIL* V 7817 and 7818 with Højte (2005) 242, 80, and 79; Binniger (2006); and Mayer (2007) 174; see also Horace, *Odes* 2. 9. 18-20: '...et potius nova | cantemus Augusti tropaea | Caesaris.

⁽²⁶⁾ Millar (1984) 47-53; Corbier (2006); Nelis-Clément (2006) 141-8.

⁽²⁷⁾ Ostrow (1990).

⁽²⁸⁾ See Ovid, *Fast.* 2. 634-7, 5. 145-6 and 147 with Tarpin (2008) 44-7 and Wallace-Hadrill (2008) 275-95 for discussion; more generally, see Fraschetti (2008).

⁽²⁹⁾ See e.g. Kantiréa (2007) 108-9.

⁽³⁰⁾ von Hesberg and Panciera (1994); Ganzert (1996) 191-3; Alföldy (1992); see also now *CIL* VI. 8. 2-3 (1996 and 2000); Orlandi (2007).

⁽³¹⁾ See e.g. Buonocore (2007).

⁽³²⁾ See e.g. Corbier (2001); Horster (2001); Deniaux (2007); Kantiréa (2007); Mayer (2007); Paci (2007); Kreikenbom (2008); Stylow (2008); Trunk (2008); Witschel (2008). See also for recent editions of the *RG* Scheid (2007) and Cooley (2009).

⁽³³⁾ *SEG* 18. 555 = Sherk (1969) 61 = *IK* 5-Kyme 17 = *AE* 1979, 596; Millar (1984) 51–2; Hurlet (2006) 46, 204–9.

⁽³⁴⁾ *CIL* XII 136 = *ILS* 6755 = *RIS* III 253; see also Witschel (2008) 95–6 and Højte (2005) 85, 243. Walser believed that the title *pater patriae* (of which the first word is today almost invisible on the stone) could have been added after 2 BC, but Wiblé informs us that ‘rien n’indique une reprise du texte, une érasion, voire un repolissage à l’époque antique’ (email communication of 22 October 2010). According to Cassius Dio (55. 10) the title of *pater (patriae)* was already in use before being formally conferred and established by decree in 2 BC; see also *CIL* II 2107 = *ILS* 96 and Swan (2004) 104.

⁽³⁵⁾ See also Bergmann (2010) 374, 382; on Augustus, *RG*, and coins, Simon (1993); and on monuments of Rome as coin types, Hill (1989) figs. 82, 86, 87, 90, 99–101, 105, 111; see also Price and Trell (1977) figs. 125 and 128.

⁽³⁶⁾ Schnegg-Köhler (2002) 42 ll. 149–50; see also Lowrie (2009) 123–41.

⁽³⁷⁾ On the legibility, see Schnegg-Köhler (2002) 14, 288 (photograph) with von Hesberg (2009) 43, despite the omission in the drawing of the fragments B and C discovered in 1984.

⁽³⁸⁾ See, in general, Corbier (2006).

⁽³⁹⁾ On the use of bronze letters, see Alföldy (1990) 68–74, (1992) 18, 57, and on the brilliance of the Forum in general, 69–71; the letters of an inscription dedicated by the Senate for Lucius Caesar and found in the ruins of the Basilica Aemiliana in the Forum Romanum were 24.5 cm in height (*CIL* VI 4.3 36908 with Eck (1984) 147 and 164). For the bronze inscription (42–4 cm in height) of the Theatre of Marcellus, see Orlandi (2007) and Monterroso (2010), esp. 48–51 with *RG* 21.1, Cassius Dio 53. 30. For traces of letters in bronze of 20 cm in Byllis in Albania, see Deniaux (2007) 126–7 figs. 5–6; of 23 cm in Cordoba: *AE* 2007, 769. The bronze was in some cases covered with gold; see Alföldy

(1990) 68–74, (1992) 69–73, Tacitus, *Ann.* 3. 57. 2 and 3. 59. 2, Suetonius, *Nero* 10. 2.

(⁴⁰) See Favro (2005).

(⁴¹) Rüpke (1995) 174–86, esp. 174–5.

(⁴²) Feeney (2007) 285 n. 1; Rüpke (1995) 186–8. See also Nedergaard (2001) and (2004).

(⁴³) *Inscr. Ital.* XIII.1 59; Feeney (2007) 179 fig. 10.

(⁴⁴) Cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 2. 127–34 with Herbert-Brown (1994) 43–63. On the famous chariot of the Forum Augustum, see now Strocka (2009).

(⁴⁵) *RG* 20.4: ‘I restored eighty-two temples of the gods in the city as consul for the sixth time [28 BC], and I neglected none which needed repair at the time’; on his ‘restoration’ of religious buildings, rites, *ludi*, see e.g. Horace, *Odes* 3. 6. 1–8, Ovid, *Fast.* 2. 59–66 (with Herbert-Brown (1994) 33–43), Livy 4. 20. 7 and Scheithauer (2000) 51–5; on Augustus’ control of the names engraved on the buildings restored by him, see Suetonius, *Aug.* 31. 8–9, Cassius Dio 56. 40, and in general Horster (2001) 20–98. More generally, on Augustan control of Roman memory, see Gowing (2005) 18–27. Control of memory implies of course control of the art of forgetting, on which, see Flower (2006).

(⁴⁶) *RG* 20. 1; note however *CIL* VI 9404: ‘...in scola sub theatro Aug. Pompeiano...’ One wonders what Romans may have thought on reading the modest ‘sine ulla inscriptione’ engraved in the massive inscription carrying *RG*.

(⁴⁷) *RG* 19.1.

(⁴⁸) *RG* 20. 3; 21. 1 (Marcellus); on the inscription, see n. 39.

(⁴⁹) See e.g. Livy 4. 20. 5–11 on Augustus and the authenticity of Cossus’ inscription, with the discussion of Sailor (2006). In this chapter we will concentrate on the poets, but it is noteworthy that recent scholarship on Livy has made much of his imagery of monumentality and revealed the ways in which the writing of his history amounts on one level to a monumental rebuilding of Rome in a manner that is in dialogue with the Augustan discourse; see e.g. Kraus (1994); Jaeger (1997). On the delicate question of the precise nature of the relationship between Augustus and the poets, much has been written and opinions differ widely; from a huge bibliography, see Griffin (1984),

(2005); White (1993); Thomas (2001) ch. 1. On the trope of 'writing Rome', see e.g. Edwards (1996); Jaeger (1997); Barchiesi (1997) 69–73.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Lowrie (2009) 142–74 contains discussion of some of the relevant issues and gives a good impression of the wider context in discussing the issues of monumentality, authority, and performance. See also Thomas (1988) 216–19 on sepulchral epitaphs and Horsfall (1986).

⁽⁵¹⁾ See Dinter (2005) and in this volume, Ch. 14. The technique of embedding a funerary epigram in epic narrative goes back to the *Iliad*; see Thomas (1988) 205–7. More generally, on the *Eclogues*, see Breed (2006).

⁽⁵²⁾ Vergil evokes Caieta's actual epitaph with the words 'honos... tuus' (*Aen.* 7. 3), which are best translated as 'the honours shown you', i.e. in the form of a tomb (Horsfall (2000) ad loc.), and thus actually refer to her funeral monument. The subsequent use of 'nomen' in line 3 ('ossaue nomen |...signat', *Aen.* 7. 3–4) has in turn been taken to allude to Caieta's inscribed name, but some prefer to associate it instead with the place name; see Horsfall (2000) 48–9 for full discussion. Horsfall picks up the fact that Vergil here, as well as referring back to the deaths of Palinurus and Misenus in Books 5 and 6, is also recalling the death of Deiphobus at *Aeneid* 6. 507, where he says of the hero's cenotaph 'nomen et arma locum servant'. Norden (1957) 81 translates this by 'Waffen nur und Namensaufschrift zeichnen | Jenes Grab', and Horsfall quips, 'Norden's "Aufschrift" might be right but he wisely does not venture to detect mention of four inscriptions in V.'s text and a busy stone-cutter on board Aen.'s ships!'

⁽⁵³⁾ Unless otherwise attributed, all translations are our own.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ On the site and the inscription, see Murray and Petsas (1989); Zachos (2003). The text is taken from Zachos (2003) 76, where Zachos cautions that *Marti et Neptuno* should perhaps be read instead of *Neptuno et Marti*; see also AE 2007, 1286 and Kantiréa (2007) 89–93.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Servius (*Aen.* 3. 274) notes that Vergil, *in honorem Augusti*, has Aeneas do exactly what Augustus had done after Actium; see Drew (1927) 99. For full discussion of the various levels of interaction, see Paschalis (1987); West (1994) 58; Gurval (1995) 81–2; Stahl (1998) 60; Miller (2009) 95–6; Lowrie (2009) 167–88. On the identity of Abas, see Miller (1993).

⁽⁵⁶⁾ See Stahl (1998) 68–70. Octavian's Actian inscription is dated to 29 BC by Murray and Petsas (1989). On Actium in the *Aeneid*, see Gurval

(1995) ch. 5 (he underplays the importance attached to the whole Actian victory and the use made of it by Augustus in Rome) and, more generally, Miller (2009) ch. 2.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ See Barchiesi (1995) 5–6. It is worth noting also that on the shield of Aeneas, when Vergil has Vulcan fashion images of the post-Actian triple triumph, Octavian will be described as ‘recognizing gifts’ and fixing them on temple doors, ‘dona recognoscit populorum aptatque superbis | postibus’ (8. 721–2). These votive offerings will have included shields taken from the defeated enemy (cf. *Aen.* 8. 186 and Gransden (1976) ad loc.), thus certainly recalling Aeneas’ gesture in Book 3 and emphasizing the connection with Octavian; see Gransden (1976) on 8. 721–2; Barchiesi (1997) 276. Inscribed shields must have had a particular resonance in contemporary Rome given the *clipeus virtutis*, the gift of which in 27 BC Augustus thought important enough to record at *Res Gestae* 34; for a fragmentary copy of an engraved shield found in Augustus’ Mausoleum, *CIL* VI 8.2 40365 (with bibliography on the other copies and among them the copy found in Arles (Fig. 15.4)). On Vergil’s reworking of the Augustan virtues of the shield (*virtus*, *clementia*, *iustitia*, *pietas*) in the shield of Aeneas, see Drew (1927) 27–31.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Important also of course are the description of the Palace of Latinus at *Aeneid* 7. 170–91 (see Rowell (1941)) and the depiction of the generations of Romans on the shield of Aeneas at 8. 626–728.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ For a recent discussion of these matters, see Harrison (2006), arguing for the influence of the planning for the Forum on the *Aeneid*. It is important to note that some scholars are highly sceptical about the historicity of the vow made at Philippi, arguing that the idea is a later (c. 12 BC) invention; see Boyle (2003) 210–11 for discussion.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ It must be noted from the outset that the inscription is augmented in the light of the text of the *Aeneid*, but Vergil is in turn indebted to earlier accounts of the Aeneas legend. For the various sources that mention the three-year rule of Aeneas, see Horsfall (1974) 112; in general, see e.g. Galinsky (1996) 197–213 and Geiger (2008) 49–51 for discussion of the Forum and the parallels with the *Aeneid*.

⁽⁶¹⁾ On this phenomenon, see e.g. Hoogma (1959); Horsfall (1986) 44, *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* s.v. Epigrafia.

⁽⁶²⁾ On the Forum Augustum in Ovid’s oeuvre, see Boyle (2003) 98–102, 205–11; in relation to the *Fasti*, see Riedl (1989).

⁽⁶³⁾ For the numerous inscriptions of the Forum (the most recent editions of which are in *CIL* VI 8.3) and their impact, see Velleius 2. 39 and 2. 104. 2, Pliny, *Nat.* 22. 13, Suetonius, *Aug.* 31. 5, Cassius Dio 55. 10, 56. 40 with Alföldy (1992) 67–75; Geiger (2008) 62. Note also *CIL* VI 8.2 31267 = *ILS* 103, the base of a gold statue probably representing the province of Baetica and weighing almost 33kg; ‘Imp(eratori) Caesari Augusto p(atrici) p(atriciae) Hispania ulterior Baetica quod beneficio eius et perpetua cura provincia pacata est auri p(ondo) C (=centum)’, with Alföldy (1991) 309, (1992) 71–3. In general on representations of the provinces, see Cancik (1997).

⁽⁶⁴⁾ On the restitution of the full text of this inscription from the tiny surviving fragment, see Alföldy (1992) 17–32, now enshrined in *CIL* VI 8.2 40311 (Figs. 15.6a and 15.6b). For a different restoration, see Ganzert (1996) 70–5, 191–3. In general on the Forum and the temple, see, from a massive bibliography, Kockel (1995); Spannagel (1999); Ganzert (2000); Ungaro (2007) 118–29; Geiger (2008).

⁽⁶⁵⁾ See Galinsky (1996) 211–12; Barchiesi (2002) 12.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ The links between this passage as a whole and the prophecy of Jupiter in *Aeneid* 1 have been worked out by Barchiesi (2002) 19–22 and Harrison (2006) 181–2, noting particularly the parallel between Vergil’s description of *Furor* at *Aeneid* 1. 294–6 and a painting in a highly frequented position in the Forum (Pliny, *Nat.* 35. 27, 93–4) depicting a triumph of Alexander the Great and including a personified War with his hands tied behind his back; note also Pliny, *Nat.* 34. 20 for another connection between Alexander the Great and the temple of Mars Ultor.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ Woodman (1974) 116.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ Galinsky (1996) 352. See also on monumentality and textuality in *Odes* 3. 30, Gibson (1997); Habinek (1998) 110–14; West (2002) 262; Lowrie (2009) 117–22; and Houghton, Ch. 16 in this volume. On Roman use of bronze inscriptions, see Williamson (1987); Ferrary (2009); and in general Haensch (2009).

⁽⁶⁹⁾ See Galinsky (1996) 351 and Nisbet and Rudd (2004) ad loc. for the poem’s reworking of Greek lyric models. The latter take the reference to be to bronze statues, which is probably too narrow, but even statues would have carried an inscription, which means that even if one wishes to follow Nisbet and Rudd and reduce the range of reference, Horace is still establishing a parallel between his poetic text and an object

carrying an inscription. The added point here is that even if rain, wind, and the passage of time do not totally destroy the pyramids and other monuments, they will much more easily and quickly efface the texts inscribed upon them.

(⁷⁰) See Woodman (1974) 121.

(⁷¹) See Gibson (1997); West (2002) 262.

(⁷²) See Lowrie (2009) 120–1.

(⁷³) There is much of interest on these and related topics in Lowrie (2009) ch. 3.

(⁷⁴) The limited space available does not permit study of the *Carmen Saeculare*, which is of course a unique example of an Augustan text for which we have an inscription providing us with detailed information about its performance; on the inscription, see the excellent Schnegg-Köhler (2002) and for a recent reading of the poem, see Lowrie (2009) 123–41.

(⁷⁵) Horace may have in mind here the statues with their *elogia* in the Forum Augustum; see Fedeli and Ciccarelli (2008) ad loc. for discussion.

(⁷⁶) Note S. 1. 6. 17, where Horace mocks those who are impressed by honorific inscriptions, ‘qui stupet in titulis et imaginibus’.

(⁷⁷) On the expression ‘pater urbium’ at *Odes* 3. 24. 27, which is printed capitalized in many editions as PATER VRBIVM to show that Horace imagines it as an inscription on statues (‘subscribi statuis’, 29), see Woodman and Martin (1996) 228 n. 1. Woodman argues that the expression is ‘close to meaningless’ and that instead ‘urbium’ is to be construed with ‘statuis’, which would then mean something like ‘if he wants “Father” to be inscribed on his statues in the cities’. We would like to thank Prof. Woodman for drawing our attention to his discussion of this question.

(⁷⁸) See Dinter, Ch.14, and Houghton, Ch. 16 in this volume and their bibliographies; see also Videau (2010) 71–130. Bettenworth (forthcoming) will also move the debate forward in interesting ways. One contribution that has often escaped notice is Fedeli (1989).

⁽⁷⁹⁾ On Catullan precedents, see Thomas (1988) 214–16; Ramsby (2007) 39–50. Note also Cornelius Gallus 145 (Hollis (2007)), where the poet looks forward to ‘reading’ the temples of gods made richer by being fixed with Caesar’s spoils (‘multorum templa deorum | fixa *legam* spoileis deivitiore tueis’, 4–5), where the use of ‘*legam*’ surely (cf. Courtney (1993) 266) implies that the spoils and or the temples carry inscriptions; for discussion of the word’s meaning, see Gómez Pallarès (2005); *AE* 2005, 152; Hollis (2007) 246. We would like to thank J. Miller and A. Keith for drawing our attention to this text. Gallus is of course fascinating as one who was both a poet and an inscriber of epigraphic texts; on his poems, see now Hollis (2007) 219–52; on his inscriptions, see Alföldy (1990); Hoffmann et al. (2009).

⁽⁸⁰⁾ See Du Quesnay (1992) on Propertius 1. 21 and epitaphs; for political readings in the light of 1. 21, see Ramsby (2007) 71; Breed (2009); Heslin (2010).

⁽⁸¹⁾ Translations of this difficult expression vary; for example, ‘popular government’ (Goold (1990)), ‘an accepted rule’ (Heyworth (2009)), ‘a welcome administration’ (Heslin (2010)). For updating of Propertius’ first book in 33 BC, see Heslin (2010). On another poem of Propertius, 4. 11, as a type of tomb inscription, see Ramsby (2007) 66–70; Cooley (2009) 33; Lowrie (2009) 349–59.

⁽⁸²⁾ Cf. Houghton, this volume, Ch. 16, sect. 1.

⁽⁸³⁾ See Flower (1996) 207 and n. 105 for the *imagines* and their *tituli* in Roman *atria*. For the occurrence of ‘perlege’ on *carmina epigraphica*, see Courtney (1993) 397.

⁽⁸⁴⁾ See Herbert-Brown (1994) 122–3. Cf. also *Fast.* 2. 127–32 where in close succession we encounter ‘pater patriae’, ‘nomen’, ‘nomina’, ‘pater orbis’, and ‘nomen’.

⁽⁸⁵⁾ On Augustus and his titles in the *Fasti*, see Herbert-Brown (1994) ch. 2.

⁽⁸⁶⁾ On Augustus and the Roman *fasti*, see Feeney (2007) 172–93. Much has been written on Ovid’s *Fasti* in recent years. From a huge bibliography, see Barchiesi (1997); Pasco-Pranger (2006).

⁽⁸⁷⁾ Cf. *Amores* 1. 11. 27, 2. 13. 25 and *Tristia* 3. 3. 76 for Naso once again on an imaginary inscription. In general for the practice of the elegists in naming themselves and evoking their literary production, career, and reception, see Houghton, Ch. 16 in this volume.

(⁸⁸) For Augustus as a *magister*, see Schnegg-Köller (2002) 26 (for the text of Fr. C of the *acta* of the *Carmen Saeculare* where Augustus is 'mag(ister) XV vir(or)um s(acris) f(aciundis)') and 52–3.

(⁸⁹) See Hardie (2002) 81–91 on tombs and cenotaphs in the *Metamorphoses*.

(⁹⁰) See Hardie (2002) 64–5.

(⁹¹) See Bömer (1986) ad loc. and *LTUR* s.v. Tabularium. On imperial archives, see e.g. Gros (2001).

(⁹²) Feeney (1991).

(⁹³) Hardie (2002) 96.

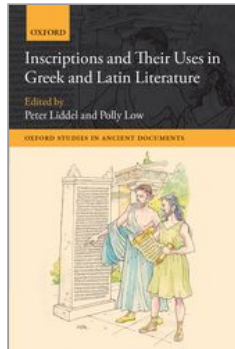
(⁹⁴) For Ovid as book, see Feeney (1991) 249; for Ovid and the concept of pure song and disembodied voice, see Farrell (1999) with the discussion of Hardie (2002) 91–7.

(⁹⁵) See e.g. Millar (1993) = Millar (2002) ch. 14.



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Epitome and Eternity: Some Epitaphs and Votive Inscriptions in the Latin Love Elegists

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Abstract and Keywords

In few (if any) genres of Roman poetry do 'embedded' inscriptions appear with such regularity or such prominence as in Latin love elegy. Propertius, Tibullus, Ovid, and their elegiac successors all rank the composition of epitaphs for their own personae and for other inhabitants of their poetic world among their chief literary pastimes — and the same is true of votive inscriptions, of which the genre includes numerous examples. Part of the reason for this may be suggested by Horace's account of the earliest uses of the elegiac couplet at *Ars poetica* 75-6: *versibus impariter iunctis querimonia primum, | post etiam inclusa est voti sententia compos* ('As for unequally-matched elegiac verses, first of all lamentation, and afterwards also the fulfilment of vows, was their content'.) This chapter explores some of the functions performed by these epigraphic interventions in Latin love poetry, concentrating particularly on the ways in which epitaphs and votive inscriptions serve to summarize and epitomize the poetic contexts in which they appear, and on how, by undermining the mimetic character of these embedded inscriptions and/or emphasizing their

essential textuality, the elegists set out their claim to the more potent immortality of their literary monuments.

Keywords: love elegy, dedications, epitaphs, Propertius, Ovid, monuments and monumentality, permanency

In a recent review of Teresa Ramsby's *Textual Permanence: Roman Elegists and the Epigraphic Tradition* (2007), I took issue with the author on a number of points relating to her interpretations of the Roman elegists' treatment of fictive inscriptions in their poetry.¹ I should probably begin, therefore, by emphasizing that what follows can make no claim to being what I argued Ramsby's study was not, namely the 'last words [*nouissima uerba*] to be spoken on the subject'; nor, in the space afforded by this chapter, can I give adequate attention to all or even most of the omissions (for example, the elegists' debt to the numerous epitaphs and other inscriptions in Hellenistic literature, particularly the epigrams of the Greek Anthology) I identified in *Textual Permanence*. There is plenty more to be said on the epitaphs and votive dedications 'embedded' in the corpus of Latin love elegy.² In this chapter I shall consider two issues raised by the elegists' presentation of such lapidary material in their poems, one of which is noted (though generally in passing) by Ramsby,³ while the other represents an important qualification of her thesis that the presence of epitaphs lends a monumental durability to the work of Propertius, Tibullus, Ovid, and others.⁴ The first of these is the use of epitaphs **(p.350)** (primarily those imagined by the first-person speaker for his own tomb, although the *amator* is by no means the only inhabitant of the elegiac world to receive an epitaphic tribute) and votive inscriptions to summarize or encapsulate the particular passage, the entire poem, or even the wider collection in which they are found; the second is the undercutting of these monuments' claims to independent immortality by the elegists' repeated insistence on the textuality of these incorporated inscriptions, and on their reliance on the surrounding elegiac text as a guarantee of survival, rather than the other way round.

1. Epitome

The most important component of a Roman funerary monument was its inscription: the form of words by which the dead person's name and accomplishments were to be transmitted to posterity constituted, after all, his or her final and most enduring statement.⁵ Not only were the elegists acutely aware of the supposed sepulchral origins of their genre,⁶ but the brief flowering of the elegiac genre at Rome in the first century BC coincided with an explosion in the number of inscribed epitaphs both in the capital and further afield.⁷ The convergence of these two factors, together with the existing tradition of epitaphs incorporated within longer literary works (see e.g. [Theocritus] 23. 47–8; Meleager, *AP* 5. 215. 5),⁸ provides at least part of the explanation for these poets' recourse to epitaphic modes of expression, even to the point of embedding memorial lines for themselves and their characters in their verse: the literary texts respond to (and no doubt shape in their turn) the increasing epigraphic literacy of their anticipated audiences. In so far as the epitaph also provided a summary or abbreviated record of the life of the person commemorated, it also goes some way towards accounting for a particular feature of the elegists' self-composed epitaphs, namely their tendency to serve as an epitome of the broader poetic contexts in which they appear.

In some cases, this manipulation of epitaphic material to insinuate erotic, elegiac concerns has long been recognized. When, at the end of the opening poem of his second book, Propertius envisages a time when he will become 'a brief name on a tiny tombstone' ('breue in exiguo marmore nomen', 2. 1. 72), not only is his memorial characterized with an epithet—*exiguus*—frequently used in Roman literary criticism to describe the elegiac genre itself,⁹ but the eulogy Maecenas is urged to pronounce over his client's remains combines stylistic and thematic features of the epitaph (a demonstrative pronoun, indication of **(p.351)** cause of death)¹⁰ with some of the most typical vocabulary and subject matter of love elegy: 'huic misero fatum dura puella fuit' (For this poor man a hard-hearted girl was his fate, 2. 1. 78).¹¹ The representation of the lover as 'wretched', *miser*, is almost programmatic for the genre of elegy after its occurrence in the first line of Propertius' first book;¹² the notion of the beloved as her infatuated lover's 'destiny' forms a regular ingredient in the conceptual matrix of the Propertian corpus;¹³ while the cruelty of the 'hard-hearted girl' ('dura puella') is the constant motivation for the lover-poet's laments.¹⁴ Similarly, when Propertius asks for QVI NVNC IACET HORRIDA PVLVIS | VNIVS HIC QVONDAM SERVVS AMORIS ERAT (He who now lies unkempt dust, | of a single love was he once the slave) to be inscribed on his tomb as the culmination of his imagined funeral at 2. 13. 35–6, the two elements

encapsulated in the pentameter—devotion to a single love ('unius... amoris'), to the point of slavery ('seruus')—represent in a narrow compass two of the most characteristic postures of the Propertian lover-poet.¹⁵ Other recurring motifs—disregard for wealth and ancestry, the usurpation of family values by the disreputable *puella*, dedication to poetry (and in particular, poetry of a markedly diminutive, Callimachean variety: *libelli*, 2. 13. 25)—have already featured prominently in the prescriptions for his funeral delivered by the *amator* in the lines immediately preceding, as well as earlier in the poem (whose unity this résumé might thus be argued to confirm).¹⁶ Taken together, then, funeral and epitaph offer a representative, if rather drastically condensed, conspectus of Propertius' conception of the nature of his passion.¹⁷

The choice of the epitaph as a vehicle for the expression of fundamental elegiac preoccupations may owe something, as suggested above, to the elegists' awareness of contemporary theories concerning the development of the elegiac couplet (see n. 6). A similar tendency can be observed in Propertius' use of another epigraphic genre popular among the epigrammatists of the Greek Anthology, the votive inscription, which is coupled by Horace with sepulchral epigram in his survey of the original uses of the elegiac metre at *Ars poetica* 75–6, 'uersibus impariter iunctis querimonia primum, | post etiam inclusa est uoti sententia compos' (lamentation first of all was contained in verses unequally joined, | and after that the expression of a fulfilled vow as well).¹⁸ Perhaps the most telling example of this is to be seen in Propertius 2. 14. 21–8:

(p.352) pulsabant alii frustra dominamque uocabant;
mecum habuit positum lenta puella caput.
haec mihi deuictis potior uictoria Parthis,
haec spolia, haec reges, haec mihi currus erunt.
magna ego dona tua figam, Cytherea, columna 25
taleque sub nostro nomine carmen erit:
HAS PONO ANTE TVAM TIBI DIVA PROPERTIVS AEDEM
EXVVIAS TOTA NOCTE RECEPTVS AMANS.

(Others hammered at her door in vain, and called her their mistress; but it's on *me* the girl leaned her head, unmoved [or 'relaxed']. For me this is a victory preferable to conquered Parthians, this will be my plunder, this my captive kings, this my triumphal chariot. Grand offerings, Cytherea, shall, I fix upon your pillar, and under my name there'll be a poem like this: THESE SPOILS, GODDESS, I PROPERTIUS SET BEFORE YOUR SHRINE, LET IN AS LOVER FOR THE ENTIRE NIGHT.) (Propertius 2. 14. 21-8)

Lines 21-2, with their vignette of the frustrated attempts of Propertius' rivals to gain admittance to Cynthia, introduce the popular elegiac theme of the excluded lover, or *exclusus amator*.¹⁹ We then have two verses on a no less characteristic *topos*, *militia amoris*, in which military terminology is applied, often provocatively, to the lover's escapades.²⁰ After a prefatory advertisement of the site of the dedication (25-6), the poet quotes the words to be inscribed on his offering; as we might expect, these are at first reminiscent of the language of genuine inscriptions: *pono*, the demonstrative *has*, an address to the deity,²¹ and the name of the sponsor. But once we reach the pentameter, we realize that the dedicatory lines serve to summarize and conclude the preceding paragraph: in 'exuuias' (28) we hear once again the language of *militia amoris* (cf. 'spolia', 24), while 'receptus amans' recalls the favoured lover of 21-2 and his excluded rivals. The two earlier couplets are thus conflated into a short, epigrammatic formulation which, coming at the end of the section, provides a neat summary of its material—and thereby creates a much more immediate impact on the mind of the reader.

Recognition of the synoptic quality of the Propertian funeral-plus-epitaph in 2. 13 helps to account for the form taken by the earliest embedded inscription in surviving Latin elegy. Commentators on Tibullus 1. 3 are united in their astonishment that the epitaph requested by the elegist on Phaeacia makes no mention of, or even implicit allusion to, his love for Delia or the poetry that purports to articulate that love.²² Instead, he chooses to be commemorated for his loyalty to his patron Messalla:

quod si fatales iam nunc expleuimus annos,
fac lapis inscriptis stet super ossa notis:
HIC IACET IMMITI CONSUMPTVS MORTE TIBVLLVS55
MESSALLAM TERRA DVM SEQVITVRQVE MARI.

(p.353) (But if I have now already filled up my allotted years, cause a stone to stand over my bones with this inscription: HERE LIES TIBULLUS, WASTED BY CRUEL DEATH, WHILE HE FOLLOWED MESSALLA BY LAND AND SEA.) (Tibullus 1. 3. 53-6)

As in later elegiac examples, the verses to be engraved on Tibullus' tombstone preserve something of the flavour of genuine epitaphs: the introductory 'hic iacet' (55);²³ the name of the deceased; the reproach of death's cruelty ('immiti...morte', 55).²⁴ In the case of Roman soldiers, it is not unknown for the name of a commander ('Messallam...sequitur', 56) to appear in the inscriptions of his subordinates (cf. *CIL* I² 708, lines 4-5). But Tibullus' epitaph is not simply a compendium of conventional themes, as becomes apparent on examination of the wider context in which the couplet occurs. In the language of lines 55-6, we find a number of echoes of words and subjects that have previously featured in the course of the poem:²⁵ Messalla, for instance, is addressed by name in the first line of the elegy, while the denunciation of death as 'immitis' (55) serves to connect Tibullus' demise with the 'immitis...ars' of the present age reviled in 1. 3. 48, thereby insinuating that the evils of man's postlapsarian existence are to be held responsible for his death.²⁶

This impression is corroborated by the appearance of the phrase 'terra...mari(que)' in the pentameter. Tibullus' primary purpose is probably to emphasize, by a distribution over two terms, the extent of his attachment to Messalla—that is, he has followed him everywhere;²⁷ but 'mare' has just been listed as one of the perils of modern life at line 50, and the absence of seafaring has appeared as a prominent feature of the Golden Age under Saturn in 1. 3. 35-40. The use of 'terra' perhaps looks back to 'ignotis...terris' in line 39, which itself recalls the same expression (occupying an identical metrical position) in line 3, 'me tenet ignotis aegrum Phaeacia terris' (Phaeacia holds me, sick, in an unknown land)—again a connection is invited between the more general deterioration of mankind and the speaker's present predicament. So the phrasing of Tibullus' epitaph, though it contains no reference to love or poetry, is inextricably bound up on a thematic level with some of the poem's most pervasive concerns.²⁸ And at least one of these concerns, the lover-poet's devotion to his patron, extends beyond this piece into the broader framework of the collection as a whole (cf. 1. 5. 31-4, 1. 7; also 2. 1. 31-6, 2. 5. 119-20). Tibullus 1. 3. 55-6 do not in themselves offer a comprehensive summary of the motifs of Tibullan elegy, but—like the poet's description immediately following this couplet of the eroticized underworld to which he can look forward after death²⁹—they nonetheless perform a consolidatory function. Read in

conjunction, epitaph and afterlife are complementary: between them they **(p.354)** encapsulate and juxtapose the two major strands of the poet's world, Messalla and Delia³⁰ (that these two elements are in fact mutually incompatible is revealed at greater length in Tibullus' acknowledgement of the impossibility of the dream vision that seeks to unite them at 1. 5. 21-34).

This at least partly syncretistic character of the earliest elegiac inscription, and its use of material from the standard repertoire of sepulchral themes and formulae, are both still to be found at the other end of the chronological spectrum of elegy. 'Lygdamus' and Ovid claim to have been born in the same year, 43 BC, and they convey this information in identical terms ('cum cecidit fato consul uterque pari', Ov. *Tr.* 4. 10. 6 = [Tib.] 3. 5. 18); other echoes (e.g. [Tib.] 3. 5. 16 ~ Ov. *Ars* 2. 670) seem to confirm that the pseudo-Tibullan poet is an elegiac emulator of post-Ovidian date.³¹ He was sufficiently well versed in the techniques of his predecessors, however, to have appreciated the composite significance of the elegiac epitaph, and to have attempted something similar when he came to try his hand at this characteristic cliché of the genre:

sed tristem mortis demonstret littera causam
atque haec in celebri carmina fronte notet:
LYGDAMVS HIC SITVS EST DOLOR HVIC ET CVRA
NEAERAE
CONIVGIS EREPTAE CAVSA PERIRE FVIT.³⁰

(But let an inscription indicate the sorry cause of my death,
and on its public face let it mark this poem: LYGDAMUS IS
PLACED HERE, FOR HIM GRIEF AND CARE FOR HIS
STOLEN PARTNER NEAERA WERE THE CAUSE OF HIS
DEATH.) ([Tib.] 3. 2. 27-30)

From its first, tentative germ in Tibullus, the lover-poet's epitaph had undergone a transformation at the hands of Propertius into a consistent vehicle for defining and epitomizing the principal emphases of his particular brand of elegy; in this wider conception Lygdamus follows the later elegist, as he had already done in the lines on his funeral and burial immediately preceding this passage ([Tib.] 3. 2. 9-26).³² So, after the most recognizably lapidary opening possible,³³ Lygdamus presents us with two of the most charged items of elegiac vocabulary, 'dolor' and 'cura' (29).³⁴ Although we are scarcely two poems into the collection, both terms have already been used by Lygdamus with reference to his relationship with the unfaithful *puella* Neaera ('cura', [Tib.] 3. 1. 19; 'dolor', 3. 2. 3, 6).³⁵

Neaera herself is then introduced (29) as the object of this 'dolor' and 'cura', and labelled Lygdamus' 'coniunx' (30): irrespective of whether or not the speaker of these poems and his *domina* are to be imagined as joined in a regular marriage, Lygdamus' presentation of his affair in the language of *coniugium* has formed an **(p.355)** important part of his elegiac programme up to this point in the collection (3. 1. 23–8, 3. 2. 4, 3. 2. 14).³⁶ The phrase 'Neerae | coniugis ereptae' (29–30) summarizes the dramatic situation of the poem, recalling 'erepta coniuge' in line 4, while the *puella*'s identification as the cause of her lover's death, as promised in line 27, not only locates the epitaph within a well-established tradition of sepulchral discourse (see n. 10), but by this time also looks back to the manipulation of that *topos* by Propertius (2. 1. 78, above) and Ovid's heroines (see *Ep.* 2. 147–8, 7. 195–6).³⁷ And of course Neaera was Lygdamus' 'causa **perire**' (30) in more senses than one—both his elegiac beloved and the source of the ostensibly more literal death commemorated by this inscription.³⁸ It is almost as if, by cramming as many elegiac keywords as he possibly can into his self-composed epitaph, 'Lygdamus' is challenging his readers to come up with anything more 'elegiac' than *this*, and thereby parading his credentials as a worthy inheritor of the genre.

The longest contribution to the tradition of elegiac epitaphs comes not in the predominantly erotic setting of earlier elegy, but in Ovid's *Tristia*, where the *exclusus amator* of previous Ovidian elegy has become the *expulsus poeta* seeking readmission to Rome from Tomis. In *Tristia* 3. 3, Ovid writes to his wife, imagining—like his predecessors in erotic elegy (see e.g. Tib. 1. 3. 5–10, Prop. 1. 17. 19–24)—the comforting death and funeral he can no longer expect (3. 3. 37–46), and imploring his lawful wedded *domina* (41) to arrange at least the return of his remains for burial at Rome, where their resting-place will be marked by two couplets summarizing the career of the author and invoking the favour of passers-by in true epigraphic fashion:³⁹

...quosque legat uersus oculo properante uiator,
grandibus in tumuli marmore caede notis:
HIC EGO QVI IACEO TENERORVM LVSOR AMORVM
INGENIO PERII NASO POETA MEO
AT TIBI QVI TRANSIS NE SIT GRAVE QVISQVIS AMASTI
75
DICERE NASONIS MOLLITER OSSA CVBENT.

(...and carve verses in big letters on the marble of my tomb, for the traveller to read with hurrying eye: I WHO LIE HERE THE PLAYER OF TENDER AMORES THE POET NASO PERISHED THROUGH MY OWN GENIUS; BUT FOR YOU WHO ARE PASSING LET IT NOT BE A BURDEN FOR ANYONE WHO HAS LOVED TO SAY 'MAY NASO'S BONES SLEEP SOFTLY'.) (Ovid, *Tristia* 3. 3. 71-6)

There has been considerable debate over whether the wording of Ovid's epitaph represents one last snub to Augustus, the exile's choice to be put on record 'grandibus...notis' (in big letters, 3. 3. 72) as author of the erotic poetry that **(p.356)** led to his downfall proclaiming his continuing defiance,⁴⁰ or whether in fact the emphasis on the playfulness of Ovid's previous poetry ('tenerorum **lusor** amorum', 3. 3. 73) implies the essential harmlessness of the *carmen* to which he attributes his banishment, a type of verse that is not meant to be taken seriously, and which cannot therefore inflict serious harm, or even any real offence.⁴¹ For our purposes, what is most important is that this combination of expostulation and pleading is wholly typical of the poetic voice of the exile poems; and in fact the first two lines of the exile's epitaph recapitulate and summarize some of the most characteristic themes of the collection. If we have to wait until a later book for exact repetition of the phrase 'tenerorum lusor amorum' (*Tr.* 4. 10. 1-2, which itself sounds an epitaphic note),⁴² the playfulness (3. 3. 73) of Ovid's erotic poetry is nonetheless affirmed insistently throughout the *Tristia*.⁴³ That the cause of Ovid's ruin, his 'death', was his poetic 'ingenium' (3. 3. 74) is also constantly attested, often in almost identical words:⁴⁴ the second line of *Tristia* 2, a poem characterized by Niklas Holzberg as a convergence of 'various thematic strands',⁴⁵ describes its author as 'ingenio perii qui miser ipse meo' (I who perished wretchedly through my own genius).⁴⁶ We have already been told, in the very first poem of Book 1, 'ingenio...fuga parta meo' (it was through my genius that banishment was obtained, 1. 1. 56), and the addition at 3. 3. 74 and elsewhere of the verb *perire* to this basic formulation brings in the recurring idea of Ovid's exile as a living 'death'.⁴⁷ In this way, the *lusor*'s epitaph, like the inscriptions of his elegiac predecessors, represents a kind of *Tristia* in miniature, condensing the principal themes of the poetry of which it forms a part into a memorable lapidary précis—and it might well be significant that the bones of the former elegist are asked to rest 'molliter', softly, for *mollitia* is another quality habitually attributed in Roman literature (and particularly in the works of the elegists themselves) to the genre of elegy.⁴⁸

(p.357) 2. Eternity

The lines we have considered, taken together, constitute a succinct and tangible expression of the ideals, paradoxes, and perversions entailed by the elegiac 'life of love', and their lapidary quality, achieved by the inclusion of familiar phrases and motifs, makes them one of the most memorable vehicles for the characteristic slogans of Latin love elegy.⁴⁹ Analysis of the epitaphs embedded in Roman elegiac poetry along these lines raises a problem, however. If these lapidary formulations act as a succinct, memorable digest of the language, themes, and subject matter of the genre either in part or as a whole, what need is there for any material outside the epitaphs? It might be said that these monuments of the self-conscious Muse, like those of her unlettered sister, 'the place of fame and elegy supply' (Gray's *Elegy* 82): would not the epigrammatic concentration of the elegists' memorial lines serve just as well on its own as the rest of the corpus, whose principal components the epitaphs so compactly express? The more successfully the inscription recapitulates and condenses the stuff of elegy, indeed, the more redundant the other, more extended treatments of such motifs arguably appear, both in literary terms and in terms of dramatic *Nützlichkeit*, or usefulness.⁵⁰ It seems almost as if, with this collapsing of poems—and even collections—into two couplets or fewer, the process of development from epigram into elegy on which the genre was founded has been reversed. Are elegiac tombs in danger of replacing, and thereby of consigning to oblivion, the very poetry whose values they purport to epitomize and to commemorate? Is the elegiac epitaph a *mise en abyme* too far?

It is tempting to suppose that some such objection occurred to the elegists themselves, and their answer can be seen in the manner in which they present their imaginary epitaphs. Tibullus (1. 3. 55–6), Cynthia (Prop. 4. 7. 83–6), Dido (Ovid, *Ep.* 7. 193–6), and Hypermestra (*Ep.* 14. 128–30) all prescribe for themselves a complete metrical inscription, whose exact wording they specify—but it is not always so. Phyllis in *Heroides* 2 indicates that there are other ways in which her final reproach to Demophoon could be phrased: he will be infamous 'aut hoc **aut simili** carmine' (either through this or through a similar poem, *Ep.* 2. 146)—what follows is not necessarily to be taken as the final form of her epitaph. Propertius, picturing Maecenas' arrival at the lover-poet's burial mound, asks him to utter '**talía**...uerba' (such words as these, Prop. 2. 1. 77); the quasi-epitaph of the following line, allocating responsibility for the lover's demise to his 'dura puella', is thus (like Propertius 2. 14. 27–8, 'tale...carmen' (26)) no more than a provisional form of words. It is also an isolated pentameter, unlikely to stand on its own as an inscription—and the same could be said of such metrically incomplete dedications as the 'sacrum...carmen' at Propertius 2. 28. 44

(‘scribam ego PER MAGNUM EST SALVA PVELLA IOVEM’ (I shall write THANKS TO GREAT JOVE MY GIRL IS SAFE)); Arethusa’s votive offering at Propertius 4. 3. 72 (‘...subscribam SALVO GRATA PVELLA VIRO’ (I shall write underneath A GRATEFUL GIRL [dedicates these] ON HER MAN’S SAFETY)); Ovid, *Amores* 1. 11. 27–8 (‘subscribam VENERI **(p.358)** FIDAS SIBI NASO MINISTRAS | DEDICAT AT NVPER VILE FVISTIS ACER’ (I’d write underneath: TO VENUS NASO DEDICATES AGENTS FAITHFUL TO HIM, THOUGH LATELY YOU WERE CHEAP MAPLE-WOOD)); and *Amores* 2. 13. 25 (‘adiciam titulum: SERVATA NASO CORINNA’ (I shall add an inscription: NASO [dedicates this] ON CORINNA’S SAFETY)).⁵¹ A number of similar utterances (e.g. Prop. 2. 11. 6, 2. 24. 35–8) escape the charge only on the grounds that they are presented as spoken rather than inscribed. Finally, there are the ‘duo...uersus’ of Propertius 2. 13. 35–6, which initially appear to be promising a complete commemorative couplet:

et duo sint uersus: QVI NVNC IACET HORRIDA PVLVIS
VNIVS HIC QVONDAM SERVVS AMORIS ERAT.

(...and let there be two verses: HE WHO NOW LIES
UNKEMPT DUST, OF A SINGLE LOVE WAS HE ONCE THE
SLAVE.) (Propertius 2. 13. 35–6)

When Vertumnus declares at Propertius 4. 2. 57 ‘sex superant [*suberunt*, Heyworth] uersus’ (six verses are left [or ‘will be underneath’]), his arithmetic—allowing for the present couplet to be filled before the start of the concluding *titulus*—proves to be quite correct. Sappho (‘uersus unus et alter’ (one verse and a second): Ovid, *Ep.* 15. 182) and Acontius (‘uersiculis...duobus’ (in two little lines): *Ep.* 20. 238), both pledging dedicatory verses to accompany thank-offerings, likewise make full delivery on their promises. But in Propertius’ anticipation of his epitaph, the injunction ‘et duo sint uersus’ (35) issues directly in one and a half lines of inscription. To draw attention to this discrepancy may seem little more than statistical pedantry, but in fact the detail has important ramifications for the elegists’ conception of the monumentalizing function of their poetry.

Why then does Propertius only give us a line and a half? The suggestion of Butler and Barber (1933, ad loc.) that ‘the missing half in the case of an actual inscription would presumably be filled by some phrase such as *siste uiator iter*’, and that the epitaph has been curtailed owing to ‘exigencies of space’, rather misses the point.⁵² By leaving the inscription on his tombstone incomplete, so that it cannot stand as an independent composition, Propertius may be pointing implicitly to the impossibility of its usurping the function of an autonomous memorial. Underlining the essential textuality of the elegiac tomb and its *titulus*,

the elegist emphasizes in the most graphic way possible the fact that these are not free-standing monuments, but constructions that depend for their survival on the poetic texts in which they are incorporated.⁵³ If the internal interments of elegy come to resemble their wider settings, that is because the poets' true monuments—and those of the other inhabitants of their literary world—are the *libelli* themselves: so Propertius proclaims that his songs will be 'so many monuments' (**p. 359**) to the beauty of the woman he celebrates ('**formae tot monumenta** tuae', 3. 2. 18).⁵⁴ It is not so much that elegiac epitaphs render their surroundings redundant, but rather that the corpus as a whole gives life and meaning to the memorials pictured within. The perishability of the physical testament is a philosophical commonplace of Roman literature,⁵⁵ and like Horace, whose 'monumentum aere perennius' (monument more lasting than bronze, *Carm.* 3. 30. 1) of three books of Latin lyric will outlive even the hardest works of men, the elegists use the comparison with commemorative architecture to advertise the enduring nature of their poetic achievement. Propertius' fullest forecast of the immortality to be gained through his talent, in particular, displays a number of echoes of the ode in which Horace prophesies the permanence of his 'monument':⁵⁶

nam neque pyramidum sumptus ad sidera ducti,
nec Iouis Elei caelum imitata domus, 20
nec Mausolei diues fortuna sepulcri
mortis ab extrema condicione uacant.
aut illis flamma aut imber subducet honores,
annorum aut tacito pondere uicta ruent.
at non ingenio quaesitum nomen ab aeuo 25
excidet: ingenio stat sine morte decus.

(For neither the costly fabric of the pyramids, built up to the stars, nor the home of Jove at Elis imitating heaven, nor the wealthy fortune of Mausolus' tomb, are exempt from the final stipulation of death. Either flame or shower will steal their splendour, or they'll collapse overcome with the silent weight of years. But the renown won by genius will not fall away with age: for genius glory remains deathless.)
(Propertius 3. 2. 19–26)

Having predicted the continuing cultivation of his tomb at the end of the previous poem (3. 1. 35–8), Propertius now goes one better: his 'monumenta' (3. 2. 18) to female beauty will surpass the most imposing man-made exemplars of durability and splendour. And at least one of these edifices is expressly identified as a tomb ('sepulcri', 21), while the first illustration cited, the pyramids scorned by Horace ('regali...situ pyramidum', *Carm.* 3. 30. 2), also served a funerary function.

Propertius' inclusion of these Egyptian landmarks in his catalogue of creations inferior to those of his *ingenium* may well recall the attempts at self-memorialization that proved so fatal to Egypt's first Roman prefect, the elegist's literary predecessor C. Cornelius Gallus, who, as Dio tells us, 'inscribed all his achievements on the pyramids' (τὰ ἔργα ὅσα ἐπεποιήκει ἐς τὰς πυραμίδας ἐσέγραψε, 53. 23. 5); Gallus' elegiac successor, it is implied, will not be making that mistake—the immortality he seeks is of a surer, less crassly material kind, the ultimate proof of **(p.360)** his superior genius.⁵⁷ The lack of specification with which these pyramids are introduced might also invite comparison with the pyramid-tombs increasingly popular in Roman burial culture, most notably exemplified by the famous pyramid of C. Cestius, an impressive monument of the Augustan period near the Porta Ostiensis, the erection of which would undoubtedly have involved very considerable expense ('sumptus', 19).⁵⁸ In either case, Propertius' poetic 'monuments' are contrasted favourably with the futile efforts of the rest of mankind to leave the world some enduring legacy.

But Propertian pride goes beyond disparagement of the aspirations of foreign potentates, Roman *epulones*, and previous elegists, for the final item in his trio of transitory wonders harbours one last sting in its tail. In the company of pyramids and the temple of Zeus at Olympia ('Iovis Elei...domus', 20), 'Mausoleum sepulcrum' (21) refers most naturally to the original tomb of that name, the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus; but the poem's first readers would perhaps have been unable to suppress the thought of another, contemporary 'Mausoleum', the giant burial complex begun by Octavian, later Augustus, in the Campus Martius even before the ratification of his supremacy at the battle of Actium in 31 BC.⁵⁹ This structure seems to have been known by the name of Mausoleum from the earliest times,⁶⁰ and would have reached an advanced stage of completion by the time Propertius came to circulate his third (or fourth) book of elegies. The elegist's *ingenium* not only assures him an afterlife more dependable than Gallus' ill-fated striving after perpetuity, but also promises to eclipse Augustus' own memorial. Hidden away in a catalogue purporting to draw on the established canon of man-made marvels, Propertius' denigration of the Mausoleum thus insinuates an uncomfortable contemporary resonance: the *res gestae* of the dissident lover-poet will outlast those of the world's imperial master (note that 3. 4 and 3. 5, among Propertius' most brazenly anti-militaristic pieces, follow soon after this passage). Indeed, if this prophecy of persistence proves accurate, the monuments here evoked will one day—like the poet's own epitaph—be reliant on Propertius' verses for their vicarious survival.

It is almost as if, by his stress upon the everlasting achievements of *ingenium* (25, 26) in contrast to the impermanence of those of the *princeps*, Propertius is supplying Ovid in his future exile with a ready-made retort to the censure of his sternest critic. Not until the third book of the *Tristia*, however, does Ovid avail himself of the consolation of poetic immortality,⁶¹ after the vision of his non-funeral, belated burial at Rome (marking, like the erotic funerals of earlier elegists, the final consummation of the exile's desire) and epitomizing epitaph:

hoc satis in titulo est. etenim maiora libelli
et diuturna magis sunt monimenta mihi,
(p.361) quos ego confido, quamuis nocuere, daturos
nomen et auctori tempora longa suo.

(That's enough on the epitaph. For indeed, my little books are greater and more enduring monuments for me, which I trust, although they harmed me, will give their author a name and lasting duration.) (Ovid *Tr.* 3. 3. 77-80)

Ovid's epitaph, which had so deftly harnessed his predecessors' techniques of sepulchral manipulation to summarize the principal concerns of his collection, is in the blink of an eye discarded as an effective means of memorialization, in favour of 'greater and more enduring monuments'. And what are these mightier *monimenta*, that will usurp the function of an epitaph in preserving the 'nomen' of the deceased (80) and prolonging his memory? They are none other than Ovid's 'libelli' (76), the 'little books' of love poetry—like those in Propertius' funeral train at 2. 13. 25⁶²—that had brought about his downfall in the first place (79). The 'criminal' elegies of the 'tenerorum lusor amorum' will surpass, he trusts, any epitaph; excluded from Roman libraries (*Tr.* 3. 1. 59-74) and proscribed by the emperor himself, these *libelli* will yet ensure their author an immortality beyond the transience of mere inscriptions.⁶³ Once again, a synoptic epitaph is self-consciously deflated in order to affirm the claims of a wider literary programme, as we discover that the epitaph, however comprehensive it appears, is not after all the final word.

If the memorials and epitaphs of elegy depend for their immediate and future existence on the texts in which they are contained, they nonetheless form an integral part of the fabric of these greater 'monuments'.⁶⁴ Taking their cue from the commemorative and epigraphic habits of contemporary Roman society, Propertius, Tibullus, Ovid, and 'Lygdamus' exploit the tomb's capacity for self-fashioning to project their own, often subversive, poetic *personae*. Somewhere behind this provocative appropriation of the epigraphic sphere may lie Augustus' own prolific use of inscriptions for imperial self-projection,

the impact of which is visible elsewhere in literature of the period—a phenomenon emphasized by Damien Nelis and Jocelyne Nelis-Clément in Chapter 15 in this volume. We have seen one instance in which a specific Augustan monument may be contrasted with the greater durability of Propertius' literary *monumenta*; and the wider disparagement of material forms of self-presentation and self-preservation, reduced to reliance on the text of love elegy for their persistence into eternity, may point in the same direction. If the poem is the monument, then the words of lovers (and the names of young English poets) may be writ in water, but the doctrines of the elegists—literary, aesthetic, and political—are set in stone.

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Notes:

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(¹) Houghton (2009).

(²) For 'sepulchral embedding', see Thomas (1998), who does not treat elegy (see 222). McKeown (1998) on *Ov. Am.* 2. 6. 61–2 gives a catalogue of brief epitaphs in more extended pieces of Latin verse; see also Murgatroyd (1980) and Maltby (2002) on *Tib.* 1. 3. 53–6; Navarro Antolín (1996) on [*Tib.*] 3. 2. 29–30; Schulz-Vanheyden (1969) 84; Schmidt (1985); Fedeli (1989); Yardley (1996). An important new collection is Keith (2011).

(³) Ramsby (2007) 12 ('a distillation of the poet's attitude reflected in the surrounding text'), 17, 61 ('a codification of this elegist's aims'), 115, 147.

(⁴) See however Ramsby (2007) 149–50 n. 8, on the suggestion of her anonymous reader (who was aware of the arguments presented here in their original incarnation) that 'the incompleteness of the inscription is part of a deliberate strategy to make them [*sic*] non-separable from their context', which she admits 'is possible'.

(⁵) For the importance of epitaphs, see e.g. *Plin. Ep.* 6. 10. 3–6.

(⁶) So e.g. Hinds (1998) 34: 'a genre which never ceases to be alive to its own funereal aetiology' (for the supposed etymology from funerary lament, see e.g. *Ov. Am.* 3. 9. 1–4).

(⁷) Hopkins (1983) 211 with n. 13; Woolf (1996). See also Nelis and Nelis-Clément, Ch. 15 in this volume.

(⁸) See Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004) 185–6.

(⁹) See e.g. *Hor. Ars* 77; *Prop.* 4. 1A. 59–60; *Ov. Am.* 3. 1. 40, *Ars* 2. 286, *Fast.* 2. 4, 6. 22.

(¹⁰) For causes of death in Roman epitaphs, see Carroll (2006) 151–79, 280–1.

⁽¹¹⁾ For discussion, see Rodríguez Herrera (1999); also Papanghelis (1987) 48, 'Wretchedness (*misero* 78), fate (*fatum* 78) and a cruel mistress (*dura puella* 78) constitute the motto of the elegiac family and in this programmatic elegy Maecenas is seasonably apprised that Propertius is a conscientious member thereof.'

⁽¹²⁾ See e.g. Hinds (1998) 29–33 on Ov. *Am.* 1. 1. 25.

⁽¹³⁾ For the sentiment, see e.g. Prop. 1. 6. 30 (and 35–6), 1. 12. 19–20.

⁽¹⁴⁾ See e.g. Prop. 1. 7. 6, 1. 17. 16, 2. 22B. 1; Ov. *Am.* 1. 9. 19, *Ars* 2. 527.

⁽¹⁵⁾ On *seruitium amoris*, see esp. Lilja (1965) 76–89; Lyne (1979); Murgatroyd (1981). The transferral of the exclusive devotion of the *uniuira* from the epitaphs of *matronae* to that of the male elegist also reflects the reversal of gender roles so characteristic of elegy: see e.g. Hubbard (1974) 101 n. 1; Wyke (2002) 32–3.

⁽¹⁶⁾ On the question of the unity of Propertius 2. 13, see particularly Wilkinson (1966); Papanghelis (1987) 50–79; Heyworth (1992).

⁽¹⁷⁾ For this aspect of Propertius' epitaph, see Schmidt (1985) 320.

⁽¹⁸⁾ On these lines, see esp. Clark (1983).

⁽¹⁹⁾ See e.g. Copley (1956); Cairns (1975); Yardley (1978).

⁽²⁰⁾ See generally Spies (1930); Baker (1968); Murgatroyd (1975); Lyne (1980) 71–8; Gale (1997).

⁽²¹⁾ See e.g. Warmington (1940) nos. 78.9 (= *CIL* I² 1531.9), 84 (= *CIL* I² 632), 113.5ff. (= *CIL* I² 1805.5ff.).

⁽²²⁾ Murgatroyd (1980) on 1. 3. 53–6; Ramsby (2007) 78, with further refs. in 172 n. 24.

⁽²³⁾ For the formulae *hic iacet* / *hic situs est*, see Galletier (1922) 216–17; Lissberger (1934) 132; Schulz-Vanheyden (1969) 87, 90; Lascu (1972) 333–5 (copious references).

⁽²⁴⁾ Lier (1903) 460–1; Lattimore (1962) 183–4; Roda (1995) 89 n. 26. On these elements in Tibullus' epitaph, cf. also Schmidt (1985) 315–16.

⁽²⁵⁾ Cf. commentators ad loc.

⁽²⁶⁾ See esp. Schmidt (1985) 314–15.

(²⁷) On this kind of expression, see Hardie (1986) 302–10.

(²⁸) Cf. Cairns (1979) 46: the epitaph ‘conjoins the themes of death and of association with Messalla which run throughout the elegy...its contents make it the centre-piece of the elegy’. For ‘terra...marique’ used in connection with Messalla, see also 1. 1. 53, cited in this context by Schmidt (1985) 313.

(²⁹) See Houghton (2007).

(³⁰) For Kennedy (1993) 16–17, Tibullus’ epitaph is for “‘public” consumption’, in contrast to his picture of the Elysian Fields.

(³¹) See e.g. Lee (1958–9); Navarro Antolín (1996) 3–20. It has been suggested that Lygdamus’ line may refer to AD 69, when two consuls were assassinated.

(³²) Is there a programmatic hint in the fact that ‘Lygdamus’ is the name both of Cynthia’s slave in Prop. 3. 6, 4. 7, and 4. 8, and of this slavishly imitative neo-Propertian elegist?

(³³) For *hic situs est* and similar epitaphic expressions, see n. 23.

(³⁴) Fedeli (1989) 88: ‘un accorto recupero di vocaboli del lessico d’amore elegiaco’. For elegiac ‘dolor’, see e.g. Steidle (1962) 123, 131–4; Lilja (1965) 106–7; for ‘cura’, Pichon (1902) 120.

(³⁵) Navarro Antolín (1996) on 3. 2. 29–30 notes the repetition of ‘dolor’ (and ‘erepta coniuge’), but not of ‘cura’.

(³⁶) On the various possible implications of Lygdamus’ use of the term ‘coniugium’, see Navarro Antolín (1996) 22–4.

(³⁷) So too Navarro Antolín (1996) on 3. 2. 27. Schmidt (1985) 333 seems to me to place too much emphasis on the differences between Lygdamus’ desired inscription and previous elegiac epitaphs.

(³⁸) On ‘perire’, see e.g. Baker (1970). Cf. Navarro Antolín (1996) ad loc., who appears to take ‘perire’ exclusively in the erotic sense.

(³⁹) For the address to the wayfarer, usually *uiator*, in Roman epitaphs, see e.g. Lier (1903) 448, 467–9; Galletier (1922) 38–41, 217–20, 223–5; Lissberger (1934) 133–4; Lattimore (1962) 126, 235–7, 256–8; Häusle (1980) 25–7 with n. 70; Roda (1995) 89 with n. 25.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ So Herescu (1958) 427–9. Ovid's 'grandibus...notis' offers a rare allusion in Latin poetry to the physical form of inscriptional writing—but see Ausonius, *Epigrammata* 37 Green.

⁽⁴¹⁾ Cf. Videau-Delibes (1991) 344, and generally 342–4 for Ovid's epitaph as a further attempt at rehabilitation.

⁽⁴²⁾ For Holzberg (2002) 186, the couplet 'sounds like the opening of a last will and testament or deathbed speech'.

⁽⁴³⁾ Cf. *Tr.* 1. 9. 61–2, 2. 223, 3. 1. 7, 3. 2. 5, 5. 1. 7, 5. 1. 22 ('ille...lusor amoris'), 5. 1. 43–4, 5. 7. 21 ('lusorum...amorum', conj. Ehwald).

⁽⁴⁴⁾ For references, see Herescu (1958) 439 n. 2.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Holzberg (2002) 178.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ On *Tr.* 3. 3. 74 and 2. 2, cf. Herescu (1958) 436; Evans (1983) 56; Videau-Delibes (1991) 360.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ On exile as *funus* in Ovid, see esp. Nagle (1980) 22–32, 46–51, 69–70; Evans (1983) index s.v. 'Death in exile'; Videau-Delibes (1991) 356–64; Williams (1994) 12–13, 197 with bibliography, 12 n. 25; Claassen (1999) 213, 239–41 with 309 n. 37; Hardie (2002) 30, 63, 287. The distinctively elegiac connotation of *pereo* (noted by Schmidt (1985) 324 n. 55; see n. 38 this chapter) may also suggest a telling ambiguity here: Ovid both 'died [for love]', i.e. wrote love elegy, and 'was ruined' through his talent—indeed the love poetry, he maintains, was the cause of his ruin. On *pereo* in the exile poetry, see generally Claassen (1999) 213, 239.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ See e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 2. 9. 17–18; Prop. 1. 7. 19, 2. 1. 2, 3. 1.19, 3. 3. 18 with Wyke (2002) 168–9, 174–5 and Keith (1999) 48 n. 24, 56, 57, 61. For similar phrasing in genuine epitaphs, see however Lissberger (1934) 134; Cumont (1942) 355–6; Lattimore (1962) 71–3 with 72 n. 383; Lascu (1972) 337.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ Cf. West (1985) 305 on Herodotus' manipulation of inscriptions with a view to 'composing a narrative which would leave an abiding impression on the minds of a listening audience...'.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Cf. Holzberg's remark that the inscription on Acontius' apple is shorter than any of the *Heroides*, and yet more effective: Holzberg (2002) 88. For the 'Nützlichkeitstopik', see Stroh (1971).

⁽⁵¹⁾ Thus Fedeli (1989) 96 contrasts ‘ideal’ epitaphs such as Prop. 1. 7. 24 and 2. 1. 78, which occupy only a pentameter, with more ‘genuine’ examples in couplets. We might suppose dedicatory slogans such as Prop. 4. 3. 72, Ovid, *Am.* 2. 13. 25, *Ars* 2. 744, 3. 812, to be representations of prose inscriptions, but if so they are couched in decidedly metrical prose...

⁽⁵²⁾ See also Birt (1896) 499, who completes the couplet with ‘hospes, siste pedem’.

⁽⁵³⁾ It is surely significant in this respect that the word or phrase that prevents the text of the inscriptions from becoming a free-standing entity is frequently concerned with the act of writing or composition, thereby emphasizing the elegist’s own intervention: ‘scribam ego’ (Prop. 2. 28. 44), ‘subscribam’ (Prop. 4. 3. 72; Ov. *Am.* 1. 11. 27), ‘adiciam titulum’ (Ov. *Am.* 2. 13. 25).

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Cf. Habinek (1998) 109–14, esp. 113: ‘By describing their books of poetry in terms appropriate to inscriptions or public writing, Catullus, Horace, and other poets of the classical period undercut the dichotomy between paper and stone, or private and public writing, and seek to assign to their texts certain powers that they and Roman culture generally associate with inscriptions’—yet what we have here appears less as an elimination of the dichotomy than as a reversal of the hierarchy of durability implied by it. For analysis of Horace, *Carm.* 3. 30 in these terms, see Hardie (1993) 126–8; also id. (2002) 62, 81, 84, 91–7 on Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* as ‘the poet’s tombstone’.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ See esp. Fowler (2000); Häusle (1980) 136–9.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ See commentators, esp. Richardson (1976) on Prop. 3. 2 intro. (‘there is almost too much Horace in this poem’).

⁽⁵⁷⁾ Likewise Gibson (1997), and Hardie (1993) 128, on Hor. *Carm.* 3. 30. 2.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Hardie (1993) 128 sees a similar suggestion in Horace’s perishable pyramids. On the monument of Cestius and other pyramid-tombs, see Toynbee (1971) 127–8 with 106 pl. 33, 129; von Hesberg (1994) 134–43.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ Galinsky (1996) 352.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ Zanker (1988) 73–6. For early references, see Strabo 5. 3. 9; Suet. *Aug.* 100. 4, 101. 4.

⁽⁶¹⁾ Prior to his exile, Ovid has introduced the theme at *Am.* 1. 15. 31–42 and 3. 15. 19–20.

⁽⁶²⁾ Cf. Videau-Delibes (1991) 344 n. 2 (*Tr.* 3. 3. 77–80 a combination of *Prop.* 2. 13. 25 and 3. 1. 37–8).

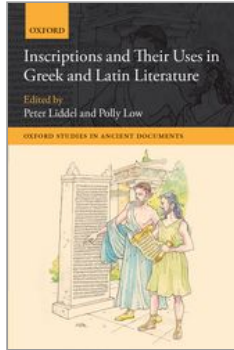
⁽⁶³⁾ For survival of *ingenium* in the face of Caesar, see also *Tr.* 3. 7. 45–52—and perhaps also Ovid’s declaration of the impotence of ‘Iovis ira’ at *Met.* 15. 871 (see Bömer (1969–86) ad loc.).

⁽⁶⁴⁾ Cf. Fedeli (1989) 86.



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Shuffling Surfaces: Epigraphy, Power, and Integrity in the Graeco-Roman Narratives

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter addresses the antinomy underlying the deployment of epigraphic textuality in the Imperial Greco-Roman narratives. On the one hand, inscriptions on 'hard', monumentally permanent, surfaces are viewed as statements of authority and identity. At the same time the power of epigraphy is often problematized, restrained, or qualified by the host-texts. Thus, inscriptions serve to invoke but equally to hijack discursual traditions; politically, there is the pressure of inscribing the public space in a manner that would not be rated as overly ambitious or tyrannical; an anecdote about a shrewd epigraphic stunt can be turned into a programmatic 'writerly' metaphor (Lucian, *How to Write History* 62). The chapter thus aims to take stock of the thesis that epigraphic communication in Greco-Roman narratives draws upon sociocultural expectations about monumental literacy yet is also subject to (meta)narratorial patterning that leaves it — paradoxically but necessarily — unstable. The argument is further illustrated through four case studies: firstly, the Rhodian Oration by Dio of Prusa where both the importance of inscriptions for maintaining healthy ethico-political semantics in the polis (esp. 31.47 and 83) and their physical vulnerability are highlighted; secondly, the opening of the Periplus of

the Black Sea by Flavius Arrian, where an upgraded inscription encapsulates the ideology of imperial power-cum-paideia in which the high-ranking narrator and the emperor are both stakeholders; thirdly, the epigraphic 'signatures' on renovated buildings as a recurrent theme in the biographical (and political) profiling of Roman emperors; and, finally, the stories of Alexander's encounters with inscriptions by oriental kings ranging from the legendary Sardanapalus and Sesonchosis to Cyrus as cultural and moral tests both for Alexander's image and the 'Hellenicity' he embodies.

Keywords: historiography, biography, the ancient novel, authority, permanency, ethnicity, morality, tyranny, surface

...οὐκ ἄξιον μνήμης τὸ ἐπίγραμμα·
διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸ ἀναγράψαι ἀπηξίωσα.
(...the epigram not worthy of being remembered,
ergo I disqualified it from my writing.)
(Arrian, *Anabasis Alexandri* 2. 24. 6)

1. Epigraphic habit into literature: reflections and refractions

Once upon a time in the early Middle Ages three monks ventured into the deserts of the east, beyond the limits of the known world. They would meet the remarkable hermit Macarius and hear his life story; the first half of their narrative, however, is an account of the marvel-laden yet testing journey itself. At one stage the monks are utterly lost. They pray and are guided forward by a dove. Soon enough they come upon a grand structure with an inscription left by an earlier, very famous visitor to these parts:

col. B εὗρομεν ἀψίδα καμαροτὴν μεγάλην γράμματα ἔχουσιν εἰς
τὸν κύκλον αὐτῆς οὕτω παραδηλοῦντα· Ταύτην τὴν ἀψίδα
ἀνήγειρεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων ὅτε κατεδίωκεν
ἀπὸ Χαλκηδόνος Δαρεῖον τὸν Πέρσην ὡς ἐνταῦθα [col. A:
καταδιώκων ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος ὡς θηρίου τὸν Πέρσην]· ταῦτα δὲ
εἰσιν τὰ σκοτεινὰ ἃ διήλθεν. ὁ θέλων οὖν ἐνδότερον εἰσελθεῖν εἰς
τὰ ἀριστερὰ μέρη περιπατεῖτω...καὶ εἰδέξσελεύσεται εἰς φῶς, τὰ δὲ
δεξιὰ μέρη ὄρη εἰσὶ καὶ κρημοὶ καὶ λίμναι παμμεγέθεις ὄψεων
καὶ σκορπίων μεμεστωμένοι

(We found a great vaulted arch, with an inscription around it. It stated: 'This arch was erected by Alexander king of the Macedonians when he pursued Darius the Persian from Chalchedon [variant col. A: when pursuing the Persian, like a beast, from Carthage (*sic!*)] up to here. These are the dark (places) he traversed. Whoever wishes to penetrate further, let

him go to the left...and he will arrive into light; to the right there be rocky mountains and great swamps full of snakes and scorpions.')

(*Life of Macarius Romanus*, pp. 141-2, Vassiliev)

(p.366) et ecce ante nos maximam inuenimus absidam, in circuitu scriptam. uidentes uero scripturam illam, gauisi sumus, et collaudauimus Dominum. haec autem erat scriptura: absidam istam fecit Alexander Philippi Macedo imperator, quando persecutus est Darium regem Persarum. qui terram hanc ingredi uoluerit, ad manum sinistram uadat; ad dexteram enim terra inuia, et rupibus et anguistiis est plena.

(And then we came upon a great vaulted arch inscribed around it. As we saw this writing, we rejoiced and praised the Lord. It was written, 'This arch was built by Alexander son of Philip, the Macedonian king, when he was pursuing Darius the king of Persians. Whoever wishes to enter this country should go to the left; for on the right the terrain is unpassable and full of rocky defiles.')

(*Vita St Macar. Rom.* Ch. 8, in *PL* 73. 418)

The monks are reassured and emboldened (col. B ἀνελάβομεν θάρσος καὶ προθυμίαν ~ col. A ἐλάβομεν προθυμίαν...καὶ ἐχάρημεν) by the inscription; in the Latin text its effect is proleptic—the monks feel happier the moment they see the writing on the arch (*uidentes... scripturam...gauisi sumus*)—and press on.

This passage from the *Life of Macarius of Rome* is an interestingly offbeat example of the epigraphic awareness that outlasted the Graeco-Roman civilization. While the primary ideological agenda of the *Life* is to celebrate Christian devotion, it is also clear that the travelling monks appreciate Alexander's inscription as a marker of order. Epigraphy is the mechanism for ensuring the presence of the Hellenic superhero¹ who subdues ('in pursuit of Darius') and charts the unfriendly, semi-fantastic landscape ('go to the left...') and thus makes it both passable and possible.² The inscribed text mobilizes memories of the historically dominant political and cultural paradigm that lies in wait at the end of the earth as demarcated by suchlike messages.³ On the monument's surface, precedent and control, over space and indeed over time, are underwritten through each other. But let us not forget that the monks in the tale will advance beyond Alexander's record;⁴ driven by their faith, they aspire to a greater kingdom with its own benchmarks of heroism. In other words the narrative has the upper hand, trading on

the inscription's authority yet equally insinuating its limitations *vis-à-vis* the superior Christian values.⁵ The monument is cited so that it can be left behind.

In this chapter I am going to address the perception of inscriptions in literary and historiographic sources that are culturally coextensive with the ancient 'epigraphic habit' (MacMullen (1982)). Throughout antiquity, inscribed monuments and texts form a fecund relationship. Inscriptions are 'ideological artefacts' that populate the public space textually and symbolically.⁶ The overt or implicit **(p.367)** reflection on inscriptions by the Graeco-Roman literati gives, in turn, the insider's view of the communicative potentialities of epigraphy qua medium for sociocultural practices, such as commemoration or creation of authority.⁷ It is in the (broadly) literary host-texts that the staple contemporary assumptions about epigraphic discourse are tapped into, but also revisited and subjected to 'dynamic negotiation' (Slater (2009) 68).⁸ The focus of my chapter is imperial prose fiction and non-fiction—either term being of course an elastic convenience—that brings into play the contents of inscriptions as well as what Ramsay MacMullen ((1982) 246) called the epigraphic 'sense of audience'; the latter is generated jointly by the inscribed text and the paratextual factor(s), above all the graphic outlook of the words and the semiotic capacity and constraints of the surface on which these words appear.⁹ Inscriptions, whether real, semi-fictional, or fictional, are thus seriously special intertexts. To narrativize epigraphy is to engage in intense triangulation between (1) the message and appearance of writing on stone and bronze as hard, monumentally permanent surfaces, (2) the response of the implicit 'generic' reader of such surfaces, and (3) the response of the narrator, the often present intradiegetic audience,¹⁰ and the external narratees—who are all at liberty to concur or to take issue with (2) and in general to build on it. The importance of contextualizing inscriptions cited in narrative sources against each source's agenda was stressed already by Prof. Dr. Arthur Stein in his 1931 monograph on epigraphic material in Roman literature: 'Es wird in der Beurteilung aller dieser Inschriften auch jedesmal zu erwägen sein, welchen Zweck der Autor mit ihrer Zitierung verfolgt'.¹¹ In a subtler move, Petronius' Trimalchio urges his buddy to 'look carefully whether the inscription looks quite suitable' (*inscriptio quoque uide diligenter si haec satis idonea tibi uidetur*, Petr. 71. 12). The invitation, placed before recital of Trimalchio's own cheekily pompous epitaph, has been interpreted as a stunt of metanarrativity, a *mise en abyme* that pulls every individual reader (*si...tibi uidetur*) into the quirky role-

playing of the **(p.368)** *Satyrical*.¹² It could just as well be a motto for approaching epigraphy in the Graeco-Roman literary discourse at large.

To start on a straightforward point, the narrative's response can develop around the most fundamental function of epigraphic writing—to assert and authorize facts, identities, power. The ideal objective of such writing is to catch the complicit readerly (cue: Roland Barthes...) eye of the 'generic' beholder, for whom a statement inscribed on a monumental and/or ancient surface is programmed to be valid and true¹³ and therefore summonable as proof in the competition for authoritative knowledge, credibility (Paus. 4. 1. 7, 'helps the veracity of my account', ἡμῖν ἐς πίστιν συντελεῖ τοῦ λόγου), legitimacy, and, consequently or concomitantly, for power. This is the route frequently taken by historians and biographers (e.g. Suet. *Aug.* 7. 1; Paus. 1. 37. 2; Ael. *VH* 6. 1; Amm. Marc. 15. 9. 6, etc.), especially if there is the added benefit of autopsy. Statesmen negotiate the generic beholder by means of inscriptions that advertise political achievement (e.g. Plu. *Sull.* 19. 9; App. *BC* 5. 13/130)¹⁴ or publicize claims to divine ancestry (e.g. Plu. *De Alex. fort.* 338b; Suet. *Gal.* 2. 1; *Alex. Rom.* recc. α, β, L, γ 1. 30). In the novels at the allegedly lower end of the cultural scale (Xenophon of Ephesus, the anonymous *History of Apollonius King of Tyre*) votive and honorific epigraphy provides a 'realistic' framework that the imperial readership would relate to.¹⁵ A mysterious and exotic inscription comes in handy for showcasing the wisdom and hermeneutic prowess¹⁶ of the Hellenic intellectual hero, as during Apollonius of Tyana's visit to the sanctuary of Heracles in Gadeira (Cadiz):

On the [capitals of the pillars] are inscribed letters that are neither Egyptian nor Indian, nor such as could be guessed (οὔτε οἷς ξυμβαλεῖν). When the priests could offer no explanation (οὐδὲν...ἔφραζον), Apollonius said, 'Egyptian Heracles does not allow me to conceal all that I know. These pillars bind Earth and Ocean together, and he himself inscribed them in the house of the Fates, to ensure that there was no strife between the elements...' (Philostr. *VA* 5. 5. 2; trans. Jones (2005))

Through Apollonius' decipherment of the inscription, Hellenic *paideia*, in which the narrator Philostratus and his readers are obviously stakeholders, is triumphant yet again.

In the Philostratean passage the balance clearly shifts towards reader-centric adjudication on the inscription's meaning and authority. This way of looking at monumental writing is what makes the dialogue between ancient literature and epigraphy so complex and polyphonous. Inscribed texts are there to be interrogated; they may be

misunderstood, queried, or contested. Aulus Gellius pieces together, from Varro and Tiro, a picture of Pompey the Great agonizing over a **(p.369)** morphological detail which is, however, key to his epigraphic honour—should it be *consul tertium* or *consul tertio*?!—and finally giving in to an evasive abbreviation (Gel. 10. 1. 6–7). Foregrounded in the Roman intelligentsia's tradition of bidding against each other for control of the best Latinity,¹⁷ the story ends with a deadpan comment on the material finiteness of the inscription in question:

cum multis annis postea scaena, quae prociderat, refecta esset, numerus tertii consulatus non uti initio primoribus litteris, sed tribus tantum lineolis incisis significatus est.

(When, many years later, the back wall of the stage collapsed and was restored, the number of the third consulship was designated not by the first letters, as originally, but only by three little strokes.) (Gel. 10. 1. 9)

There can be numerous reasons why words inscribed on 'hard' surfaces do not automatically stand for truth and authority in a 'literary' text.¹⁸ Suetonius refutes Pliny the Elder's account of Caligula's birth as based on misconstrual of an altar inscription (*Cal.* 8. 1, 3). Tacitus, who is altogether not too keen on epigraphy,¹⁹ demurs to out-of-the-way epigraphic evidence of Greek presence in the Rhineland:

aram quin etiam Ulixi consecratam, adiecto Laertae patris nomine, eodem loco olim repertam, monumentaque et tumulos quosdam Graecis litteris inscriptos in confinio Germaniae Raetiaeque adhuc extare. quae neque confirmare argumentis neque refellere in animo est: ex ingenio suo quisque demat uel addat fidem.

(That even an altar dedicated to Odysseus, with the name of his father Laertes included, was once discovered there; and that some monuments and mounds inscribed with Greek letters still exist in German and Raetian territory. My desire is neither to substantiate nor to challenge this—let everyone rely on his wits to disbelieve or to believe.) (Tac. *Ger.* 3. 3–4)

By withholding credence from such vicarious (*Ger.* 3. 3, *quidam opinantur*) data, Tacitus implicitly reinforces his own profile as an alert and discriminating ethnohistorian.²⁰ Moreover, to protect the special nature of the Roman colonial involvement in Germany, which in this work is a major structural thread (29. 3, 34. 1, esp. 37. 1–6), the non-

Roman precedents, even if legendary, are better played down rather than sustained; the putative antiquity of the inscription here is a catch, not a plus.

Whereas most ancient writers of history would confront the epigraphic record on a case-by-case basis, philosophical and religious texts are known to take heed of inscriptions in order to revise and hijack whole ideological traditions. The Plutarchan mouthpiece in the dialogue *On Pythia's Oracles no Longer Given in Verse* declares that inscribed dedications dating back to the era of wars between the Greek city-states read as 'most disgraceful writing...upon fine offerings' (401C, ἐπὶ καλῶν ἀναθημάτων...αἰσχίστας ἐπιγραφάς); the internecine folly of classical Greece (cf. *Flam.* 11. 6) is gauged and condemned by drawing attention to its 'abuse of the **(p.370)** [epigraphic] habit' (Liddel (2008) 135). St Paul's Areopagus sermon, in a masterstroke of missionary spin, invokes a local inscription to support his claim that the Athenians are not impervious to the true religion, simply under-informed:

διερχόμενος γὰρ καὶ ἀναθεωρῶν τὰ σεβάσματα ὑμῶν εὗρον καὶ βωμὸν ἐν ᾧ ἐπεγέγραπτο, 'Ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ. ὃ οὖν ἀγνοοῦντες εὐσεβεῖτε, τοῦτο ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν.

(For, walking around and eyeing your shrines, I found an altar inscribed: TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. What therefore you ignorantly worship, I declare unto you.) (*Acts* 17: 23)

Use of inscriptions for 'realistic' authentication of the narrative is not an open-and-shut case either.²¹ Lucian's *True Story* switches on familiar epigraphic protocols to enhance the surreal and carnivalesque feel of the tale: the peace treaty between the Moon-dwellers and the Sun-dwellers includes a clause about getting recorded 'on a pillar of amber, to be set at the border in mid-air' (1. 20, ἐγγράψαι δὲ τὰς συνθήκας στήλῃ ἡλεκτρίνῃ καὶ ἀναστῆσαι ἐν μέσῳ τῷ ἀέρι ἐπὶ τοῖς μεθορίοις); time-honoured routine of monumental language and display (cf. *Th.* 5. 18. 10) turns accomplice in the travesty.²² Indeed in the two novels that have been thought to cling to epigraphy as a kind of low common denominator of their readership's written culture,²³ there is scope for sophisticated thematic rapport between the inscriptions and the main narrative. Dedicatory temple inscriptions clustered in the last pages of the *Ephesiaka* by Xenophon of Ephesus (5. 10. 6-7, 5. 11. 6, 5. 12. 1) facilitate the heroine's reunion with the hero, while at a deeper level they betoken the imminent arrival of orderly and, literally, monumental closure to the novel: the reunited couple duly dedicate to Artemis a transcript (or painted tableau?) of their adventures (5. 15. 2, καὶ δὴ καὶ [τὴν] γραφὴν τῇ θεῷ ἀνέθεσαν πάντα ὅσα τε ἔπαθον καὶ ὅσα

ἔδρασσαν).²⁴ In the *History of Apollonius of Tyre* the epitaph on Tharsia's 'tomb' is quoted twice (chs. 32 and 38), with the wording slightly altered on the second occasion (in both redactions of the novel!). It is tempting to see this discrepancy as a shrewd metatextual tactic. The strangely unstable epigraphic text mirrors the falseness of its message and the overall duplicity and delusion that envelop the monument²⁵—a double-bluffing cenotaph, because Tharsia has escaped the murderous plans of her evil foster-mother Dionysias, who feigns grief at the girl's 'funeral' (ch. 32) yet is lulled into assuming that Tharsia is dead. Later, when the game is up, Dionysias must argue her innocence before Apollonius and appeals to the epitaph (rec. B 50, 'you have read yourself the inscription on the tomb', *tu ipse titulum legisti monumenti*). Ironically, Apollonius' first reading of the epitaph back in chapter 38 led him to believe that Tharsia was in fact alive, for the inscription failed to bring him to tears. This is a neat example of intradiegetic viewer referring to the 'generic' emotional impact of (sepulchral) epigraphy only to dissociate from it.

(p.371) Literary response to inscriptions is decidedly varied and defies a single rationale. But then rationales tend to be a matter of perspective. Greg Woolf, in an important article, suggests that epigraphic activity across the Roman empire was prompted, at the end of the day, by concerns about one's social and existential identity.²⁶ Taking a tip from Woolf, it can be said that in the Graeco-Roman literary sources, epigraphy is weighed and put to the test as the prevalent medium for claiming, marketing, and maintaining identities. Behind the endlessly diverse questions and real or fictitious scenarios that make capital out of inscriptions—Pompey's and Trimalchio's self-promotion, the gender of the imperial newborn (Suet. *Cal.* 8. 3), the decoding of Heracles' cosmological memo—is the rudimentary impetus to come to terms, or if need be to grips, with the message(s) of identity projected by the inscribed surface. More often than not the epigraphic text would be receiving feedback on its authority and integrity that are both measured against the social, political, ethical, historical, religious, aesthetic (the list can go on...) sensitivities of the host-text.

Arguably the most incisive ancient analysis of inscriptions as interface of identity is the *Rhodian Oration* by Dio of Prusa. Dio lashes out at the practice of recycling honorific statues (*metagraphê*);²⁷ he deems it to be wrong and generally corrosive to *polis* life. The 'malaise' (Platt (2007) 254) of *metagraphê* spreads textually as pedestals are reinscribed at will:

What happens is completely absurd. The *stratēgos* merely points his finger at any statue among those which have been already dedicated; then the previous inscription is erased, another name is engraved (τῆς μὲν πρότερον οὔσης ἐπιγραφῆς ἀναιρεθείσης, ἑτέρου δ' ὀνόματος ἐγγραχθέντος)—and the honouring is done...

(D.Chr. 31. 9; trans. Cohoon and Crosby (1940), modified)

Such cavalier policy is unethical towards the past honorands (31. 71) and results in a grotesque mismatch between the statue and its caption:

And I pass over countless cases, such as that often on a statue of a very old man the name of a young man gets inscribed—a most wonderful gift, methinks, you have discovered, if along with the honour you can also donate youth—or, again, that an athlete's statue is standing as one of an utter weakling of a man whose body is quite ordinary.

(D.Chr. 31. 156; trans. Cohoon and Crosby (1940))

It is still apparent that Dio privileges the text over the visual image. For him the inscription is the pukka signifier and hence the kernel of the statue's identity:

καίτοι χειρὸς μὲν ἀφαιρεθείσης ἢ δόρατος ἢ φιάλης...ἡ τιμὴ μένει καὶ τὸ σύμβολον ἔχει τῆς ἀρετῆς ὁ τιμηθεὶς, ὁ δὲ χαλκὸς μόνος ἐλάττων γέγονεν· τῆς δὲ ἐπιγραφῆς ἀνηρημένης ἀνήρηται δῆπουθεν ἡ μαρτυρία καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ἄξιον ἐπαίνου γεγονέναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

(Even though a hand or a spear or a goblet is lost...the honour remains, and the honorand retains the insignia of merit—it is the bronze alone that came off worse. But when the inscription is destroyed, then surely the testimony and opinion, that the person here had proved himself laudable, are also destroyed.)

(D.Chr. 31. 83; trans Cohoon and Crosby (1940))

(p.372) Inscriptions matter because identity and truth²⁸ reside therein. The meaning of a monument survives as long as the writing on it remains authentic and accurate. Dio's rhetoric is indicative of the expectations and anxieties about epigraphy among the imperial elite. Inscriptions are manifestly valued as the currency of public memory and civic honour. At the same time they are understood to be at risk in

their monumental materiality—from accidents,²⁹ neglect, political cynicism, or ineptitude, and, ultimately, from narratorial mischief.³⁰

Lucian tells a memorable if apocryphal story (*Hist. Conscr.* 62) of how a world-famous monument was as good as appropriated through a sharp epigraphic transaction. The architect of the Pharos Lighthouse signed the tower with his own name but plastered it over and inscribed the king's name on the surface; he hoped (rightly) that over time the gypsum would peel off and reveal the under-text. Lucian turns the anecdote into an allegory of historiography that should pursue the longer-term truthfulness (*Hist. Conscr.* 63 γράφεσθαι σὺν τῷ ἀληθεῖ μᾶλλον πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐλπίδα). But the physical and diachronic manipulation of the monumental surface in the story points to more complex yet also organic and hands-on interplay between power and writing. What monuments and texts communicate genuine authority? Does epigraphy make sense without the bigger ethopoeic script? The quirky epigraphic manoeuvre in Lucian is a trope for narrative that authorizes itself as unbiased and true monument to the political past.³¹ Foreseeably, real or lifelike epigraphy can be fed into such a narrative as well; inscriptions are turned into 'writerly' (to draw on Barthes's terminology again) ethico-political entries—a resource for construing, cross-examining and fantasizing about power and its communicative aspects in particular. This is the thesis that I propose to fill out in the rest of this chapter by taking a closer look at intradiegetic inscriptions as a facet of the (typically, retrospective) political debate under the Empire, before moving on to the paradigmatic figure of Alexander the Great and his encounters with inscriptional legacy of the 'East'.

(p.373) 2. The epigraphic faultline

Flavius Arrian reported to the emperor Hadrian from the Black Sea town of Trapezon:

καὶ οἱ βωμοὶ ἀνεστᾶσιν ἤδη, λίθου μέντοι γε τοῦ τραχέος, καὶ τὰ γράμματα διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ εὐδηλα κεχάρακται, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐπίγραμμα καὶ ἡμαρτημένως γέγραπται, οἷα δὴ ὑπὸ βαρβάρων γραφέν. ἔγνωκα οὖν τούς τε βωμοὺς λίθου λευκοῦ ἀναθεῖναι, καὶ τὰ ἐπιγράμματα ἐγχαράξαι εὐσήμοις τοῖς γράμμασιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀνδριὰς στηκεν ὁ σός, τῷ μὲν σχήματι ἡδέως—ἀποδείκνυσιν γὰρ τὴν θάλατταν—τὴν δὲ ἐργασίαν οὔτε ὁμοίός σοι οὔτε ἄλλως καλός· ὥστε πέμψον ἀνδριάντα ἄξιον ἐπονομάζεσθαι σὺν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ σχήματι· τὸ γὰρ χωρίον ἐπιτηδειότατον εἰς μνήμην αἰώνιον.

(The altars are already set up, though in rather rough stone, and as such the inscribed letters are not particularly clear; the Greek inscription is also inaccurately carved, as it was written by barbarians. I therefore decided to rebuild the altars in white stone, and to carve the inscription in clear letters. And though your statue has been erected in a pleasing pose—it points out to the sea—the work neither resembles you nor is beautiful in any other way. So do send a statue worthy to bear your name, in the same pose, for that spot is very well suited to an everlasting monument.)(Arr. *Peripl.M.Eux.* 1. 2-4; trans. Liddle (2003))

The passage is a fine testimony of imperial authorities' commitment to display power-cum-culture through monuments and writing.³² Having found the monumental landscape at Trapezon aesthetically and linguistically inadequate, Arrian is quick to intervene on behalf of Hadrian but also of Hellenic *paideia*. Notably, the altar inscription is re-engraved in εὐσήμοις...γράμμασιν, 'well-legible letters', the proud graphic embodiment of elite textual mentality.³³ For Arrian aspires to be seen as more than just an agent of imperial propaganda. He empowers himself by taking full credit for the improvements at Trapezon; the emperor is reminded that the creation and broadcasting ('into eternal memory', εἰς μνήμην αἰώνιον) of his public image is up to high-ranking textual and epigraphic facilitators, such as Arrian.³⁴

Under the Principate epigraphy regularly serves as tool of ethico-political diagnostics. Emperors monitor the epigraphic behaviour of the elite. A descendant of the conspirator C. Cassius is charged with being fond of Cassius' bust that bears the inscription 'To the Party-Leader' (Tac. *Ann.* 16. 7 *effigiem...inscriptam DUCI PARTIUM*). Cornelius Gallus brings about his own demise (27/26 BC) by overstepping the margin of patrician self-presentism: to have one's deeds (ἔργα) inscribed on the pyramids of Egypt (D.C. 53. 23. 5) is a too-ambitious epigraphic format for Augustus to condone.³⁵ The elite, in their turn, raise concerns about monumental prestige made available to the imperial freedmen (Plin. *Ep.* 7. 29, 8. 6. 1-2, 8. 6. 14-16) and highlight the role of elite's discourse as the supreme, truly permanent monument for the *princeps*:

(p.374) quando non trabibus aut saxis nomen tuum sed
monimentis aeternae laudis inciditur.

(because your [sc. Trajan's] name is inscribed not on beams or stonework, but on monuments of eternal praise.)(Plin. *Pan.* 54. 7)³⁶

Tellingly, the notion of epigraphy as transcript of political excellence can be channelled into satire or philosophical training. Trimalchio's preposterous grandeur is reflected in the dedicatory inscription from his steward (*dispensator*) that poaches on the imagery of Roman might such as the *fascēs* and the decorative ship's beak (Petr. 30. 1-2). Plutarch contemplates a regime of epigraphic *metriopatheia*, as it were: if Greek statesmen must be rewarded by the community, 'an inscription is enough, a tablet, a decree, a green branch' (*Prae. ger. reip.* 820d, ἐπιγραφή τις ἄρκεῖ καὶ πινάκιον καὶ ψήφισμα καὶ θαλλός). Crucially, epigraphy can be the litmus test of an emperor's leadership focalized through handling of the past. Caligula initiates destruction of inscribed statues of many famous Romans (Suet. *Cal.* 34. 1). But it is more common for emperors to be assessed on how they inscribe monuments and buildings that undergo renovation.³⁷ For on the one hand the emperor has by default unparalleled inscriptional opportunities:

inscribi autem nomen operi publico alterius quam principis aut eius, cuius pecunia id opus factum sit, non licet.

(It is forbidden to inscribe on a public building any name other than that of the emperor or of the person who funded the works.)
(*Dig.* 50. 10. 3. 2)

The Roman law also insisted, however, on protecting public buildings in respect of their epigraphic copyright:

If anyone undertakes, with people's consent, to decorate with marble or in some other way a building erected by another, the Senate decreed that his own name can be inscribed upon the work, but that this must be done so that the names of previous sponsors remain ('nominis proprii titulo scribendo: manentibus priorum titulis, qui ea opera fecissent'). (*Dig.* 50. 10. 7)

The emperors are thus under pressure not to cross the line, since to overwrite a building in one's name at the expense of the original founder is illegal and tantamount to usurpation. It is certain to attract criticism³⁸ and evoke the negative paradigm of tyranny.³⁹ Domitian and Commodus are 'bad' emperors who get framed through arrogant and predatory epigraphic behaviour:

plurima et amplissima opera incendio absumpta restituit...sed omnia sub titulo tantum suo ac sine ulla pristini auctoris memoria.

(p.375) (Many grand buildings which had been devastated by fire he repaired...but invariably with inscription of his own name alone and without any mention of the original founder.)

(Suet. *Dom.* 5)

sed nomen eius alienis operibus incisum senatus erasit.

(But his name, inscribed on the works of others, the senate deleted.)(*SHA Comm.* 17. 6)

It is salient that in the last example erasure of inscriptions as part of the ritualized process of *damnatio memoriae*⁴⁰ ties in with the need felt by the senators—that is, the top echelon of the discursively active class of the empire—to redress the scandal of the unwarranted autocratic inscriptions. By contrast, emperors who exercise inscriptional restraint score brownie points.⁴¹ Tiberius is aware of this when he promises to have the Theatre of Pompey restored; the stress on keeping intact the original inscription ('manente tamen nomine Pompei', Tac. *Ann.* 3. 72) is not unplanned. Hadrian is (implausibly) praised in the *Historia Augusta* for 'never inscribing his own name except on the temple of his father Trajan, even though everywhere he erected countless buildings' (*SHA Hadr.* 19. 9).⁴² Augustus' track record as restorer is beyond reproach:

καὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ ἔργα τὰ πεπονηκότα ἐπισκευάσας οὐδενὸς τῶν ποιησάντων αὐτὰ τὴν δόξαν ἀπεστέρησε

(All the public works that had been damaged he refitted, depriving none of their founders of the glory.)(D.C. 56. 40. 5)

The *Res Gestae* visibly cash in on Augustus' epigraphic righteousness:⁴³

I restored the Capitol and the Theatre of Pompey, both works at great expense without inscribing my own name ('sine ulla inscriptione nominis mei' ~ ἄνευ ἐπιγραφῆς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ὀνόματος) on either. (*RG* 20. 1)

...the colonnade near the Flaminian circus, which I allowed to bear the name ('apellari passus' ~ εἶσα προσαγορεύεσθαι) of Octavius after the man who erected the previous portico on the same site... (*RG* 19. 1)

It is interesting to observe how emperors who are hardly 'bad' are nevertheless problematized on the grounds of their epigraphic conduct.

In Cassius Dio (76. 16. 3) the appraisal of Septemius Severus' building activity is lukewarm at best:⁴⁴

καὶ πλεῖστά γε καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων οἰκοδομημάτων ἀνεκτίησας, καὶ σφισι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ὄνομα ὥς καὶ ἐκ καινῆς αὐτὰ καὶ ἐξ ἰδίων χρημάτων κατεσκευακῶς ἐπέγραψε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ μάτην ἔς τε ἐπισκευὰς καὶ κατασκευὰς ἐτέρων ἀνάλωσεν, ὅς γε καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ νεῶν ὑπερμεγέθη ᾠκοδομήσας.

(He restored a very large number of ancient buildings and inscribed on them his own name, just as if he had erected them in the first place from his own private funds. He also **(p.376)** spent a great deal uselessly in repairing other buildings and in constructing new ones; he built a huge temple to Bacchus and Hercules.) (D.C. 76. 16. 3; trans. Cary (1927))

The *Historia Augusta*, on the other hand, takes care to soft-pedal on the issue of Severus' inscriptions:

magnum uero illud in uita eius, quod Romae omnes aedes publicas, quae uitio temporum labebantur, instaurauit nusquam prope suo nomine adscripto, seruatis tamen ubique titulis conditorum.

(A great achievement of his life was the restoration of all the public buildings in Rome, which were derelict due to old age. He almost never inscribed his own name; the founders' names were preserved everywhere.) (*SHA Sev.* 23. 1)

Even Trajan is retrospectively profiled as epigraphically intrusive restorer whose inscriptions have crept upon others' buildings, hence the humorous nickname 'wallwort' ('herbam parietinam iocando cognominarunt', *Amm. Marc.* 27. 3. 7).⁴⁵ The prejudice against reinscribed buildings would only be overcome, it seems, if the new title bespeaks a credible political thaw; so Pliny in the *Panegyric* (47. 4) notes that it was 'noble' of Nerva to have the former palace of Domitian inscribed 'PUBLIC CHAMBERS' ('magno quidem animo...hanc ante uos principes arcem publicarum aedium nomine inscripserat').⁴⁶

Exploring epigraphy as a faultline of identity embroiled in the manifold challenges of power and legitimization is by no means exclusive to the Roman political discourse. (After all, the *Res Gestae* is a text disseminated in Greek as well as in Latin.)⁴⁷ Greek inscriptions in Greek narratives are likewise pregnant with political controversy and the longer-term ethopoeic suspense. Desire for a grandiose epigraphic footprint brings out the misguided priorities of a tyrannical soul

(Lucian, *Cataplus* 9).⁴⁸ As in Rome, the integrity of monuments and memories can be threatened by ‘selfish’ writing: a classic case is the story of the Spartan commander Pausanias—the epigraphic usurper of the tripod dedicated at Delphi after the victory at Plataea. Pausanias’ epigram is remembered precisely for the offence it caused to the wider Greek community by claiming credit for the, as if single-handed, annihilation (ῶλεσε) of the Persian host.⁴⁹ The outcome of such hubristic self-centredness is physical erasure from the tripod but, by the same token, anecdotal and literary survival; the inscription dovetails with Pausanias’ (p.377) later career and has a paradigmatic ring to it. Repairs and restoration can also stimulate provocative bids for authority by way of inscription:

Phryne was very wealthy and promised to build city walls for Thebes, if the Thebans would inscribe (ἐὰν ἐπιγράψωσιν) that Alexander (μὲν) razed [the walls] yet (δὲ) the *hetaera* Phryne built them up again...(Ath. 13. 591d)

Alexander the Great is, of course, another epigraphically active hero of enduring paradigmatic significance for the imperial Greeks as well as for the Romans.⁵⁰ Consider the story transmitted by Strabo (14. 1. 22) about Alexander’s offer to meet the costs of rebuilding the temple of Artemis at Ephesus in exchange for inscriptional record of his sponsorship (ἐφ’ ᾧ τε τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν αὐτὸν ἔχειν). The Ephesians decline in obsequious terms (‘it is not right for a god to dedicate offerings to the gods’). Still, their reluctance is perhaps not incompatible with the Roman anxiety about changes of the dedicatory signature on restored public buildings. Alexander’s scheme is a benign version of *metagraphê* (cue: Dio of Prusa...); willy-nilly he comes across as an opportunistic doctor of monumental identity.

The final section of my chapter is going to focus on several episodes where Alexander’s conquests bring him within reading distance of inscribed monuments of oriental monarchs. It will be argued that by having Alexander’s geographical and ideological journey through otherness punctuated with epigraphic voices of kings who used to rule in this very otherness,⁵¹ the narratives fabricate quasi cross-cultural contexts for what continues to be centripetal reflection—on Alexander’s own identity, and more importantly on the ideals of Hellenicity and imperialism embodied in him. Epigraphy per se may not be at stake here, but it is palpably instrumental for the task of patterning Alexander against the ‘native’ plupast⁵² and timeless ethico-political topics. Formatted as durable writing on richly associative surfaces, the royal inscriptions are well placed to flesh out insights into the

(ephemeral) nature of glory and power, not least due to the monument's exposure to trespassing and manipulative readers: the fabled kings are no longer in control of their text.

3. Otherness writes back?

Working one's way through narratives that constitute the ancient macro-text on Alexander, it may seem crazy to start with the largely fantasized and textually polymorphous ('open') *Alexander Romance*.⁵³ Yet there is method in this madness, because as 'popular' literature, the *Romance* is likely to be in sync with long- **(p.378)** standing and majoritarian (which does not equal 'banal') cultural attitude(s). Richard Stoneman discussed the poetics of monuments and inscribed artefacts in the Greek *Alexander Romance* and flagged up a number of thematic threads connoted by this epigraphy, namely 'evanescence' of wealth, interpretative cunning, and imperialistic assertion.⁵⁴ Indeed Alexander's cunning is a leitmotif⁵⁵ that is actualized more than once through suppression of epigraphic messages. In the palace of Nectanebo in Memphis, Alexander is crowned by the pharaoh's statue (rec. α 2. 27). A vatic inscription across the chest of the same statue (ἐν δὲ τῷ στήθει τῆς εἰκόνοσ...γεγραμμένα) explains that the person to be so crowned is Nectanebo's son. Alexander acknowledges and pays homage to the statue but is quick to obliterate the writing:

τοῖς γράμμασιν ἐντυχὼν ταῦτα μὲν αὐτοχείρως ἡμβλυνε...οὐκ ἤθελε γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος Νεκτεναβῶ παῖς λογίζεσθαι...

(having glanced at the letters he wiped them off with his own hand...for he did not wish to be known as the son of Nectanebo...)
(rec. γ 2. 27)

The language of the inscription is left unspecified,⁵⁶ lest its foreignness holds Alexander back from a gambit of PR expediency.⁵⁷

Shortly Alexander is leading his army through the desert and runs into a *stèle* of the ancient king Sesonchosis:

ἡ δὲ στήλη γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἐπεφέρετο, ἡ δὲ γραφή τῆς
στήλης ἐνέργειαν ἐδήλει [sic] τοιαύτην, Σεσογχόσου τινὸς νῦν
κοσμοκράτορος· τὸ δὲ ὁμοίωμα ἦν ἀνδρὸς νεαροῦ τὰ πάντα
Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφομοιούμενον. ἐγγράφει δέ· ‘μέχρι τῶν ἐκεῖσεν
καταλαβεῖν τις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὃς πᾶσαν περιελθὼν γαῖαν· τῶν
ἐπέκεινα δὲ μὴ δύνασθαι ἐλθεῖν, ὥς κάμῃ ἀπορήσαντα μὴ
δυνηθῆναι διέρχεσθαι. ἀνθυποστρέψας δὲ ἐνταῦθα τοῦ ζῆν
ἐξίεμαι Σεσόνχοσις ἐγὼ κοσμοκράτωρ.’ ταῦτα ἀναγνοὺς
Ἀλέξανδρος εὐθέως τὴν γραφίδα περιεκάλυψεν πέπλοις, δῆθεν
τὴν εἰκόνα τιμῶν· τοῦτο δὲ ποιεῖ διὰ τὸ μηδένα τῶν Μακεδόνων
τοῖς γράμμασιν ἐντυχεῖν καὶ δειλία ἐαυτοῦς καταλάβῃ. ἔλεγε
μᾶλλον χρησμὸν ἐκ τῆς εἰκόνης δέξασθαι· ‘ἐὰν τῶν ὧδε διέλθῃς,
Ἀλέξανδρε, ἕτερον κόσμον εὐρήσεις κρείττονα, ὃν ἕτερον οὐ
διήλθες.’

(The *stèle* was covered in Greek letters; the text [or: painting?] of the *stèle* showed the following representation by a certain Sesonchosis, ruler of the world—the image was of a young man, very like Alexander in every way: ‘Up to this region a man might reach, having traversed the whole earth. The lands beyond cannot be entered: I too was at a loss about the crossing. Having turned back here, I exit life—Sesonchosis, ruler of the world.’ Alexander read this and quickly covered the text with his cloak, as if paying honour to the statue. He did this so that none of the Macedonians would notice the writing and be plunged into cowardice. Instead he told them that he had received an oracle from the statue: ‘If you cross these parts, Alexander, you will find another world—a better one and like no other world you passed through.’) (rec. γ 2. 31, cf. rec. ε 27)

Pointedly, the inscription (this time in plain Greek) warning about the limitations of conquest has been authored by a king who is Alexander’s physiognomic **(p.379)** (τὰ πάντα Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφομοιούμενον: ‘very alike Alexander in every way’) and political *Doppelgänger*, given that *kosmokratôr* (‘ruler of the world’) is a title attached to Alexander early on and throughout in the Greek *Romance*.⁵⁸ The scene has an almost Herodotean flavour. Smart and daring but headstrong and curious, Alexander is a transgressor of boundaries;⁵⁹ he cannot and will not heed warning messages, however impressively inscribed—he will even march beyond the arch he himself erects and inscribes to signpost ‘the end of the earth’ (recc. β, L, and γ 2. 41).⁶⁰

And yet there is no direct link in Recension γ between the caveat on the *stèle* and Alexander’s demise.⁶¹ It would appear that the problem is not what befalls Alexander after reading the *stèle*, but rather *how* he reads

epigraphy. Both in the palace at Memphis and in the desert, Alexander behaves as a manipulator of the inscribed surface for his own ends. By expunging or literally covering up the inscriptions, he performs acts of reading that are deceitfully reticent⁶² and, worse, exclusivist: nobody but Alexander is to see and process the text. His aim in γ 2. 27 and 2. 31 is to monopolize and privatize perusal of monuments, which is an abnormal development for writing designed to be visible and public. The narrative is vague as to whether the other potential intradiegetic readers of the two inscriptions were fooled in earnest or chose to play along with Alexander's epigraphic legerdemain. There is nothing in γ 2. 31 to suggest that the Macedonian soldiers read Sesonchosis' message before Alexander dresses it up. In γ 2. 27 the bystanders feature more prominently (ὥστε θαυμάσαι τὸ γεγονός πάντας τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας: 'everyone who was there was astonished'), and it is not unthinkable that Alexander as master of genealogical propaganda is erasing the inscription in a conspicuous, rather than furtive, gesture.⁶³ Anyhow, the bottom line is that the external narratees enjoy full access to the inscriptions Alexander tries to hide from view! His opportunism is thus futile and a bit comical; epigraphy is kept in the public domain thanks to the narrative flow of the *Romance* itself.

(p.380) Complications of a different kind arise during the viewing, or more accurately within *ekphrasis* that presupposes intradiegetic viewing, of Sardanapalus' statue as narrated by Arrian:

καὶ τὸ μνημεῖον τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλου ἐγγὺς ἦν τῶν τειχῶν τῆς
'Αγχιάλου· καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφειστήκει ἐπ' αὐτῷ Σαρδανάπαλος
συμβεβληκῶς τὰς χεῖρας ἀλλήλαις ὡς μάλιστα ἐς κρότον
συβάλλονται, καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπεγέγραπτο αὐτῷ 'Ασσύρια
γράμματα· οἱ μὲν 'Ασσύριοι καὶ μέτρον ἔφασκον ἐπεῖναι τῷ
ἐπιγράμματι, ὁ δὲ νοῦς ἦν αὐτῷ ὃν ἔφραζε τὰ ἔπη, ὅτι
Σαρδανάπαλος ὁ 'Ανακυνδαράξου παῖς 'Αγχιάλον καὶ Ταρσὸν ἐν
ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ ἐδείματο. σὺ δέ, ὦ ξένε, ἔσθιε καὶ πῖνε καὶ παῖζε, ὡς
τᾶλλα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα οὐκ ὄντα τούτου ἄξια· τὸν ψόφον
αἰνισσόμενος, ὃνπερ αἱ χεῖρες ἐπὶ τῷ κρότῳ ποιοῦσι· καὶ τὸ παῖζε
ῥαδιουργότερον ἐγγεγράφθαι ἔφασαν τῷ 'Ασσυρίῳ ὀνόματι.

(Besides, Sardanapalus' monument was near the walls of Anchialus; over it stood Sardanapalus himself, his hands joined just as if to clap, and an epitaph was inscribed in the Assyrian script; the Assyrians said that it was in verse. In any case its meaning according to the words was: 'Sardanapalus son of Anakyndaraxes built Anchialus and Tarsus in one day; you,

stranger, eat, drink, and be merry, since other human things are not worth *this*—the riddle referring to the noise of a hand-clap. It was said that the words ‘be merry’ had a less delicate original in the Assyrian.)(Arr. An. 2. 5. 3-4; trans. Brunt (1976))

Arrian makes no further comment on Sardanapalus and the naughty epitaph,⁶⁴ nor does he spell out Alexander’s response to it. Nonetheless, the inscription invites the reader to ponder and triangulate big ethico-political issues, especially since the *Anabasis* does not cite inscriptions indiscriminately—each one is subjected to rigorous ratification by the narrator (cf. 2. 24. 6).

Sardanapalus is a figure with a lot of baggage in the Graeco-Roman tradition. He is habitually mentioned as the archetypal hedonist and/or the decadent and unphilosophical ruler.⁶⁵ His faults are illustrated from his inscriptions (Plb. 8. 10. 3-4; D.S. 2. 23. 3-4; Plu. *De Alex. fort.* 330f, 336c; D.Chr. 4. 135; Ath. 12. 529d-530e); in Plutarch’s crisp phrase, Sardanapalus’ life and his tomb are identical (*De Alex. fort.* 336d, τὸν δὲ Σαρδαναπάλου βίον...ἢ τάφον—οὐδὲν γάρ, οἶμαι, διαφέρει). Yet sometimes the moralizing anti-hedonist bias cracks.⁶⁶ The inscription cited by Arrian (cf. Strabo 14. 5. 9; Ath. 12. 529e, 530b-c) implies that Sardanapalus had his moments of extremely efficient statesmanship, such as on that singular day when he built two cities—so the inscription proves that this king was ‘not wholly inactive’ (Ath. 12. 529e, φαίνεται...οὐκ ἄπρακτος γενόμενος).⁶⁷ Furthermore, by the yardstick of Graeco-Roman philosophical ethics the epitaph verges on being a paradox: Sardanapalus justifies his (to some, proto-Epicurean) case for radical bodily hedonism via summative devaluation of τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, ‘human stuff’, which for an instant is coming close to the tone of Cynic and Stoic homily (cf. e.g. Luc. *Icar.* 4; Aur. 4. 48. 2, 10. 31. 1; Epict. 4. 8. 27).

(p.381) If Sardanapalus’ text and statue are taken as a statement of disillusionment rather than of thoughtless decadence, where does this leave Alexander with his appetite for conquest (7. 16. 1) and, as noted by Arrian’s intradiegetic Greeks, for foundation of ‘many’ cities (5. 1. 5)?⁶⁸ While some authors polarize the corrupt Sardanapalus with the valorous Alexander (e.g. Plu. *De Alex. fort.* 336d), in Arrian’s passage the ideological parameters are outlined but not enforced. The inscription remains a hermeneutical challenge dictated, cumulatively, by the foreignness of the monument and the effort required to understand it—as a text in Assyrian alphabet, possibly in verse, reported to be untranslatably risqué, and figuratively (ἀνισσόμενος)

tied up with the symbolism of the hand-clap. The ethnic and moral otherness of Sardanapalus makes him an intriguing foil to Alexander.

Cyrus the Great is the one king from the oriental plupast that Alexander deals with appreciatively through his monument.⁶⁹ Alexander's respect is energized, according to Plutarch and Arrian, by the news that the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae has been plundered; Alexander steps in to punish those responsible (Plu. *Alex.* 69. 3; Arr. *An.* 6. 29. 9–11) and gets the memorial repaired (Arr. *An.* 6. 29. 10; also Strabo 15. 3. 7).⁷⁰ This is the context in which our narratives zero in on Cyrus' melancholy epitaph.⁷¹ Yet while Arrian simply inserts it into his detailed description of the tomb's layout and contents,⁷² Plutarch cites a curiously fuller text and goes into the psychological effect it produced on Alexander:⁷³

τὴν δ' ἐπιγραφὴν ἀναγνούς, ἐκέλευσεν Ἑλληνικοῖς ὑποχαράξαι γράμμασιν. εἶχε δ' οὕτως· ὦ ἄνθρωπε, ὅστις εἶ καὶ ὀπόθεν ἦκεις, ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἤξεις οἶδα, ἐγὼ Κύρος εἰμι ὁ Πέρσας κτησάμενος τὴν ἀρχήν. μὴ οὖν τῆς ὀλίγης (μοι) ταύτης γῆς φθονήσης ἢ τοῦ μόνον σώματος περικαλύπτει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐμπαθῆ σφόδρα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐποίησεν, ἐν νῶ λαβόντα (τῶν πραγμάτων) τὴν ἀδηλότητα καὶ μεταβολήν.

(After reading the inscription, he ordered to engrave under it a Greek translation. It says, 'Man, whoever you are and wherever you come from, since I know you will be coming here—I am Cyrus who gained the Persians their empire. Do not begrudge me this handful of earth which covers my body.' This moved Alexander profoundly as he realized the uncertainty and changeability of things.)(Plu. *Alex.* 69. 4–5)

The intricately problematic relationship the Plutarchan Alexander has with the sociocultural paradigm of the 'East'⁷⁴ here unfolds as readerly-writerly experience that does not map easily onto the customary polarities of *paideia* and, generally, authority.

(p.382) Cyrus' writing captivates Alexander. The inscription both moves (ἐποίησεν) him and casts him as the imperialistic epigone who is 'identifying...with the founder of the Persian empire' (Mossman (2006) 292). It is striking that in Plutarch's rendition of the epitaph, Cyrus speaks in a voice of practically supernatural omniscience ('I know you will be coming here'). Death reduced Cyrus' dominion to a 'handful of earth', but from the monumental surface he is still able to control the mind of *any* beholder (ὅστις εἶ)—a totalizing claim that somehow offsets the mood of resignation and transitoriness. Ultimately, however, it is about Alexander sizing up the memorial at Pasargadae. The lesson he

learns ('uncertainty and changeability of things') sounds very Greek, and the principle of empathetic engagement with a text is a template sanctioned by Greek literary theory (e.g. Arist. *Rh.* 1385^b–1386^a, Plu. *De aud. poet.* 30e, *Artax.* 8. 1). The essentially Greek optics of Alexander's reading of the epitaph is visualized in the Greek translation he orders to be inscribed on the tomb ('Ελληνικοῖς ὑποχάραξαι γράμμασιν). Like all of Cyrus' former empire, the monument is colonized and Hellenized by Alexander ideologically and even alphabetically.

In Plutarch's *Life* Alexander does not override the message from the ancient king, as he does with the *stele* of Sesonchosis in the *Romance*, γ 2. 31. He latches on to the idea of historical and cosmic change, yet himself perpetuates change by creating an epigraphic palimpsest of his power on an earlier monument; autocrats are prone to do just that (see section 2). So politically it is business as usual. Philosophically, Alexander profits by reading Cyrus' inscription, but this stops well short of transformative pedagogical impact that Plato (as Plutarch and his readers would remember) calls 'writing in the soul' (*Phdr.* 278a2–5).⁷⁵ Epigraphy cannot and does not alter Alexander's course in either Plutarch or Arrian, or in the *Romance*: his narrative reflects a worldview where authoritative textual surfaces are not taken for granted.⁷⁶

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Notes:

⁽¹⁾ See Gero (1992) 85–7 on the links between the *Life of Macarius of Rome* and the Greek *Alexander Romance*, esp. 2. 41 in recc. β, L, and γ, also rec. γ 2. 37 and rec. ε 32. 2. For the perception of Alexander in Byzantine culture, see Gleixner (1961); Aerts (1988), (1996).

⁽²⁾ Cf. Koulakiotis (2006) 225.

⁽³⁾ By Heracles and Dionysus (e.g. Lucian, *VH* 1. 7; Curt. 7. 9. 15; *Alex. Rom.* rec. α 3. 27. 3–4), Sesonchosis (*Alex. Rom.* rec. α 3. 17. 17; section 3 of this chapter) or, again, by Alexander (e.g. Philostr. *VA* 2. 43, Ptol. *Geog.* 5. 9. 15; *Alex. Rom.* rec. ε 31. 5).

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. Elsner (1997) 30 with n. 49 on the motif of outperforming Alexander in the description of the eastward trek undertaken by Apollonius of Tyana in Philostratus' *Life*.

⁽⁵⁾ For explicit criticism of Alexander in the early medieval literature, see Fear (2007) 40–7.

⁽⁶⁾ After J. K. Davies (2005) 284–5.

⁽⁷⁾ A representative spectrum of scholarship must include: MacMullen (1982); Meyer (1990); Alföldy (1991), (2003); Baslez (1993); Williamson (1995); Woolf (1996); Beard (1998); Cooley (2000a); van Nijf (2000); Alföldy and Panciera (2001); Häussler (2002) esp. 69–70 and 73; Mouritsen (2005); Corbier (2006).

⁽⁸⁾ Studies of the poetics of 'literary' inscriptions are growing steadily: e.g. Marincola (1997) 101–3; Moles (1999) and Cooley (2002a) on historiography and historical consciousness; Liddel (2008) on Plutarch; Ramsby (2007) on Roman elegy; down-to-earth synoptic treatment of epigraphy in the ancient novel is offered by Sironen (2003)—but see

now Slater (2009); for inscriptions in Petronius, see Nelis-Clément and Nelis (2005) 148–56; Rimell (2007a) 66–71; in the *Alexander Romance*, Stoneman (1995).

(⁹) Paratextuality: Genette (1997). Fontanille (2005) 186 defines the inscribed surface as the text's *support formel* ('formative substratum') which amounts to 'la structure d'accueil des inscriptions, l'ensemble des règles topologiques d'orientation, de dimension, de proportion et de segmentation, notamment, qui vont contraindre et faire signifier les caractères inscrits'. Lively discussions of Roman epigraphic display from a de facto paratextual angle: Susini (1988); Beard (1998).

(¹⁰) That is to say, characters who become involved with inscriptions. Slater (2009) 68 is right to distinguish their reaction from that of 'unfamiliar' and 'indifferent' readers looming in the backdrop (cf. Slater (2009) 70, 'the imagined public passing by'). These invisible extras are akin to yet not identical with my 'generic' readerly consumer of epigraphic texts.

(¹¹) Stein (1931) 39. The Fraktur typeface of Stein's book (printed by a Prague-based publisher) can be itself seen as a poignant paratextual monument to the political and cultural scene of 1930s Europe. For the dramatic history of Fraktur, see Willberg (1998).

(¹²) Beard (1998) 96–8, followed by Nelis-Clément and Nelis (2005) 155–6.

(¹³) Compare and contrast the proverbial and programmatic premise for approaching poetry: 'poets tell many lies' (Plu. *De aud. poet.* 16a).

(¹⁴) In the popular anecdote about Epaminondas on trial the hero successfully conjures up a résumé of his career to be inscribed on his tomb (Nep. *Ep.* 8. 2–5; [Plu.] *Reg. apophth.* 194b; App. *Syr.* 41/216–18; Ael. *VH* 13. 42; Aps. *Rh.* 10. 12)—a bold incitation to 'generic', that is suasive and reverential, reading of the epigraphic voice.

(¹⁵) Zelazowski (2001); Sironen (2003), esp. 294.

(¹⁶) Cf. Slater (2009) 64.

(¹⁷) Beall (2004) 217–19.

(¹⁸) The very idea of textuality can be perfectly well exploited as the a priori reverse of actuality and substance, e.g. Ael. *VH* 2. 41: the drunkard king Antiochus II let his courtiers run the kingdom while he

himself was ‘a pointless inscription (title? signature?) on the realm’ (ἐπεγέγραπτο τῇ ἀρχῇ ἄλλως).

(¹⁹) Bérard (1991).

(²⁰) And thus aligns himself with the classic Herodotean and Thucydidean models; cf. Bérard (1991) 3031.

(²¹) Slater (2009). See generally Hansen (2003) and esp. Ní Mheallaigh (2008) on the material attributes of text, literary and epigraphic, as apparatus for authenticating as well as reifying and enriching the narrative.

(²²) Lucian’s idiomatic link between amber and lies: Georgiadou and Larmour (1998) 120–1.

(²³) Sironen (2003) 290 and esp. 296: ‘Perhaps the inclusion of inscriptions in the narrative was felt less appropriate or awkward in the novels aimed at a more sophisticated readership.’

(²⁴) I summarize the argument of König (2007) 16–17; cf. Slater (2009) 68, 73–4. On the strategic ambiguity of γραφή as picture/text in X. Eph. 5. 15. 2, see Hansen (2003) 308 n. 15.

(²⁵) Panayotakis (2007) 314–15; his interpretation is endorsed by Slater (2009) 75–6.

(²⁶) Woolf (1996) 29 and 31; *idem* (2009) 61.

(²⁷) Matheson (2001); Shear (2007); and esp. Platt (2007) 252–66.

(²⁸) Cf. D.Chr. 31. 47: ‘Whereas about estates, houses, and other property you cannot learn who owns them unless you ask, the statue is inscribed, and preserves not only the name but also the personality of its recipient, so that it is possible to step near and at once know whose it is. I speak of those on which *the truth* still remains’ (ἡ δὲ εἰκὼν ἐπιγέγραπται, καὶ οὐ μόνον τὸ ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν χαρακτῆρα σώζει τοῦ λαβόντος, ὥστ’ εὐθὺς εἶναι προσελθόντα εἰδέναι τίνος ἐστίν. λέγω δὲ ἐφ’ ᾧ ἔτι μένει τἀληθές). Matheson (2001) 73 compares Cic. *Att.* 6. 1. 26: ‘I hate deceitful inscriptions on others’ statues’ (‘odi falsas inscriptiones statuarum alienarum’).

(²⁹) Naturally caused damage or destruction of inscriptions as sinister omen: e.g. Suet. *Aug.* 97. 2; D.C. 37. 9. 2, 56. 29. 4, 76. 11. 2.

⁽³⁰⁾ The veridical status of epigraphy is destabilized by Dio himself in his tongue-in-cheek revisionist interpretation of the Trojan War (*Oration* 11): the old Egyptian priest who is Dio's informant admits that the *stelai* containing the 'true' chronicle have suffered from disrepair (διαφθαρεισῶν) and 'ignorance and indifference of the later generations' (διὰ τὴν ἀμαθίαν τε καὶ ἀμέλειαν τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων, 11. 38). The irony is that the priest and the *stelai* are both see-through fictions for teasing and pleasing the intertextually savvy audience; see further Saïd (2000) 176–86; Gangloff (2006) 120–2, 127–8, 134; Kim (2010) 86–7, 110–12.

⁽³¹⁾ On the classical (Thucydidean) roots of the idea, see Moles (1999).

⁽³²⁾ The trend-setting period was the reign of Augustus: see Nelis-Clément and Nelis, Ch. 15 in this volume.

⁽³³⁾ Contrast subversive graffiti scribbled ἀσήμεως (App. *BC* 2. 16/113) —'anonymously' but perhaps 'illegibly' and 'in a garbled way' too; on graffiti as the bugbear of the imperial elite's literary and social ideology, see Zadorojnyi (2011a) esp. 127–9.

⁽³⁴⁾ Who is himself no stranger to epigraphic honouring: see Stadter (1980) 2–17.

⁽³⁵⁾ Gibson (1997); further Cooley (2009) 31–2 with n. 182.

⁽³⁶⁾ See Hutchinson (2011) 136–7 and Roche (2011a) 51–2.

⁽³⁷⁾ Stein (1931) 35–7; Cooley (2000a) 12–13; Corbier (2006) 66. Many of their references are inevitably duplicated by this chapter. Aesthetics of building inscriptions: Reitz (2012) 317–21.

⁽³⁸⁾ Amm. Marc. 27. 3. 7: 'a slight thing yet something that magistrates should be wary of' (leue quidem, sed cauendum iudicibus).

⁽³⁹⁾ Wherein abusive writing is an endemic theme: Zadorojnyi (2006). Appropriately, the punishment for a tyrant's epigraphic identity is to be smeared over, quite literally, with dirt and dung (*SHA Hel.* 13. 7, 'titulos luto tegeret ut fieri solet de tyrannis'); in the source Elagabalus tries to have this done to the statues of Alexander Severus—but his smear campaign backfires (*SHA Hel.* 14. 2).

⁽⁴⁰⁾ E.g. Suet. *Dom.* 23. 1; *SHA Max.* 26. 3. See further Flower (2001) and (2006) esp. 234–7; P. Davies (2001); Varner (2001a) and (2004) 137, 146–7, generally 8.

⁽⁴¹⁾ Cf. P. Davies (2001) 37.

(⁴²) *SHA Hadr.* 19. 9: ‘cum opera ubique infinita fecisset, numquam ipse nisi in Traiani patris templo nomen suum scripsit’.

(⁴³) Slater (2008) 264–5; Martelli (2010) 134–6. On the *RG* as Augustus’ ‘metamonument’, see Lowrie (2009) 304–5.

(⁴⁴) Cooley (2007) 393–4; Thomas (2007) 328.

(⁴⁵) Yet in [Aur. Vict.] *Epit. de Caes.* 41. 13 the emphasis is rather on the multitude of Trajanic inscriptions (‘ob titulos multis aedibus inscriptos’); signally, the ‘wallwort’ joke originates at the imperial court.

(⁴⁶) Roche (2011a) 60.

(⁴⁷) And possibly modelled on the epigraphic accomplishment of Zeus as envisioned by the Hellenistic philosopher Euhemerus: Bosworth (1999) 10–13, followed by Cooley (2009) 41.

(⁴⁸) In this particular scenario a dead tyrant called Megapenthes (‘Big-Sorrow’—also the name of Menelaus’ bastard son in the *Odyssey*, cf. Paus. 2. 18. 6) is desperate for a temporary reprieve from the underworld so that he could, apart from completing projects and settling scores, put up a ‘colossal’ monument inscribed with a memoir of his military greatness (μνημα ἑαυτῷ παμμέγεθες ἀναστήσας ἐπιγράψω ὅποσα ἔπραξα μεγάλα καὶ στρατηγικὰ παρὰ τὸν βίον). Monumental and epigraphic excess as symptom of flawed morality: cf. Ael. *VH* 8. 4.

(⁴⁹) Th. 1. 132. 2–3; [D.] 59. 97–8; Aristodem. *FGrH* 104 F 4; Nep. *Paus.* 1. 3; Plu. *De Hdt. mal.* 873c; Suda π 820, vol. 4 p. 71 Adler. See further Petrovic (2007) 267–9.

(⁵⁰) See e.g. Isager (1993); Engels (1998); Spencer (2009); more generally Mossman (2006) 286–7.

(⁵¹) For funerary inscriptions as cliché of orientalized landscape, cf. Philostr. *Im.* 2. 21: ‘and grave-mounds, monuments, incised letters: this is Libya...’ (κολωνοὶ τε ἐπικήδαιοι καὶ στήλαι καὶ κοῖλα γράμματα· καὶ λιβύη ταῦτα...).

(⁵²) For the category of plupast in ancient historical writing, see Krebs and Grethlein (2012).

(⁵³) Openness: Konstan (1998). Different versions cross-examined, more recently: Jouanno (2002); Paschalis (2007). Recension γ is dated to the

eighth century, which does not preclude earlier availability of some of the stories; cf. Gallo (1996) 241–4.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Stoneman (1995) 163, 167, and 169 respectively.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Koulakiotis (2006) 208–11.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Stoneman (1995) 165 rightly draws a contrast with the hieroglyphic text on the obelisks of Sesonchosis which has to be translated for Alexander (esp. rec. α 1. 33. 6).

⁽⁵⁷⁾ Rather overgeneralized by Slater (2009) 72: ('This Alexander will have no other texts before him.').

⁽⁵⁸⁾ E.g. rec. α 1. 16. 2, 1. 17. 5, 1. 24. 9–10, rec. β and γ 1. 7, 1. 12, rec. γ 1. 20, 2. 43, 3. 19–20; Koulakiotis (2006) 214–17, esp. 215. Alexander can also be called 'the new Sesonchosis': rec. α 1. 34. 2, cf. 3. 34. 4.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ Stoneman (1992) 97–8; Koulakiotis (2006) 221–2.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ Slater (2009) 73 is now spot-on: 'Having writ, Alexander suddenly tries to move on...and attempts to test his own text...'. Alexander's curiosity drives him to penetrate *inside* the monuments too: in rec. α 3. 27. 4 he drills into one of Heracles' *stelai* in order to confirm whether it is of solid gold.

⁽⁶¹⁾ In rec. α 3. 24. 2–3 the ghost of Sesonchosis (the *kosmokratōr*, for sure) approaches Alexander to prophesy his death, albeit in a non-threatening manner (rec. β 1. 33 includes a similar prophecy as a hieroglyphic inscription in the temple of Serapis); in rec. ε 42. 3 Sesonchosis' ghost tells of his own downfall as a warning against self-apotheosis.

⁽⁶²⁾ There is a sense of fraudulent textual creation as well. At the *stèle* Alexander makes up a favourable prophecy (2. 31). The word αὐτοχείρως, 'with one's own hand' in 2. 27 echoes the idiom of autography in later Greek prose usage (D.C. 54. 17. 2, 59. 4. 3, 71. 36. 2; Eun. VS 502): Alexander effectively rewrites Nectanebo's screenplay by deleting the inscription.

⁽⁶³⁾ The episode of γ 2. 27 concludes on an ambiguous note: 'Thus the story was made known to everybody' (οὕτως δὲ καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁ λόγος ἐγνωρίζετο). It is unclear what sort of spin the λόγος put on Nectanebo's inscription—or was it omitted altogether?

⁽⁶⁴⁾ The standard modern commentary is Bosworth (1980) 193–5. On the epitaph, see Chamoux (2006).

⁽⁶⁵⁾ Arist. *EN* 1095b19–22 and Fr. 90 Rose = Ath. 8. 335f, Cic. *Tusc.* 5. 35, *Fin.* 2. 106; D.S. 2. 23; Juv. 10. 360–2; D.Chr. 1. 3, 2. 35, 3. 71–2, 62. 5; Plu. *De Alex. fort.* 326e–f, *Com. not.* 1065c, *Non posse* 1095d, F 140 Sandbach; Ath. 12. 528f–529a. See Lenfant (2001) 47–51.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ Cf. Briant (2002) 208.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ Sardanapalus' death was noble too (Ath. 12. 529d, γενναίως).

⁽⁶⁸⁾ For characterization of Alexander in Arrian, see Stadter (1980) 103–14. Arrian's Stoic philosophy has to be a major factor. Alexander as a contested figure in the ancient ethical debate: Stoneman (2003).

⁽⁶⁹⁾ Alexander's regard for Cyrus I: Brosius (2003) 174–5.

⁽⁷⁰⁾ Contrast Curt. 10. 1. 30–8, where Alexander himself hopes to find treasure in Cyrus' tomb.

⁽⁷¹⁾ A twisted parallel is *Alex. Rom. rec.* α 2.18, where the tomb of Cyrus exhibits not the epitaph but rather a macabre *tableau vivant* of maimed and chained Greek prisoners; other recensions of the *Romance* situate the prisoners, more predictably, at the tomb of Xerxes (recc. β, L 2. 18, γ 2. 17).

⁽⁷²⁾ Stadter (1980) 219 observes that in Arrian the account of the tomb of Cyrus forms a contrasting frame with the monument of Sardanapalus—as well as a bracket of ethico-political pensiveness ('both tombs warn of the final fate of a king').

⁽⁷³⁾ Mossman (2006) 291–2.

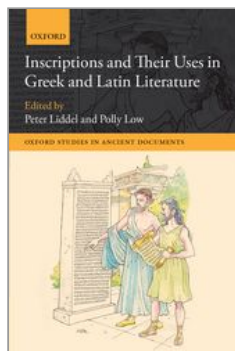
⁽⁷⁴⁾ Schmidt (1999) 287–99; esp. Whitmarsh (2002); yet more nuanced picture in Mossman (2006) 289–91.

⁽⁷⁵⁾ On the intertextual dialogue between Plutarch's *Lives* and the *Phaedrus*, see Zadorojnyi (2011b).

⁽⁷⁶⁾ I would like to thank Polly Low and Peter Liddel for their patience and amicability at the various stages of editing, as well as for having convened the Manchester conference in 2009. My gratitude also goes to Judith Mossman, Christopher Pelling, Richard Stoneman, and Niall Slater, who have made many excellent suggestions on an earlier draft of this paper.

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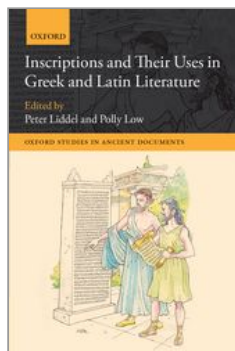
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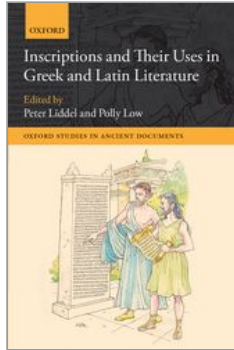
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